

The OLD and NEW
TESTAMENT

Connected in the

HISTORY

OF THE

JEW S

AND

NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM THE

Declension of the **KINGDOMS**

OF

ISRAEL and *JUDAH*

TO THE

TIME of CHRIST.

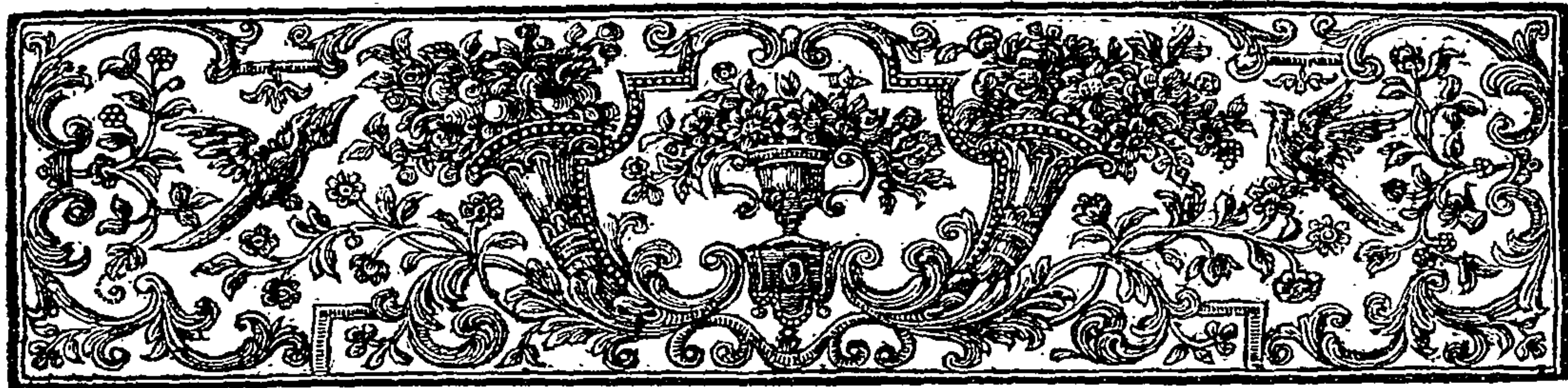
By *HUMPHRET PRIDEAUX*, D.D.
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PART I.

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To the RIGHT HONOURABLE

D A N I E L

Earl of NOTTINGHAM,

*President of his Majesty's most Honourable
Privy-Council.*

My LORD,



T being by Your Recommendation to Your noble Father, that I was by him made Prebendary of the Cathedral Church of *Norwich*, while he was Lord Chancellor of *England*; and it being also by Your Lordship's like favourable Recommendation of me to Her late Majesty *Queen Anne*, that I was promoted to be Dean of the same Church; I humbly offer unto Your Lordship this Product of my Studies, in a grateful Acknowledgment of the Favours I have received from You. And if the Pub-

The Dedication.

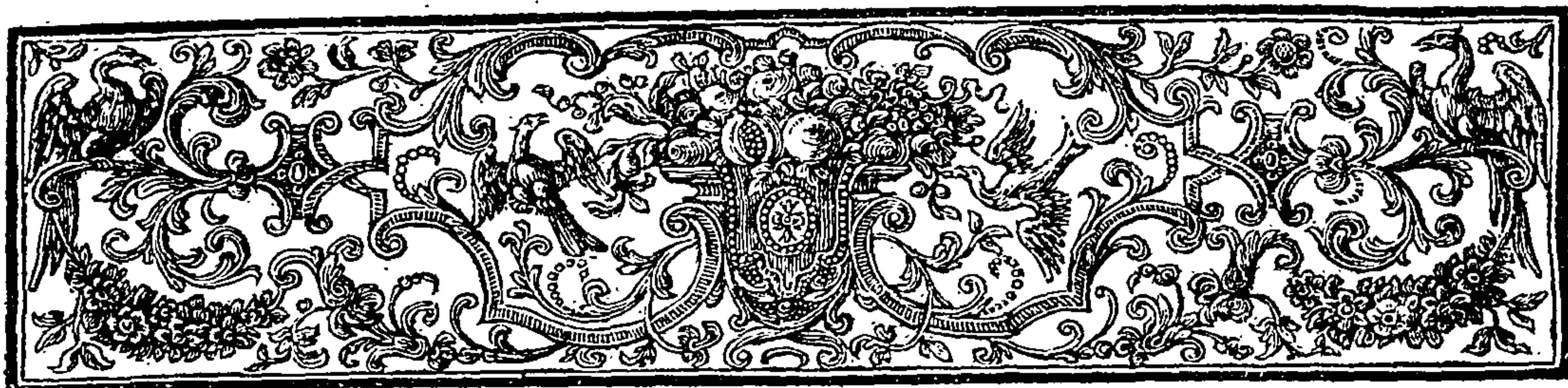
lick receive any Benefit from it (as I hope some may) nothing is more just and reasonable, than that they should receive it through Your Lordship's Hands, who in having been so much a Patron to the Author have acquired thereby the best Title to all the Fruits of my Labours. What I now offer unto Your Lordship is only the first Part of what is intended. If God gives Life the second shall follow, and beg its Passage into the World under the same Patronage. The only additional Favour I am now capable of receiving is Your Lordship's kind Acceptance of this Expression of my Gratitude, which I humbly pray from Your Hands; and I am,

My LORD,

Your most Obedient, and

most Obliged Humble Servant,

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX.



T H E P R E F A C E.



THE calamitous distemper of the stone, and the unfortunate management I fell under after being cut for it, having driven me out of the pulpit, in wholly disabling me for that duty of my profession, that I might not be altogether useless, I undertook this work, hoping that the clearing of the sacred history by the prophane, the connecting of the *Old Testament* with the *New* by an account of the times intervening, and the explaining of the prophecies that were fulfilled in them, might be of great use to many. What is now published is only the first part of my design. If God gives life the other will soon after follow; but if it should please him, who is the disposer of all things, that it happen otherwise, yet this history being brought down to the times, when the canon of the *Hebrew* scriptures was finished, it may of it self be reckoned a complete work. For it may serve as an epilogue to the *Old Testament*, in the same manner, as what after is to follow, will be a prologue to the *New*.

CHRONOLOGY and Geography being necessary helps to history, and good chronological tables being most useful for the one, as good maps are for the other, I have taken full care of the former, not only by adding such tables in the conclusion of the

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the work, as may answer this end, but also by digesting the whole into the form of annals under the years *before Christ*, and the years of the Kings that then reigned over *Judea*; both which are added in the margin, at the beginning of every year in which the actions hapned that are related. And as to the latter, since Dr. *Wells*, *Cellarius*, and *Reland* have sufficiently provided for it, both by good maps of the countries this history relates to, and also by accurate descriptions of them, I need do no more than refer the reader to what they have already done in this matter. What Dr. *Wells* hath done herein being witten in *English*, will best serve the *English* reader, but they that are also skill'd in the *Latin* tongue may moreover consult the other two.

IN the annals I have made use of no other æra but that of the years *before Christ*, reckoning it backward from the vulgar æra of *Christ's* incarnation, and not from the true time of it. For learned men are not all agreed in the fixing of the true time of *Christ's* incarnation, some placing it two years, and some four years before the vulgar æra. But where the vulgar æra begins, all know, that use it; and therefore the reckoning of the years *before Christ* backward from thence, makes it a fix'd and certain æra. The difference that is between the true year of our Saviour's incarnation, and that of the vulgar æra of it, proceeded from hence, that it was not till the 527th year of that æra that it was first brought into use. ^a *Dionysius Exiguus*, a *Scythian* by birth, and then a *Roman* Abbot, was the first author of it; and *Beda* our countryman, taking it from him, used it in all his writings; and the recommendation which he gave it thereby, hath made it of common use among christians ever since, especially in these western parts. Had all christians calculated their time by it from the beginning of the church of *Christ*, (as it could be wished they had) there could then have been no mistake in it. But it being five hundred twenty seven years after *Christ's* incarnation, before this æra of it was ever used, no wonder, that after so great a distance of time a mistake was made in the fixing of the first year of it.

^a See Scaliger, Calvisius, and other chronologers, in those parts of their works, where they write of the vulgar æra of *Christ*. And see also Du Pin's history of ecclesiastical writers. Cent. 6. p. 42. and Dr. Cave's *Historia Literaria*, p. 405.

THE æra from the creation of the world is of very common use in chronology; but this I have rejected, because of the uncertainty of it, must chronologers following different opinions herein, some reckoning the time of the creation sooner, and some later, and scarce any two agreeing in the same year for it.

THE *Julian* period is indeed a certain measure of time, but its certainty depends upon a reckoning backward, in the same manner as that of the æra *before Christ*. For it being a period of 7980 *Julian* years made out of the three cycles of the sun, moon, and indiction, multiplied into each other; and the first year of it being that, in which all these three cycles begin together, this first year can be no otherwise fixed, than by computing backward from the present numbers of those cycles through all the different combinations of them, till we come to that year in which the first year of every one of them meet together, which carries up the reckoning several hundred years before the creation, and fixeth the beginning of the period in an imaginary point of time before time was. And therefore, altho' from that beginning it computes downward, yet the whole of its certainty is by a backward reckoning from the present years of those cycles. For according as they are, all must be reckoned upward even to the beginning of the period. So that altho' in appearance it reckons downward, yet in reality it is only a backward computation to tell us how many years since any thing was done from the present year. For in the numbers of the three cycles of the present year it hath a real and fix'd foundation for an upward reckoning, and so in any other year in which the said numbers are known; whereas it hath none at all for a downward reckoning, but what is in the imagination only. And therefore this being the true and real use of the *Julian* period, the æra *before Christ*, for the times I treat of, serves all the purposes of chronology altogether as well, if not much better. For adding the years *before Christ* to those since *Christ*, according to the vulgar æra, it immediately tells us how many years since any action before the time of *Christ* was done, and the *Julian* period can do no more; and indeed it cannot do thus much but by reduction, whereas it is done the other way directly, immediately, and at first sight. However, in the tables I have put the *Julian* period, and have reduced to it not only the years *before Christ*, but also the years of the princes reigning in *Judea*, and the neighbouring countries,

tries, and all things else that are treated of in this history; and hereby the synchronisms, or coincident times and transactions of other nations, may easily be known.

THE year I compute by in the annals is the *Julian* year, which begins from the first of *January*; and to this I reduce all the actions I treat of, tho' they were originally reckoned by other forms. The ^b *Greeks* before the time of *Meto* begun their year from the winter solstice, and after from that of the summer. The *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, and ancient *Persians*, reckoned the first of the month *Thoth* to be always the first day of their year, which consisting of three hundred sixty five days, without a leap year, ^c it begun every fourth year one day sooner than it did before, and so in the space of one thousand four hundred and sixty years its beginning was carried backward through the whole solar year. The *Syrians* and the *Phoenicians* begun their year from the autumnal equinox, and so did also the *Hebrews*, till their coming up out of the land of *Egypt*. But that hapning in the month of *Nisan*, in commemoration of this deliverance they afterwards begun their year from ^d the beginning of that month, which usually hapned about the time of the vernal equinox. And this form they ever after made use of in the calculating of the times of their fasts and festivals, and all other ecclesiastical times and concerns. But in all civil matters, as contracts, obligations, and such other affairs, which were of a secular nature, they still made use of the old form, and begun their year as formerly from the first of *Tisri*; which hapned about the time of the autumnal equinox. And from hence they began ^e all their jubilees and sabbatical years, and all other their computations of civil matters, as they still do the years of the creation of the world, and the years of their æra of contracts; which are the only epocha's they now compute past times by. Anciently ^f the form of the year, which they made use of, was wholly inartificial. For it was not settled by any astronomical rules or calculations, but was made up of lunar months, set out by the phasis or appearance of the moon. When they saw the new moon then they began their

^b Vide Scaligerum, Petavium aliosque Chronologos in eis locis ubi de anno Græcorum agunt.

^c So it was in the time of the last Darius, but afterwards the Persians compensated for the loss of the leap year, by adding an intercalary month of thirty days every one hundred and thirtieth year.

^d Exod. xii. 2.

^e Levit. xxv. 9, 10.

^f Talmud in Tract. Ruth Hasshanah. Maimonides in Keddush Hachodesh. Selden de anno civili veterum Judæorum.

months,

months, which sometimes consisted of twenty nine days, and sometimes of thirty, according as the new moon did sooner or later appear. The reason of this was because the synodical course of the moon (that is, from new moon to new moon) being twenty nine days and an half, the half day, which a month of twenty nine days fell short of it, was made up by adding it to the next month, which made it consist of thirty days; so that their months consisted of twenty nine days and thirty days alternately. None of them had fewer than twenty nine days, and therefore they never look'd for the new moon before the night following the twenty ninth day, and if they then saw it, the next day was the first day of the following month. Neither had any of their months more than thirty days, and therefore they never looked for the new moon after the night following the thirtieth day; but then, if they saw it not, they concluded that the appearance was obstructed by the clouds, and made the next day the first of the following month, without expecting any longer; and of twelve of these months their common year consisted. But twelve lunar months falling eleven days short of a solar year, every one of those common years began eleven days sooner than the former; which in thirty three years time would carry back the beginning of the year through all the four seasons to the same point again, and get a whole year from the solar reckoning, (as is now done in *Turkey*, where this sort of year is in use;) for the remedying of which their usage was sometimes in the third year, and sometimes in the second, to cast in another month, and make their year then consist of thirteen months; whereby they constantly reduced their lunar year, as far as such an intercalation could effect it, to that of the sun, and never suffered the one, for any more than a month, at any time to vary from the other. And this they were forced to do for the sake of their festivals. For their feast of the passover (the first day of which ^s was always fix'd to the middle of their month *Nisan*) being to be celebrated by their eating of the paschal lamb, and the offering up of the wave sheaf, as the first fruits of their barley harvest; and their feast of *Pentecost*, which was ^h kept the fiftieth day after the sixteenth of *Nisan*, (which was the day,

^s Exod. xii. 3---20. Levit. xxiii. 4---8. Numb. xxviii. 16, 17.

^h Levit. xxiii. 15, 16,

17. Deut. xvi. 9.

in which the wave sheaf was offered) being to be celebrated by the offering of the two wave loaves, as the first-fruits of theirⁱ wheat harvest; and their feast of tabernacles, which was always begun^k in the fifteenth of *Tisri*, being fix'd to the time^l of their ingathering of all the fruits of the earth: The passover could not be observed, till the lambs were grown fit to be eaten, and the barley fit to be reaped; nor the pentecost till the wheat was ripe; nor the feast of tabernacles, till the ingatherings of the vineyard and olive yard were over. And therefore these festivals being fixed to these set seasons of the year, the making of the intercalation above-mentioned, was necessary for the keeping them within a month sooner or later always to them. The rule for the doing of this was,^m whenever according to the course of the common year the fifteenth day of *Nisan* (which was the first day of unleavened bread, and the first day of their paschal solemnity) hapned to fall before the day of their vernal equinox, then they intercalated a month, and the paschal solemnity was thereby carried on a month farther into the year, and all the other festivals with it. For according as the paschal festival was fixed, so were all the rest; that is, the pentecost fifty days after the second day of the paschal feast, (*i. e.* the sixteenth of *Nisan*) on which the wave sheaf was offered; and the feast of tabernacles six months after the beginning of the said paschal feast. For as the first day of the paschal feast was the fifteenth of *Nisan*, (the fourteenth, on the evening of which the solemnity began in the slaying of the paschal lambs, being but the eve of the passover) so the first day of the feast of tabernacles was on the fifteenth of *Tisri*, just six months after. To make this the more clear let it be observed, that the *Hebrew* months were as followeth, 1. *Nisan*, 2. *Iyar*, 3. *Sivan*, 4. *Tamuz*, 5. *Ab*, 6. *Elul*, 7. *Tisri*, 8. *Marchesvan*, 9. *Cisleu*, 10. *Thebeth*, 11. *Shebat*, 12. *Adar*. And these twelve made their common year. But in their intercalated years there was another month added after *Adar*, which they called *Veadar*, or the second *Adar*; and then their year consisted of thirteen months. Supposing therefore their vernal

ⁱ Here it is to be observed, that in Judea the barley harvest was before the wheat harvest, and so it was in Egypt. For the barley was in the ear when the wheat and rye were not grown up. *Exod. ix. 31, 32.*
^k *Levit. xxiii. 34, and 39.*
^l *Levit. xxiii. 39.*
^m *Talmud in Rosh Hashanah. Maimonides in Kiddush Hachodesh. Selden de Anno Civili veterum Judæorum.*

equinox should have been on the tenth of *March*, (whereabout now it is) and that the fifteenth of *Nisan*, the first day of their passover, should in the common course of their year happen to fall on the ninth of *March*, the day before the equinox; then on their foreseeing of this they intercalated a month, and after their *Adar* added their *Veadar*, which sometimes consisted of twenty nine days, and sometimes of thirty according as it happened; at present we will suppose it to be of thirty days, and then the first of *Nisan*, which is to begin this year, instead of being on the twenty third of *February*, (as otherwise it would) must be carried on thirty days forward to the twenty fifth of *March*, and their passover to the eighth of *April* following. But the next year after beginning eleven days sooner, for the reason I have mentioned, the first of *Nisan* must then have hapned on the fourteenth of *March*, and the first day of the passover on the twenty eighth of the same month. And the next year after that, the first of *Nisan* must for the same reason have hapned on the third of *March*, and the first day of the passover on the seventeenth of *March*. And the next year after that, according to this calculation, the first of *Nisan* would have hapned on the twentieth of *February*, and the first day of the passover on the sixth of *March* following. But this being before the equinox, another intercalation of the month *Veadar* must have been made. And so after the same manner it went through all other years; whereby it came to pass, that the first of *Nisan*, which was the beginning of their year, always was within fifteen days before or fifteen days after the vernal equinox, that is, within the compass of thirty days in the whole sooner or later; and according as that was fixed, so were fixed also the beginnings of all their other months, and all the fasts and feasts observed in them. But this inartificial way of forming their months and years, was in use among them only while they lived in their own land, and there might easily receive notice of what was ordained in this matter, by those who had the care and ordering of it. For when they became dispersed through all nations, they were forced to make use of cycles and astronomical calculations, for the fixing of their new moons, and intercalations, and the times of their feasts, fasts, and other observances; that so they might be every where uniform herein. The first cycle they made use of for this purpose

pose " was that of eighty four years. By this they fixed their paschal feast, and by that their whole year besides. And the use hereof the primitive christians borrowed from them, and for some of the first centuries fixed their *Easter* in every year according to it. But this after some time being found to be faulty, *Meto's* cycle of nineteen years ° was after the council of *Nice* brought into use by them for this purpose instead of the other, and the *Jews* following their example herein, almost about the same time came into the same usage also; and upon this cycle is founded the present form of their year. The first who began to work it into this shape, † was *Rabbi Samuel*, rector of the *Jewish* school at *Sora* in *Mesopotamia*; *Rabbi Adda*, who was a great astronomer, pursued his Scheme; and after him *Rabbi Hillel* about the year of our Lord 360 brought it to that perfection in which now it is, and being *Nasi* or prince of their sanhedrim, he gave it the authority of his sanction, and by virtue thereof it hath ever since been observed by them, and they say always is to be observed to the coming of the *Messiah*. According to this form ‡ there are within the compass of the said nineteen years cycle, seven intercalated years, consisting of thirteen months, and twelve common years consisting of twelve months. Their intercalated years are the third, the sixth, the eighth, the eleventh, the fourteenth, the seventeenth, and the nineteenth of that cycle; and when one round of this cycle is over, they begin another, and so constantly according to it fix their new moons, (at which all their months begin) and all their fasts and feasts in every year. And this form of their year, it must be acknowledged, is very exactly and astronomically contrived, and may truly be reckoned the greatest piece of art and ingenuity, that is to be found among that people. They who would thoroughly understand it may read *Maimonides's* tract *Kiddush Hachodesh*, which hath been published in a very good *Latin* translation by *Lewis de Veil*, unde the title *De Consecratione Calendarum*, where he will find it very exactly and perspicuously described.

THESE having been the forms of the *Jewish* year, that is,

• Vide Bucherium de antiquo Paschali Judæorum cyclo. • Epistola Ambrosii 83. ad Episcopos per Æmillam constitutos. It was by the council of Nice referred to the church of Alexandria every year to fix the time of Easter, and they did it by *Meto's* cycle of nineteen years.

† Juchasin; Shelheleth Haccabala; & Zemach David: & ex illis Morinus in Exercit. prima in Pentateuchum Samaritanum, cap. 3. ‡ Talmud in Bosh Haishanah. Maimonides in Kiddush Hachodesh & Seldenus de anno civili veterum Judæorum.

the inartificial form used by the ancients in the land of *Canaan*, and the artificial and astronomical form now in use among the moderns throughout all their dispersions; according to neither of them can the days of the *Jewish* months be fixed to any certain days of the months in the *Julian* year. For in both of them the months being lunar, and the intercalations made of one whole lunar month at once, the days of those months to the full extent of one full lunar month fell sometimes sooner, and sometimes later in the solar form. Since the *Jewish* kalendar hath been fixed by *Rabbi Hillel* upon the certain foundations of astronomy, tables may indeed be made, which may point out to what day in that kalendar very day in the *Julian* year shall answer; but this cannot be done for the time before, because while they went inartificially to work in this matter by the phasis and appearance of the moon, both for the beginning of their months and years, and the making of their intercalations, they did not always do it exactly; but often varied from the astronomical truth herein. And this latter having been their way through all the times, of which this history treats, we cannot, when we find the day of any *Jewish* month mentioned either in the scriptures, or in *Josephus*, reduce it exactly to its time in the *Julian* year, or there fix it any nearer, than within the compass of a month sooner or later. *Kepler* indeed holds, that the *Jewish* year was a solar year consisting of twelve months of thirty days each, and an addition of five days after the last of them; and our countreymen, archbishop *Usher* and Mr. *Lydiat*, two of the most eminent chronologers that any age hath produced, go into the same opinion. Such an year I acknowledge was in use among the *Chaldeans*, from whom *Abraham* was descended; and also among the *Egyptians*, with whom the *Israelites* long lived. And I doubt not, but that before their coming out of the land of *Egypt* they also reckoned their time by the same form. For the time of the flood is manifestly computed by it in the book of *Genesis*, an hundred and fifty days being there made equal to five months, which proves those months to have been thirty day months. But that the *Israelites* made use of this sort of year after their coming out of *Egypt*, can never be made consistent with the *Mosaical* law. According to that their year must be

* Chap. vii. 11. compared with chap. viii. 3, 4.

made up of months purely lunar, and could no otherwise, than by an intercalary month, be reduced to the solar form. And there being a necessity of making this intercalation for the keeping of their festivals to their proper seasons, by this means it comes to pass, that the beginnings of their months cannot be fixed to any certain day in the *Julian* kalendar, but they fell always within the compass of thirty days sooner or later therein. That the thing may appear the clearer to the reader, I shall express it in this following scheme, wherein the first column gives the names of the *Jewish* months, and the second of the *Julian* months, within the compass of which the said *Jewish* months set over against them have always sooner or later their beginning and ending; and this is the nearest view that can be given of the correspondency of the one with the other.

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|-------------------|---|------------------------|--|
| 1. <i>Nisan</i> , | { <i>March</i> , <i>April</i> . | 7. <i>Tifri</i> , | { <i>September</i> , <i>October</i> . |
| 2. <i>Iyar</i> , | { <i>April</i> , <i>May</i> . | 8. <i>Marchesvan</i> , | { <i>October</i> , <i>November</i> . |
| 3. <i>Sivan</i> , | { <i>May</i> , <i>June</i> . | 9. <i>Cisleu</i> , | { <i>November</i> , <i>December</i> . |
| 4. <i>Tamuz</i> , | { <i>June</i> , <i>July</i> . | 10. <i>Tebeth</i> , | { <i>December</i> , <i>January</i> . |
| 5. <i>Ab</i> , | { <i>July</i> , <i>August</i> . | 11. <i>Shebat</i> , | { <i>January</i> , <i>February</i> . |
| 6. <i>Elul</i> . | { <i>August</i> , <i>September</i> . | 12. <i>Adar</i> , | { <i>February</i> , <i>March</i> . |

The thirteenth month called *Veadar*, or the second *Adar*, answered most at an end to our *March*, it being then only intercalated or cast in, when the beginning of *Nisan* would otherwise be carried back into the end of *February*.

I have in the series of this history, taken no notice either of the jubilees, or the sabbatical years of the *Jews*, both because of the uselessness, and also of the uncertainty of them. They are useless, because they help not to the explaining of any thing either in the holy scriptures, or the histories of the times which I treat of; and they are uncertain, because it doth not appear when or how they were observed. It is acknowledged by most learned men, that the jubilees were no more regarded after the
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Babylonish captivity. And it is manifest from scripture, that the sabbatical years were wholly neglected for many ages before it. For the desolation, which hapned to the countrey of *Judea* under that captivity, is said in the second book of *Chronicles* (chap. xxxvi. 21.) to have been brought upon it for this very reason, that the land might enjoy its sabbaths, that is, those sabbatical years of rest, which the *Jews* in neglecting the law of God concerning this matter had deprived it of. And therefore if we reckon to this desolation only the fifty two years, that were from the destruction of the city and temple of *Jerusalem* to the end of the *Babylonish* captivity (in which the land was wholly desolated) this will prove the observing of those sabbatical years to have been neglected for three hundred sixty four years before that captivity. But if we add hereto the other eighteen years of that captivity, in which it was only in part desolated, and take in the whole seventy years of it into this reckoning, it will then carry up the time of this neglect much higher, even to four hundred and ninety years before that captivity. And as to the jubilees there is no mention made of them any where through the whole scriptures, saving only in that law where they are enjoined; neither is there of their sabbatical years, saving only in the same law, and the place in *Chronicles* above-mentioned. There are indeed two other places of scripture, which some understand concerning them, (that is, 2 *Kings* xix. 29. and *Jeremiah* xxxiv. 8, 9, 10.) But both these passages do better admit of other interpretations. For what is said in the former of these seems rather to refer to the desolations of the war, and the interruption of agriculture through the violences and calamity of it, than to a sabbatical year, and so *Grotius*, and other learned men understand it. And what is said in the other by *Jeremiah* about the release of servants, doth not infer a sabbatical year, nor a jubilee neither. For every *Hebrew* servant^c was to be released in the seventh year of his servitude, tho' it were neither a jubilee, nor a sabbatical year, and therefore this instance infers neither of them. And those who undertake to interpret the law, which enjoins these jubilees, and sabbatical years, very much differ concerning them, both as to the time and manner of their observance. Some will have the reckoning both of

^c Exodus xxi. 2.

the sabbatical years, and the jubilees to commence from the first entering of the *Israelites* into the land of *Canaan*, and therefore place the first sabbatical year in the seventh year after that entrance, and the first jubilee also according hereto. But others say, that the land was seven years in conquering and dividing; and that the eighth year was the first, in which the *Israelites* began to sow, and reap in it; and that therefore the fourteenth year was the first sabbatical year; and according to this reckoning they put the first sabbatical year, and the first jubilee, seven years later than the former, and so the numbers of all the rest that follow. And then as to the time of the jubilee there is this dispute, whether it be the same with the seventh sabbatical year, or the next year after. The reason of this dispute is, because if it be on the year after the seventh sabbatical year, then there will be two sabbatical years together: (for the year of jubilee was also a sabbatical year,) and in this case there would be the loss of two crops together; and then it will be asked, how could the people be supported? And they who, notwithstanding this objection, determine for the year next after the seventh sabbatical year to have been the year of jubilee, tho' they have the scripture on their side in this particular, yet are not agreed where to begin the next week of years (or *Shemittah* as the *Jews* call it) after that seventh sabbatical year, that is, whether the year of jubilee, or the next year after it, was to be the first year of that week or *Shemittah*. If the jubilee year were the first year of that week, then there would have been but five years for them to sow and reap in between the jubilee (which was also a sabbatical year) and the next sabbatical year after; whereas ^w the scripture saith, they were to have six. And if the first year of the next *Shemittah*, were the next year after the jubilee, then the *Shemittah's* would not always succeed in an exact series immediately one after the other, but after the seventh *Shemittah* the year of jubilee would intervene between that and the next, which disagreeeth with the opinion of many. However it is indeed the truth of the matter, and I know no objection against it, but that it exposeth the error of those, who thinking, that the sabbatical years did always happen each exactly on the seventh year after the former, have in that order

^c Levit. xxv. 11.^v Levit. xxv. 10.^w Levit. xxv. 3.

and series placed them in their chronological computations, without considering, that after every forty ninth year a jubilee year did intervene between the *Shemittah*, that then ended, and the beginning of the next that followed. But they act most out of the way in this matter, who would confine *Daniel's* prophecy of the seventy weeks to so many *Shemittah's*, as if these seventy weeks fell in exactly with seventy *Shemittah's*; that is, that the first week began with the first year of a *Shemittah* or sabbatical week, and ended with a sabbatical year, which was the last of a *Shemittah*, and so all the rest down to the last of the whole number; and to this end some have perplexed themselves in vain to find out sabbatical years to suit their hypothesis's, and fix them to times to which they did never belong; whereas the prophecy means no more than by the seventy weeks to express seventy times seven years, that is, four hundred and ninety in the whole, without any relation had either to *Shemittah's* or sabbatical years. And were it otherwise, the seventy weeks of *Daniel*, besides the seventy *Shemittah's* must have contained nine years more for the nine jubilees, which must have hapned within the compass of the said seventy *Shemittah's*, and thereby make the whole number of those weeks to be four hundred ninety nine years, which no one that I know of hath ever yet said. And therefore since there is nothing certain to be known, concerning these sabbatical years and jubilees of the *Jews*, as to their ancient observance of them, and consequently there can be no use made of them for the explication either of scripture or history, I have not troubled the reader with them in the body of this history, and I wish I have not troubled him too far in saying so much of them here in the preface.

IN the series of this history having often endeavoured to reduce the sums of money mentioned therein to the value they would bear with us in this present age, whether gold or silver; I think it requisite to lay down the rules whereby I make this reduction. It is to be observed therefore, in order hereto, that although the ancients the way of reckoning their money was by talents. So the *Hebrews*, so the *Babylonians*, so the *Greeks*, and so the *Romans* did reckon; and of these talents they had subdivisions, which were usually into mina's and drachms; *i. e.* of their talents into mina's, and of their mina's into drachms. The *Hebrews* had besides these their shekels, and half shekels, or beka's, and

the *Romans* their denarii, which last were very near of the same value with the drachms of the *Greeks*. What was the value of an *Hebrew* talent appears from *Exodus* xxxviii. 25, 26. For there six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty persons being taxed at an half shekel an head, they must have paid in the whole three hundred and one thousand seven hundred seventy five shekels, and that sum is there said to amount to an hundred talents, and one thousand seven hundred seventy five shekels over; if therefore you deduct the one thousand seven hundred seventy five shekels from the number three hundred and one thousand seven hundred seventy five, and divide the remaining sum, *i. e.* three hundred thousand, by an hundred, this will prove each of those talents to contain three thousand shekels. Each of these shekels weighed about three shillings of our money, and sixty of them * *Ezekiel* tells us made a mina; and therefore fifty of those mina's made a talent. And as to their drachms, it appears by the gospel of St. *Matthew*, that it was the fourth part of a shekel, that is, nine pence of our money. For there (chap. xvii. ver. 24.) the tribute money annually paid to the temple by every *Jew* (which was ¹ half a shekel) is called Διδραχμον, (*i. e.* the two drachm piece) and therefore if an half shekel contained two drachms, a drachm must have been the quarter part of a shekel, and every shekel must have contained four of them, and so *Josephus* tells us it did. For he ² saith, that a shekel contained four *Attic* drachms, which is not exactly to be understood according to the weight, but according to the valuation in the currency of common payments. For according to the weight, the heaviest *Attic* drachms did not exceed eight pence farthing half farthing of our money, and an *Hebrew* drachm, as I have said, was nine pence; but what the *Attic* drachm fell short of the *Hebrew* in weight might be made up in the fineness, and its ready currency in all countries, (which last the *Hebrew* drachm could not have) and so might be made equivalent in common estimation among the *Jews*. Allowing therefore a drachm, as well *Attic* as *Jewish*, as valued in *Judea*, to be equivalent to nine pence of our money, a beka or half shekel will be one shilling and six-pence, a shekel three shillings, a mina nine pound, and a talent four hundred and fifty pound. So was it in the time of *Moses* and

* Chap. xlv. 12.

1 Talmud in Shekalim.

2 Antiq. lib. 3. c. 9.

Ezekiel,

Ezekiel, and so was it the same in the time of *Josephus* among that people, for ^a he tells us, that an *Hebrew* mina contained two litra's and an half, which comes exactly to nine pound of our money. For a litra being the same with a *Roman* libra contained twelve ounces *Troy* weight, that is, ninety six drachms, and therefore two litra's and an half must contain two hundred and forty drachms, which being estimated at nine pence a drachm, according to the *Jewish* valuation, comes exactly to sixty shekels, or nine pound of our money. And this account agreeth exactly with that of *Alexandria*. For ^b the *Alexandrian* talent contained twelve thousand *Attic* drachms, and twelve thousand *Attic* drachms, according to the *Jewish* valuation, being twelve thousand of our nine pences, they amount to four hundred and fifty pound of sterling money, which is the same value with the *Mosaic* talent. But here it is to be observed, that though the *Alexandrian* talent amounted to twelve thousand *Attic* drachms, yet they themselves reckoned it but at six thousand drachms; because every *Alexandrian* drachm contained ^c two *Attic* drachms, and therefore the *Septuagint* version being made by the *Alexandrian* Jews, they there render the *Hebrew* word *Shekel* by the Greek διδραχμον, which signifieth two drachms, because two *Alexandrian* drachms made a shekel, two of them amounting to as much as four *Attic* drachms. And therefore computing the *Alexandrian* money according to the same method in which we have computed the *Jewish*, it will be as followeth. One drachm of *Alexandria* will be of our money eighteen pence; one didrachm or shekel consisting of two drachms of *Alexandria*, or four of *Attica*, will be three shillings; one mina, consisting of sixty drachms or shekels, will be nine pound; and one talent, consisting of fifty mina's, will be four hundred and fifty pound, which is the talent ^d of *Moses*, and so also is it the talent of ^e *Josephus*. For he tells us, that an *Hebrew* talent contained an hundred *Greek* (i. e. *Attic*) mina's. For those fifty mina's, which here make an *Alexandrian* talent, would be an hundred *Attic* mina's in the like method of valuation, the *Alexandrian* talent containing double as much as

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. ch. 12.

^b Festus Pompeius. Dionysius Halicarnassæus etiam dicit talentum Alexandrinum continere 125 libras Romanas; libræ autem Romanæ 125 continent drachmas Atticas 12000.

^c Varro æstimat drachmas Alexandrinas duplo superasse Atticasve Tyria ve.

^d Exod. xxxviii. 25, 26.

^e Antiq. lib. 3. c. 7.

the *Attic* talent, both in the whole and also in all its parts, in whatsoever method both shall be equally distributed. Among the *Greeks* the established rule was, ^f that one hundred drachms made a mina, and sixty mina's a talent. But in some different states their drachms being different, accordingly their mina's and talents were within the same proportion different also. But the money of *Attica* was the standard, by which all the rest were valued, according as they more or less differed from it. And therefore it being of most note, where-ever any *Greek* historian speaks of talents, mina's, or drachms, if they be simply mentioned, it is always to be understood of talents, mina's, or drachms of *Attica*, and never of the talents, mina's, or drachms of any other place, unless it be expressed. Mr. *Brerewood*, going by the goldsmith's weights, ^g reckons an *Attic* drachm to be the same with a dram now in use in their shops, that is, the eighth part of an ounce, and therefore lays it at the value of seven pence half penny of our money, or the eighth part of a crown, which is or ought to be an ounce weight. But Dr. *Bernard* going more accurately to work, ^h lays the middle sort of *Attic* drachms at eight pence farthing of our money, and the mina's and talents accordingly, in the proportions above-mentioned. The *Babylonian* talent, according to ⁱ *Pollux*, contained seven thousand of those drachms. The *Roman* talent ^k contained seventy two Italic mina's, which were the same with the *Roman* libra's; and ninety six *Roman* denarius's, each being of the value of seven pence half penny of our money, made a *Roman* libra. But all the valuations I have hitherto mentioned, must be understood only of silver money, and not of gold, for that was much higher. The proportion of gold to silver was among the ancients most commonly as ten to one; sometimes it was raised to be as eleven to one, and sometimes as twelve; and sometimes as thirteen to one. In the time of King *Edward* the First, it was here in *England* at the value of ten to one, but it is now gotten at sixteen to one, and so I value it in all the reductions which I make in this history, of ancient sums to the present value. But to

^f Julii Pollucis Onomasticon, lib. 10. cap. 6.

rum nummorum.

cap. 6. p. 437.

^g In libro de ponderibus & pretiis veterum nummorum.

^h In libro de mensuris & ponderibus antiquis.

ⁱ Lib. 10.

^k Festus Pompeius.

make the whole of this matter the easier to the reader, I will lay all of it before him, for his clear view, in this following table of valuations.

Hebrew money.

| | l. | s. | d. |
|--|------|------|-------|
| An <i>Hebrew</i> drachm, | 0000 | 00 | 09 |
| Two drachms made a beka, or half shekel, | { | 0000 | 01 06 |
| which was the tribute-money paid by every Jew to the temple, | | | |
| Two beka's made a shekel, | 0000 | 03 | 00 |
| Sixty shekels made a mina, | 0009 | 00 | 00 |
| Fifty mina's made a talent, | 0450 | 00 | 00 |
| A talent of gold, sixteen to one, | 7200 | 00 | 00 |

Attic money, according to Mr. Brerewood.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------|----|------------------|
| An <i>Attic</i> drachm, | 0000 | 00 | 07 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| An hundred drachms made a mina, | 0003 | 02 | 06 |
| Sixty mina's made a talent, | 0187 | 10 | 00 |
| A talent of gold, sixteen to one. | 3000 | 00 | 00 |

Attic money, according to Dr. Bernard.

| | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------|----|------------------|
| An <i>Attic</i> drachm, | 0000 | 00 | 08 $\frac{1}{4}$ |
| An hundred drachms made a mina, | 0003 | 08 | 09 |
| Sixty mina's made a talent, | 0206 | 05 | 00 |
| A talent of gold, sixteen to one, | 3300 | 00 | 00 |

Babylonish money, according to Mr. Brerewood.

| | | | |
|---|---|------|-------|
| A <i>Babylonish</i> talent of silver, containing seven thousand <i>Attic</i> drachms, | { | 0218 | 15 00 |
| A <i>Babylonish</i> talent in gold, sixteen to one, | | | |
| | | 3500 | 00 00 |

Babylonish money, according to Dr. Bernard.

| | | | |
|---|------|----|----|
| A <i>Babylonish</i> talent in silver, | 0240 | 12 | 06 |
| A <i>Babylonish</i> talent in gold, sixteen to one, | 3850 | 00 | 00 |

Alexandrian

Alexandrian money.

| | <i>l.</i> | <i>s.</i> | <i>d.</i> |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| A drachm of <i>Alexandria</i> , containing two <i>Attic</i> drachms, as valued by the <i>Jews</i> , | 0000 | 01 | 06 |
| A didrachm of <i>Alexandria</i> , containing two <i>Alexandrian</i> drachms, which was an <i>Hebrew shekel</i> , | 0000 | 03 | 00 |
| Sixty didrachms, or <i>Hebrew shekels</i> , made a mina, | 0009 | 00 | 00 |
| Fifty mina's made a talent, | 0450 | 00 | 00 |
| A talent of gold, sixteen to one, | 7200 | 00 | 00 |

Roman money.

| | | | |
|---|------|----|------------------|
| Four sestercius's made a <i>Roman denarius</i> , | 0000 | 00 | 07 $\frac{1}{2}$ |
| Ninety six <i>Roman denarius</i> 's made an <i>Italic</i> mina, which was the same with a <i>Roman</i> libra, | 0003 | 00 | 00 |
| Seventy two <i>Roman</i> libra's made a talent, | 0216 | 00 | 00 |

IF any desire a fuller account of the money of the ancients, he may read Mr. *Brerewood de ponderibus & pretiis veterum nummorum*; Bishop *Cumberland*, of the *Jewish* measures, weights, and moneys; Dr. *Bernard*, *de mensuris & ponderibus antiquis*; and others that have written of this argument. It sufficeth for my present purpose, that I here insert so much as may serve for a key to those passages in the ensuing history, where any sum of money, or any quantity of gold or silver is mentioned.

So little mention having been made of *Zoroastres* by the western writers, whether *Greek* or *Latin*, the reader may perchance be surprized to find so much said of him in this history, and his time placed so much later, than is vulgarly reckoned. But how sparingly soever the *Greeks* or *Latins* may have been in speaking of him what hath been wanting in them hath been sufficiently supplied by the *Persians* and *Arabs*, who have given us large accounts of him, and have placed his time, where truly it was, that is, in the time of *Darius Hystaspis*

staspis King of *Persia*. Whatsoever we find written of him by the *Arabs*, is taken from the *Persians*. For it was not till after the time of *Mahomet*, that the *Arabs* had any literature among them, but the *Persians* had it long before. For we find in scripture, ^m that the *Persians* had books and registers, in which all the actions of their Kings, and the histories of their reigns were carefully recorded; and *Ctesias* ⁿ tells us the same, and that it was out of those books and registers that he extracted his history which he wrote of the *Assyrian* and *Persian* affairs, ^o in twenty three books. And *Persia* being the countrey which was the scene of all *Zoroastres's* doings, there it is that we may most likely expect the best account of him. And since he was there the founder, and great patriarch of the religion which was received, and reigned in that countrey from the time of *Darius Hystaspis* to the death of *Yazdegerd*, for near eleven hundred and fifty years; and consequently was among them (as he still is among the remainder of that sect) in the same esteem and veneration, that *Mahomet* is among the *Mahometans*; no wonder that much hath been said of him by their writers. And if those writers have been as ancient, as those of the *Greeks* and other nations, I know not why they should not have the same authority. I acknowledge many fabulous things have crept into their writings concerning him, as there have into the *Roman* legends of their saints, and for the same reason, that is, to create in vulgar minds the greater veneration for him. What I have out of the latter, I am beholden for to Dr. *Hyde's* book *De religione veterum Persarum*, for I understand not the *Persian* language. All that could be gotten out of both these sorts of writers, concerning him or his religion, that carry with it any air of truth, is here carefully laid together, as also every thing else that is said of either of them by the *Greeks*, or any other authentic writers. And out of all this put together is made up that account, which I have given of this famous impostor. And if the life of *Mahomet*, which I have formerly publish'd, be compared herewith, it will appear here-

^m Ezra iv. 15, 19. v. 17. vi. 1, 2. Esther vi. 1.

^o Photius in excerptis.

ⁿ Apud Diodorum Siculum, lib. 2.

by, how much of the way, which this latter impostor took for the propagating of his fraud, had been chalked out to him by the other. Both of them were very crafty knaves. But *Zoroastres* being a person of the greatest learning of his time, and the other so wholly ignorant of it, that he could neither write nor read, he was by much the more eminent of the two, though the other hath had the greater success in the propagation of his sect; the *Magians* scarce having ever enlarged themselves beyond the present bounds of the kingdom of *Persia*, and some parts of *Mesopotamia*, *Arabia*, and *India*; whereas the *Mahometans* have overspread a great part of the world. For which they have been beholden to the prevailing power of two mighty empires erected by them, that is, that of the *Saracens* first, and next that of the *Turks*, who having extended their conquests over many countries and kingdoms, have by the power of the sword subjugated the inhabitants to their religion, as well as to their empire.

To make this history the more clear, I have found it necessary to take in within its compass the affairs of all the other eastern nations, as well as those of the *Jews*, the latter not being thoroughly to be understood without the other. And as far as the *Grecian* affairs have been complicated with those of *Persia*, *Syria*, or *Egypt*, I have been obliged to take notice of them also. And without doing thus, I could not lead the reader to so clear a view of the completion of those prophecies of the *Old Testament*, which I have in the ensuing history explained. For how could the completion of the prophecy which we have of *Xerxes*, and his stirring up of all against the realm of *Grecia* (*Daniel* xi. 2.) be understood, without having an account of the war which he made against *Grecia*? Or how could the fulfilling of the prophecies, which were delivered of *Alexander*, his swift victories, and his breaking by them the power of *Persia*, (*Dan.* vii. 6. and *ch.* viii. 5, 6, 21. and *ch.* x. 20. and *ch.* xi. 3, 4.) be brought into a clear light, without laying before the reader the whole series of those wars whereby it was effected? Or how could the verification of the prophecies, concerning the four successors of *Alexander*, written by the same prophet, (*Dan.* viii. 8. and *ch.* xi.

ch. xi. 4.) be fully evidenced, without giving a thorough narrative of all those transactions and wars, whereby it was brought to pass, that the empire of that great conqueror was at length divided among four of his chief commanders? The instance given in these particulars may serve to satisfy the reader as to all the rest.

To make all things the easier to the *English* reader, for whom I chiefly design this work, I have carefully avoided troubling him with any exotic words in the text. And where I have been forced in some places to insert *Hebrew* words, I have chosen for his sake to do it in *English* letters. All things else, that may be above a mere *English* reader, I have referred to the notes and quotations at the bottom of the page, and in them I quote every thing in *English*, where the *English* reader can examine what I quote, and there only where he cannot, are the references and quotations in any other language.

SEVERAL have in *Latin* written by way of annals of the times, of which I treat, as *Torniellus*, *Salianus*, *Cappellus*, and others. But above all of this kind are Archbishop *Usher's* annals of the *Old* and *New Testament*, which is the exactest and most perfect work of chronology that hath been published; to which, I acknowledge, I have been much beholden; and altho' I have not always concurred with him; yet I have for the most part, especially in the ordering and settling the years, to which I refer the actions that are related. For I look on what he hath done before me herein to be the surest and safest clue I could conduct my self by, through all the intricate labyrinths of ancient times, and therefore I have generally followed him in the fixing of the years, excepting only where I saw very good reason to do otherwise. But as to the other annalists I have mentioned, I have found it most an end only loss of time to consult them.

IF I have been too large in my explication of the prophecy of *Daniel's* seventy weeks, or in the account which I have given of the *Hebrew* scriptures, or in any other discourse of like nature, occasionally intermix'd in this work, the importance of the subjects must be my excuse. For the chief design of this history, and my main end in writing it, being to clear the way to the better understanding of the holy scriptures, both of the

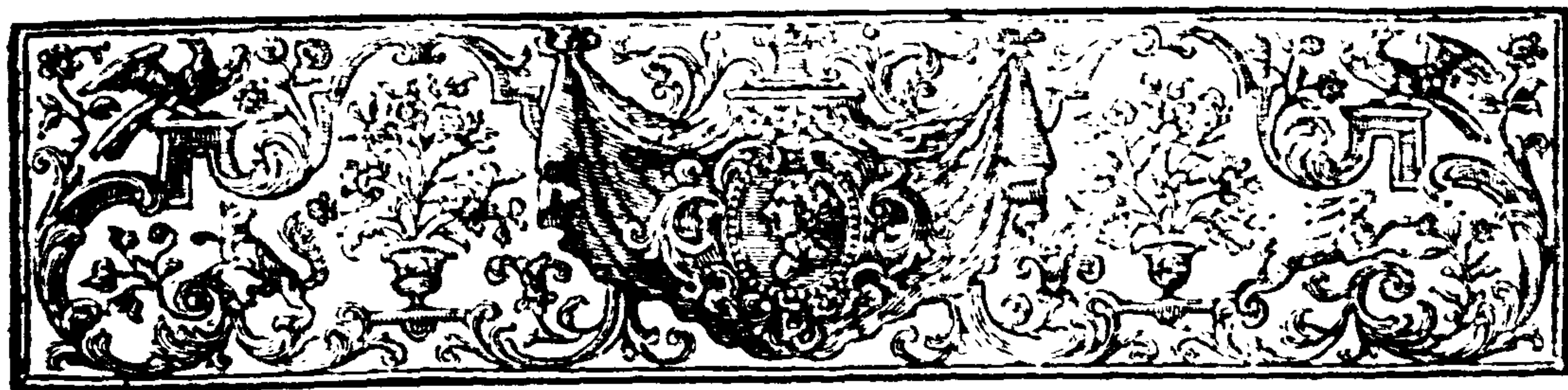
Old and the New Testament, I have thought my self obliged in purfuit hereof to handle every thing to the full, as it came in my way, that might any wife tend hereto. And if the reader receiveth any benefit from it, let him give God the praise, who hath enabled me under a very calamitous and broken state of health to finish this first part of my design, and still to go on with my studies for the compleating of the other.

Norwich,
Aug. 1. 1715.

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX.



THE



T H E
Old and New TESTAMENT
 Connected in the
 H I S T O R Y
 O F T H E
 J E W S and Neighbouring Nations,
 F R O M T H E
 Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
 to the time of CHRIST.



B O O K I.



HE ancient Empire of the *Assyrians*, which had go- *An. 747.*
 vernal *Asia* for above thirteen hundred years, being
 dissolved on the death of *Sardanapalus*, there * arose
 up two Empires in its stead; the one founded by *Ar-*
baces Governour of *Media*, and the other by *Belesis*
 Governour of *Babylon*; who were the two principal
 Commanders, that headed the Conspiracy, whereby
 the former Empire was brought to an End; which they having on their
 Success parted among Themselves, *Belesis* had *Babylon*, *Chaldea*, and

* Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2. Athenæus, lib. 12. Herodotus, lib. 1. Justin. lib. 1. c. 3.

Arabia; and *Arbaces* all the rest. This hapned in the seventh year after the building of *Rome*, and in the second year of the eighth Olympiad, which was the seven hundred forty seventh year before *Christ*, i. e. before the beginning of the Vulgar *Æra*, by which we now compute the years from his Incarnation.

ARBACES is in Scripture called ^b *Tiglath-Pileser* and ^c *Thilgath-Pilnefer*, in ^d *Ælian Thilgamus*, and by ^e *Castor Ninus junior*. He fixed his Royal Seat at *Niniveh*, the same place where the former *Assyrian* Kings had their Residence, and there he governed his new erected Empire nineteen years.

BELESIS is the same with *Nabonassar*, from the Beginning of whose Reign at *Babylon* commenceth the famous Astronomical *Æra* from him called the *Æra of Nabonassar*. He is by ^f *Nicolas Damascenus* called *Nanibrus*, and in the holy Scripture ^g *Baladan*, being the Father of *Merodac* or *Mordac Empadus*, who sent an Embassy to King *Hezekiah* to congratulate him on his recovery from his sickness, which will be hereafter spoken of.

AND these two Empires God was pleased to raise up to be his Instruments in their turns to punish the iniquities of his own People; the first for the overthrowing of the Kingdom of *Israel*, and the other for the overthrowing of the Kingdom of *Judah*, as shall be shewn in the sequel of this History.

An. 742.
Ahaz 1.

IN the sixth year of *Tiglath Pileser* ^h *Ahaz* began to reign over *Judah*, who being a very wicked and impious Prince, God stirred up against him *Rezin* King of *Syria* and *Pekah* King of *Israel*, who confederating together invaded his Land with a great Army, and having harassed it all over pent him up in *Jerusalem*, and there besieged him.

THEIR design was ⁱ on the taking of that City to have wholly extirpated the House of *David*, and to have set up a new King over *Judah*, the Son of *Tabeal*. Who this person was, is no where said in Scripture, but he seemeth to have been some potent and factious *Jew*, who having revolted from his Master the King of *Judah*, excited and stirred up this war against him out of an ambitious aim of plucking him down from his Throne, and reigning in his stead.

BUT it being the will of God only to punish *Ahaz* for his wickedness, and not the whole family of *David*, for which he had always for the sake of *David* expressed mercy and favour, he was pleased to prevent the mischief by blasting the whole design. And therefore he sent the Prophet *Isaiah* unto *Ahaz* to encourage him valiantly to withstand the Enemy in the defence of the City, and to assure him, that they should not prevail against him. And for this he gave him two signs, the one to be accomplished speedily, and the other some Ages after.

THE first was that the Prophet should take him a wife, who should immediately on that marriage conceive a son, and that before that son should be of age to discern between good and evil, both these Kings should be cut off from the Land; which accordingly came to pass. For the Prophet ^k immediately after taking a wife, before *Maher-sheal-haish-baz*, the son born to him of that marriage, arrived to the age of discerning between

^b 2 Kings xv. 29. & xvi. 7, 10.

lib. 12. c. 21.

^c Euseb. Chron. p. 46.

^d 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii.

^e 1 Chron. v. 6. 2 Chron. xxviii. 20.

^f In Eclogis Valestii, p. 426, &c.

^g Isaiah vii.

^h Isaiah viii.

ⁱ Hist. Animal.

^j Isaiah xxxix. 1.

SYRIA.



good and evil; both these Kings were slain, *Rezin* in the third year of *Ahaz*, and *Pekah* the next year after.

THE other sign was, that ¹ a virgin should conceive, and bear a son, who should be called *Emmanuel*, that is, God with us, the *Messias*, that was promised, God manifested in our nature, and for a while here dwelling with us to accomplish the great work of our Salvation. Which Prophecy was then delivered to comfort and support the drooping and desponding Spirits of the House of *David*; who seeing so great a force armed against them, and intending their destruction, were under terrible apprehensions, as if their utter extirpation were then at hand. From which despair this prophecy fully relieved them, in assuring them, that their House should stand, and continue, till this prediction should be accomplished, and the *Messias* born of their race in such manner, as was hereby foretold.

AFTER this the two Kings according to the words of the Prophet failing of their design were forced to raise the Siege, and return home, without prevailing in the enterprize which they had undertaken.

BUT ^m *Ahaz* after this, instead of being reformed by the Mercy, growing more wicked and perverse than before, in absolutely rejecting the God of *Israel*, and cleaving to the worst abominations of the heathen nations round him; even to the making of his Sons pass through the Fire to *Molech*, the next year after ⁿ God brought again upon him the same two confederated Kings, from whom he had delivered him the former year, who coming with forces better appointed, and counsels better concerted than before, divided themselves into three armies; the first under *Rezin* King of *Syria*, the second under *Pekah* King of *Israel*, and the third under *Zichri* a mighty man of *Ephraim*; and with these three armies, the more to distract him, they invaded him in three different parts of his Kingdom at the same time. *Rezin* in his ravage having loaded his army with Spoils, and taken a vast number of Captives, returned with them to *Damascus*, thinking it his best interest there to secure what he had gotten. *Pekah* with his army marched directly against *Ahaz*, who had got together the main strength of his Kingdom to oppose this Invasion; and thereby for some time did put a stop to the progress of this part of the enemies forces, but at length being encouraged by the departure of *Rezin* to give them Battel, he was overthrown with a most terrible destruction, an hundred and twenty thousand of his men being slain in that day. Of which blow *Zichri* taking the advantage led his forces to *Jerusalem*, and took the Royal City, where he slew *Maaseiah* the King's Son, and most of the chief Governours and great Men of the Kingdom, whom he found there. And both these armies of *Israel* on their return carried with them vast spoils, and above two hundred thousand persons, whom they had taken Captive with intention to have sold them for bondmen and bondwomen. But a Prophet from God having severely rebuked them for this their excessive cruelty against their Brethren, whom God had delivered into their Hands, the Elders of the Land fearing the like wrath upon themselves for the punishment hereof, would not permit them to bring the Captives to *Samaria*; whereon they were cloathed and relieved out of the spoils, and again sent back unto their own homes.

An. 741.
Ahaz 2.

AND the Land was no sooner delivered from these enemies, but it was again invaded by others, who treated it with the same cruelty. For the

An. 740,
Ahaz 3.

¹ Isaiah vii. 14. Mat. i. 23.

^m 2 Chron. xxviii. 2----5.

ⁿ 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii.

Edomites and the *Philistines*, who next bordered on it, the former on the *South*, and the other on the *West*, seeing *Judab* brought thus low took the advantage to seize on those parts which lay next unto them, and by ravages and inrodes did all the mischief to the rest that lay in their power.

BUT *Abaz* continuing still hardened in his iniquity, notwithstanding all this, which he had suffered for the punishment of it, would not seek the Lord his God, or return unto him from his evil ways, but putting his confidence rather in man, pillaged the Temple of all the Gold and Silver that was found therein, and sent it to *Tiglath-Pileser* King of *Affyria*, to engage him to come to his assistance against his enemies, promising thereon to become his Servant, and pay Tribute unto him.

THE King of *Affyria* having an opportunity hereby offered unto him, of adding *Syria* and *Palestine* to his Empire, readily laid hold of the invitation, and marched with a great army into those parts, where having slain *Rezin* in battel, he took *Damascus*, and reduced all that Country under his Dominion. And hereby he put an end to the Kingdom of the *Syrians* in *Damascus*, after it had lasted there for ten Generations, that is, from the time of *Rezon* the Son of *Eliadah*, ° who first founded it, while *Solomon* was King over *Israel*.

AFTER this *Tiglath-Pileser* † marched against *Pekah*, and seized all that belonged to *Israel* beyond *Jordan*, and also all the Land of *Galilee*, and then went forward towards *Jerusalem*, but rather to get more money of *Abaz*, than to afford him any real help. For he assisted him not for the recovery of any of those places which had been taken from him during the War, either by the *Philistines*, *Edomites*, or other Enemies, but when he had got from him all that he could (for the raising of which *Abaz* cut the vessels of the Temple into pieces, and melted them down) he marched back to *Damascus*, and there wintered, without doing any thing more for him. So that in reality he was rather distressed, than any way helped by this alliance, the Land being almost as much exhausted by the presents and subsidies, which were extorted from him by this his pretended Friend and Ally, as it was by the ravages and pillages of his open Enemies. And moreover two lasting mischiefs followed hereon. For 1st, instead of two petty Princes, whom he had afore for his Neighbours, and with either of which he was well able to cope, he had now this mighty King for his borderer, against whom no power of the Land was sufficient to make any resistance, and the ill effect hereof both *Israel* and *Judab* did afterwards sufficiently feel. For it became at length to both of them the Cause of their destruction. 2^{dly}, From this time the *Jews* were excluded all their Traffic into the *Southern Sea*, which had hitherto been one of the chiefest foundations of their riches.

THIS they had long carried on through the *Red Sea*, and the Streights of *Babelmandel*, not only to the Coasts of *Africa*, on the West, but also to those of *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *India*, on the East, and reaped a prodigious profit from it. King *David* was the first † who began it: For having conquered the Kingdom of *Edom*, and reduced it to be a Province of his Empire, he thereby became Master of two Sea-port Towns on the *Red Sea*, *Eloth*, and *Esiongeber*, † which then belonged to that Kingdom; and see-

° 1 Kings xi. 23---25.

† 2 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xxviii.

‡ Eupolemus apud Euseb.

Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

‡ 2 Sam. viii. 14.

1 Kings xi. 15. 16.

1 Chron. xviii. 13.

† 1 Kings ix. 26. 2 Chron. viii. 17.

ing the advantage which might be made of the situation of these two places, he wisely took the Benefit of it, and there begun this Traffic. There are two places mentioned in Scripture, to which it was from thence carried on, that is, *Ophir* and *Tarshish*. From the former of these *David* in his time drew great profit. For the three thousand Talents of Gold of *Ophir*, which he is said (1 Chron. xxix. 4.) to have given to the House of God, seem to be of that Gold of *Ophir*, which he himself had by his fleets in several voyages brought to him from thence. For what he had reserved for this work out of the spoils of war, the tributes of the conquered Nations, and the publick revenues of his Kingdom, is before mentioned (C. xxiv. v. 14.) and amounted to * a prodigious Sum. The three thousand Talents of the Gold of *Ophir*, which he added, was over and above this, and *our of his own proper goods*, or private Estate which he had, besides what belonged to him as King. And how he could increase that so far, as out of that only to be able to give so great a Sum, can scarce any other way be accounted for, than by the great returns which were made him from this Traffic. For the Gold alone amounted to † above one and twenty Millions of our Money, besides the seven thousand Talents of refined Silver, † which were included in the same gift. After *David*, † *Solomon* carried on the same Traffic to *Ophir*, and had from thence in one voyage † four hundred and fifty Talents of Gold. And if *Solomon* got so much in one voyage, well might *David* have gained the Sum above-mentioned in the several voyages, which were made thither for him from the time that he had subdued the Land of *Edom* to the time of his Death, which was at least twenty five years. But it must be acknowledged that *Solomon* much improved this Trade, not only by his greater wisdom, but also by his greater application to all the business of it. For not being perplex'd and incumber'd with such Wars, as his Father *David* was, he had more leisure to attend thereto. And therefore for the better settling of it he † went in person to *Elath*, and *Esiongeber*, and there took care by his own inspection for the building of his Ships, the fortifying of both those Ports, and the settling of every thing else, which might tend to the successful carrying on of this Traffic, not only to *Ophir*, but to all other parts, where the Sea, on which these Ports lay, opened a passage. But his chiefest Care was to plant those two Towns with such Inhabitants as might be best able to serve him in this design. For which purpose he brought thither from the Sea Coasts of *Palestine* as many, as he could get, of those who had been there used to the Sea, especially of the *Tyrians*, † whom his Friend and Ally, *Hiram* King of *Tyre*, from thence furnished him with in great numbers, and these were the most useful to him in this Affair. For they being in those days, and for many ages after

* This Sum is so prodigious, as gives reason to think that the Talents, whereby that Sum is reckoned, were another sort of Talents of a far less value than the Mosaic Talents, of which an account is given in the Preface. For what is said to be given by *David*, (1 Chron. xxii. 14, 15, 16. and xxix. 3, 4, 5.) and contributed by his Princes, (xxix. 6, 7, 8.) toward the building of the Temple at Jerusalem, if valued by these Talents, exceeded the value of eight hundred Millions of our Money, which was enough wherewith to have built all that Temple of solid Silver.

† For three thousand Hebrew Talents of Gold reduced to our Money amount to twenty one Millions and six hundred thousand Pound Sterling. † 1 Chron. xxix. 4. † 1 Kings ix. 26, 27, 28. & cap. x. 11, 22. 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18. cap. ix. 10---21. † 2 Chron. viii. 18. The 450 Talents here mentioned amount to three Millions two hundred and forty thousand Pound of our present Sterling Money. † 2 Chron. viii. 17. † 1 Kings ix. 27. 2 Chron. viii. 18. & cap. ix. 19, 21.

the most skilful of all others in sea affairs, they were the best able to navigate his ships, and conduct his fleets, through long voyages. But the use of the Compass not being then known, the way of Navigation was in those times only by Coasting, which often made a voyage to be of three years, which now may be finished almost in three months. However this Trade succeeded so far, and grew to so high a pitch under the wise management of *Solomon*, that thereby he drew to these two Ports, and from thence to *Jerusalem*, all the Trade of *Africa*, *Arabia*, *Persia*, and *India*, which was the chief fountain of those immense riches which he acquired, and^a whereby he exceeded all the Kings of the Earth in his time, as much as he did by his wisdom, so that^b he made silver to be at *Jerusalem* as the stones of the street, by reason of the great plenty with which it there abounded during his reign. After the Division of the Kingdom, *Edom* being of that part which remained to the House of *David*, they still continued to carry on this Trade^c from those two Ports, especially from *Esfongeber*, which they chiefly made use of till the time of *Jehosaphat*. But he having there lost his Fleet, which he had prepared to sail from thence to *Ophir*, in partnership with *Abaziah* King of *Israel*, this spoiled the credit of that Harbour. For there being nigh the mouth of it^d a ridge of Rocks, as this fleet was passing out of the Port, they were by a sudden gust of wind (which God sent on purpose for the punishment of this Confederacy) driven upon those Rocks, where^e they were all broken to pieces and lost. And therefore for the avoiding of the like mischief for the future, the station of the King's Ships was thenceforth removed to *Eloth*, from whence *Jehosaphat* the next year after sent out another Fleet for the same place. For whereas it is said, that he lost the first Fleet for confederating with the idolatrous King of *Israel*, and we are told^f in another place of his sending forth a Fleet for *Ophir*, in which he would not permit *Abaziah* to have any partnership with him, this plainly proves the sending out of two Fleets by *Jehosaphat*, the first in partnership with *Abazia*, and the other without it. And thus this Affair was carried on from the time of *David* till the Death of *Jehosaphat*. For till then the Land of *Edom*^g was all in the Hands of the Kings of *Judah*, and was wholly governed by a Deputy or Viceroy there placed by them. But when *Jehoram* succeeded *Jehosaphat*, and God for the punishment of the exceeding great wickedness of that Prince had withdrawn his protection from him. *Esau*, according to the Prophecy of *Isaac*,^h did break the yoke of *Jacob* from off his Neck, after having served him (as foretold by that Prophecy) for several Generations, that is, from the time of *David* till then. For on *Jehoram*'s having revolted from God,ⁱ the *Edomites* revolted from him, and having expelled his Viceroy chose them a King of their own, and under his conduct recover'd their ancient Liberty, and were not after that any more subject to the Kings of *Judah*. And from this time the *Jewish* Traffic through the *Red Sea* had an interruption, till the reign of *Uzziah*. But he in the very beginning of his reign^k having recovered *Eloth* again to *Judah* fortified it anew, and having driven out the *Edomites* planted it again with his own people, and there renewed their

^a 1 Kings x. 23. 2 Chron. ix. 22.^b 1 Kings x. 27. 2 Chron. ix. 27.^c 1 Kings xxii. 48.

2 Chron. xx. 36.

^d Because of these Rocks it had the name of *Esfongeber*, which signified the back bone of a Man, for these Rocks resembled it.^e 1 Kings xxii. 48. 2 Chron. xx. 36, 37.^f 1 Kings xxii. 49.^g 1 Kings xxii. 47.^h Gen. xxvii. 40.ⁱ 2 Kings viii. 20---22.^k 2 Kings xiv. 22. 2 Chron. xxvi. 2.

PALAESTINA
SEV
TERRA SANCTA.

MARE MAGNUM

SIVE

MEDITERRANEI

PARS.



old Traffic, which was from thence carried on and continued till the reign of *Abaz*. But then *Rezin* King of *Damascus* having in conjunction with *Pekah* King of *Israel* oppressed and weakened *Judah* to that degree, which I have mentioned, he took the advantage of it to seize *Elatb*, and driving out the *Jews* from thence planted it with *Syrians*, purposing thereby to draw to himself the whole profit of that Traffic of the Southern Seas, which the Kings of *Judah* had hitherto reaped by having that Port. But the next year after, *Tiglath-Pileser* having conquered *Rezin*, and subdued the Kingdom of *Damascus*, he seized with it *Elatb*, as then belonging to his new Conquest; and without having any regard to his Friend and Ally King *Abaz*, or the just claim which he had thereto, kept it ever after, and thereby put an end to all that great profit, which the *Jews* till then had reaped from this Traffic, and transferred it to the *Syrians*, which became a great diminution of their Wealth. For although they did not always carry it on with the same full gales of Prosperity as in the time of King *Solomon*, yet it was constantly, as long as they had it, of very great advantage to them. For it included all the Trade of *India*, *Persia*, *Africa*, and *Arabia*, which was carried on through the *Red Sea*. But after *Rezin* had thus dispossessed them of it, they never had it any more restored to them, but were ever after wholly excluded from it. From thenceforth all the Merchandize that came that way, instead of being brought to *Jerusalem* was carried elsewhere. But at what place the *Syrians* fixed their principal mart for it, while it was in their Hands, is no where said. But at length we find the whole of this Trade engrossed by the *Tyrians*, who managing it from the same Port, made it by the way ^m of *Rhinocorura* (a sea-port town lying between the confines of *Egypt* and *Palestine*) center all at *Tyre*, and from thence they furnished all the Western parts of the world with the wares of *Persia*, *India*, *Africa*, and *Arabia*, which thus by the way of the *Red Sea* they traded to, and hereby they exceedingly enriched themselves during the *Persian* Empire, under the favour and protection of whose Kings they had the full possession of this Trade. But when the *Ptolemys* prevailed in *Egypt*, they did by building ^a *Berenice*, *Myos-Hormos*, and other ports on the *Egyptian* or Western side of the *Red Sea* (for *Elatb* and *Esfiongeber* lay on the Eastern) and by sending forth Fleets from thence to all those Countries, to which the *Tyrians* traded from *Elatb*, soon drew all this Trade into that Kingdom, and there fixed the chief Mart of it at *Alexandria*, ^o which was thereby made the greatest Mart in the world, and there it continued for a great many ages after, and all the Traffic, which the Western parts of the world from that time had with *Persia*, *India*, *Arabia*, and the Eastern Coasts of *Africa*, was wholly carried on through the *Red Sea*, and the Mouth of the *Nile*, till a way was found ^p a little above two hundred years since of sailing to those parts by the way of the *Cape of Good Hope*. After this the *Portuguese* for some time managed this Trade, but now it is in a manner wholly got into the hands of the *English* and *Dutch*. And this is a full account of the *East-India* Trade, from the time it was first begun by *David* and *Solomon* to our present age.

BUT though it be by all agreed, that the Trade to *Ophir* and *Tarshish* was the same, that is now in the hands of our *East-India* Merchants, yet

^l 2 Kings xvi. 6.

^m Strabo, lib. 16.

ⁿ Strabo, lib. 17.

^o Strabo, lib. 17. p. 798.

^p Anno Dom. 1497.

there are great disputes among learned men, in what parts of the Eastern World these two places lay. Some will have *Ophir* to have been the Island of *Zocatora*, which lies on the Eastern Coasts of *Africa*, a little without the *Streights* of *Babelmandel*. Others will have it to be the Island anciently called *Taprobana*, now *Ceylon*, and for its being an Island they have the Authority of *Eupolemus* (an ancient Author quoted by *Eusebius*) on their side. For speaking of *David*, he saith of him, ^a *That he built Ships at Elath, a City of Arabia, and from thence sent Metal-men to the Island of Urphe (or Ophir) situated in the Red Sea, which was fruitful in yielding abundance of Gold, and the Metal-men brought it from thence to Judea.* But this being a Question no way to be decided but from the Scriptures, all that is to be observed from thence is, 1st, That from *Elath* to *Tarshish* was a voyage ^r of three years going and coming; but in what compass of time the voyage to *Ophir* was compleated is not said, and that therefore *Tarshish* might be somewhere in the *East Indies*, but *Ophir* might be any where nearer home within the reach of those Seas. 2^{dly}, That the Commodities brought from *Tarshish* ^s were Gold, and Silver, and Ivory, and Apes, and Peacocks: and those of *Ophir* ^t were Gold, and Almug Trees, and precious Stones. And therefore any place in the Southern, or great *Indian Sea*, at the distance of a then three years voyage from *Elath*, which can best furnish the Merchants with Gold, Silver, Ivory, Apes, and Peacocks, may be guessed to be the *Tarshish* of the Holy Scriptures, and any place within the compass of the same Southern Sea, that can best furnish them with Gold, Almug-Trees, and precious Stones, and in that quantity of Gold as *Solomon* brought home in one voyage, may be guessed to be the *Ophir* in the said Holy Scriptures mentioned. Only thus much I cannot forbear to say, That if the Southern part of *Arabia* did furnish the World in those times ^v with the best Gold, and in the greatest quantity (as good Authors say) they that would have the *Ophir* of the Holy Scriptures to be there situated, seem of all others to have the best Foundation for their Conjecture. But more than Conjecture no one can have in this matter.

BUT for the better understanding of what *Eupolemus* above saith of *Ophir*, that it was an Island in the Red Sea, it is proper here to take notice, that he doth not there mean the *Arabian Gulph*, which lyeth between *Arabia* and *Egypt*, and is now commonly called the *Red Sea*; but ^w the great Southern Ocean, which extending it self between *India* and *Africa* washeth up to the Coast of *Arabia* and *Persia*, where it appearing of a reddish Colour by reason of the fierceness of the Sun-beams constantly bearing upon it in that hot Climate, it was therefore called the *Red Sea*, and this alone was that, which was truly and properly called so by the Ancients. For the *Arabian Gulph* which hath now obtained that name, was never for any such redness of it so called. For neither the Water (as some will have it) nor

^a Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. ^r 1 Kings x. 22. 2 Chron. ix. 21. ^s 1 Kings x. 22.
^t 1 Kings x. 11. ^v Agatharcides (p. 60. Edit. Oxon.) tells us, That the *Alileans* and *Cassandrians* in the Southern parts of *Arabia* had Gold in that plenty among them, that they would give double the weight of Gold for Iron, triple its weight for Brass, and ten times its weight for Silver, and that in digging the Earth they found it in gobbets of pure Gold, which needed no refining, and that the least of them were as big as Olive-stones, but others much larger. No other Author speaks of any other place in the world, where it was ever found in the like plenty.
^w Dionysii Periegesis v. 38. & Comment. Eustathii in eundem. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 765. Agathemerii Geographia, lib. 2. c. 11.

the Sand (as others say) hath there any appearance of that colour, nor was it ever by any of the *Easterns* formerly so called. Throughout the whole Scripture of the Old Testament* it is called *Tam Suph*, that is *the weedy Sea*, by reason of the great quantity of Sea-weed which is therein, and the same name it also hath in the ancient *Syriac* Version, as well as in the *Targum*, or *Chaldee* Paraphrases. But among the ancient Inhabitants of the Countries adjoining it was called *Tam Edom*, i. e. *the Sea of Edom*. For the sons of *Edom* having possessed all that Countrey, which lying between the *Red Sea* and the Lake of *Sodom*, was by the *Greeks* called *Arabia Petraea*, they then named it from their father *Edom* the Land of *Edom*. And because that, which we now call the *Red Sea* washed upon it, thence it was called *the Sea of Edom*, or in the Dialect of the *Greeks* the *Edomean* or *Idumean Sea*, in the same manner as that, which washeth upon *Pamphylia*, was called the *Pamphylian Sea*, and that which washeth upon *Tyrrhenia*, the *Tyrrhenian Sea*, and so in abundance of other instances. But the *Greeks*, who took this name from the *Phœnicians*, finding it by them to be called *Tam Edom*, instead of rendring it *the Sea of Edom*, or *the Idumean Sea*, as they ought, mistook the word *Edom* to be an appellative instead of a proper name, and therefore rendred it ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα that is the *Red Sea*. For *Edom* in the Language of that Countrey signified *Red*, and it is said in Scripture, that *Esau*^y having sold his birth-right to his Brother *Jacob* for a Mefs of red pottage, he was for that reason called *Edom*, that is *the Red*. And^z *Strabo*,^a *Pliny*,^b *Mela*, and^c others, say, that this Sea was called so, not from any redness that was in it, but from a great King called *Erythrus*, who reigned in the Countrey adjoining upon it, which Name *Erythrus* signifying the same in *Greek*, that *Edom* did in the *Phœnician* and *Hebrew* Languages, that is *the Red*, this plainly proves, that the great King *Erythrus* could be none other than *Edom*, who having planted his Posterity in the Countrey, as I have said,^d from him it was called *the Land of Edom*, or with a *Greek* Termination *Edomæa*, or *Idumæa*, and from that Land the Sea, which washed upon it, was called *the Sea of Edom*, but the *Greeks* translating *Edom* as an appellative into the word *Red*, which it signified, instead of rendring it in the same Sound, as a proper name, from this mistake it was by them called the *Red Sea*, and that name it hath retained ever since.

BUT fully to clear what hath been above said, it is necessary farther to observe, that the *Idumæa* mentioned by *Strabo*, *Josephus*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and other ancient writers, was not that *Land of Edom*, or *Idumæa*, which gave name to the *Red Sea*; but another ancient *Idumæa*, which was vastly larger than that *Idumæa* with those Authors describe. For^e it included all that Land, which was afterwards from *Petra* the Metropolis of it called *Arabia Petraea*. For all this was inhabited by the Sons of *Edom*, and from thence it was anciently called the Land of *Edom*. But^f on a Sedition which arose among them, a Party going off from the rest, while the Land of *Judæa* lay desolate during the *Babylonish* Captivity, they planted them-

* See Exod. x. 19. xiii. 18, &c. y Gen. xxv. 30. z Lib. 16. p. 766. a Lib. 6. c. 23.
b Lib. 3. Cap. 8. c Agatharcides Edit. Ox. p. 2. Q. Curtius, l. 8. c. 9. & lib. 10. c. 1.
Philostratus, lib. 3. c. 15. Arrianus in Rerum Indicarum libro, p. 579. Edit. Blac. d See
Fuller's Miscellanies, lib. 4. c. 20. e That it reached to the Red Sea appears from 2 Chron. viii. 17.
for Elath and Esiongeber Cities of Edom were Ports on the Red Sea. f Strabo, lib. 16. p. 760.

felves on the South-Weſtern part of that Countrey, where they were called *Idumæans*, and that Land alone which they there poſſeſſed, was the *Idumæa* which thoſe Authors mention. Thoſe who remained behind, joining themſelves to the *Iſhmaelites*, were from *Nebaioth* or *Nabath* the ^e Son of *Iſhmael* called *Nabathæans*, and the Countrey which they poſſeſſed *Nabathæa*, and by that name we often hear of them in the ancient *Greek* and *Latin* Writers.

An. 739.
Ahaz 4.

BUT to return from whence I have digreſſed, *Abaz* having gone ſo far with *Tiglatb-Pileſer*, as hath been ſaid, found it neceſſary for him to overlook all Injuries to avoid provoking greater, and therefore carrying on the complement towards him, as if he had really been that Friend and Protector which he pretended to be, as ſoon as he heard that he was returned to *Damaſcus*, ^h he went thither to him to pay him that reſpect and obedience, which after having owned him as his Protector and Sovereign, he did now as his Client and Tributary owe unto him.

WHILE he was at *Damaſcus* on this occaſion, ⁱ he ſaw there an idolatrous Altar, of a form which he was much pleaſed with, whereon cauſing a pattern of it to be taken he ſent it to *Urijah*, the High Prieſt at *Jeruſalem*, to have another there made like unto it, and on his return having removed the Altar of the Lord out of its place in the Temple, ordered this new Altar to be ſet up in its ſtead. And thenceforth giving himſelf wholly up to Idolatry, ^k inſtead of the God of *Iſrael* he worſhipped the Gods of the *Syrians*, and the Gods of the other Nations round him, ſaying, that they helped their People, and that therefore he would worſhip them, that they might help him alſo. And accordingly having filled *Jeruſalem* and all *Ju-dea* with their Idols, and their Altars, he would ſuffer no other God but them only to be worſhipped in the Land; whereby having excluded the only true God, the Lord his Creator, whom alone he ought to have adored, he cauſed his Temple to be ſhut up, and utterly ſuppreſſed his worſhip throughout all his Kingdom. And this he did with an air and profeſſion of anger and defiance for that he had not delivered him in his diſtreſs, when the *Syrians* and *Iſraelites* came againſt him, as if it were in his power to revenge himſelf on the Almighty, and execute his wrath upon him that made him; to ſuch an extravagant height of folly and madneſs had his impiety carried him beyond all that had reigned before him in *Jeruſalem*, and in this he continued till at length he periſhed in it, being cut off in the flower of his age, before he had out-lived half his Days.

TIGLATH-PILESER on his return into *Aſſyria* carried with him great numbers of the People, whom he had taken Captive in the Kingdom of *Damaſcus*, and in the Land of *Iſrael*. Thoſe of *Damaſcus* he planted ^l in *Kir*, and thoſe of *Iſrael* ^m in *Halab*, and *Habor*, and *Hara*, and on the River *Gozan* in the Land of the *Medes*. *Kir* was a City in the hither part of *Media*, but *Halab*, *Habor*, *Hara*, and the River *Gozan* were farther remote. And herein was accompliſhed the Prophecy of the Prophet *Amos* ⁿ againſt *Iſrael*, wherein he foretold in the Days of *Uzziab* the Grandfather of *Abaz*, that God would cauſe them to go into Captivity beyond *Damaſcus*, that is, unto places beyond where thoſe of *Damaſcus* ſhould be carried. *St. Stephen* ^o quoting this Prophecy renders it *beyond Babylon*. So

^e Gen. xxv. 13.
^l 2 Chron. xxviii. 22---25.
^o Acts vii. 43.

^h 2 Kings xvi. 10.
ⁱ 2 Kings xvi. 9.

^k 2 Kings xvi. 10---16.
^m 1 Chron. v. 26.

ⁿ 2 Kings xvi.
^o Amos v. 26, 27.

the common Editions of the *Greek Testament* have it, and it is certainly true. For what was beyond *Kir* was also beyond *Babylon*, for *Kir* was beyond *Babylon*. But *Wicelius's* Edition ^p hath *Damascus* in *St. Stephen's* Speech also, and no doubt he had ancient Copies, which he followed herein.

THE planting of the Colonies by *Tiglath-Pileser* in those Cities of the *Medes*, plainly proves *Media* to have been then under the King of *Assyria*. For otherwise what had he to do to plant Colonies in that Country? And therefore *Tiglath-Pileser* and *Arbaces* were not two distinct Kings, whereof one had *Media*, and the other *Assyria*, as ^q Archbishop *Usher* supposeth, but must both be the same Person expressed under these two distinct Names. And ^r *Diodorus Siculus* positively tells us, that *Arbaces* had *Assyria* as well as *Media* for his Share in the Partition of the former Empire, and therefore there is no room for a *Tiglath-Pileser*, or a *Ninus Junior*, distinct from him, to reign in *Assyria* during his time, but it must necessarily be one and the same Person, that was signified by all these different names.

PEKAH by this Conquest, which the *Assyrians* made upon him, being stripped of so large a part of his Kingdom, was hereby brought lower than he had afore brought King *Abaz*. For he had now scarce any thing left but the City of *Samaria*, and the Territories of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, and the half Tribe of *Manasseh* only, which bringing him into contempt with his People, as well as raising their Indignation against him, (as is most an end the Case of unfortunate Princes) *Hoshea* the Son of *Elah* ^r rose up against him, and slew him, after he had reigned in *Samaria* twenty Years. And hereby was fully accomplished that Prophecy ^r of *Isaiah* concerning him, which is above related. After this the Elders of the Land seem to have taken the Government into their Hands. For *Hoshea* had not the Kingdom till nine years after, that is, towards the end of the twelfth year of *Abaz*.

IN the fourteenth year of *Abaz* dyed *Tiglath-Pileser* King of *Assyria*, ^{An. 729.} after he had reigned ^v nineteen years, and *Salmaneser* his Son (who in ^u *To-*
^{bit} is called *Enemessar* and in ^x *Hosea Shalmon*) reigned in his stead. And as soon as he was settled in the Throne, he came into *Syria* and *Palestine*, and there ^v subjected *Samaria* to his Dominion, making *Hoshea* the King thereof to become his Vassal, and pay Tribute unto him. In this Expedition among other prey, which he took and carried away with him, ^z was the *Golden Calf*, which *Jeroboam* had set up in *Bethel*, and had been there ever since his time worshipped by the ten Tribes of *Israel*, that had revolted with him from the House of *David*. The other *Golden Calf*, which was at the same time set up by him in *Dan* ^z had been taken thence about ten years before by *Tiglath-Pileser*, in the Invasion which he then made upon *Galilee*, in which Province that City stood. And therefore the Apostate *Israelites* being now deprived of the Idols which they had so long worshipped, began again to return to the Lord their God, and to go up to *Jerusalem* there to worship before him, and *Hoshea* encouraged them herein. For whereas ^a the Kings of *Israel* had hitherto maintained Guards up-

^{An. 729.}
^{Abaz 14.}

^p See Dr. Mill's *Greek Testament*, Acts vii. 43.
Mundi 3257.

Chron. p. 46.
Rabba, c. xxii.

^r Lib. 2.

^w Chap. i. 2.

^a Seder Olam Rabba, ibid.

^f 2 Kings xv. 30.

^x Chap. x. 14.

^q Annales veteris Testamenti sub anno
^r Isa. vii. 16.

^v 2 Kings xvii.

^v Castor apud Euseb.

^z Seder Olam

on the Frontiers, to hinder all under their Subjection from going up to *Jerusalem* to worship there, *Hoshea* took away those Guards, and gave free Liberty to all to worship the Lord their God according to his Laws in that place which he had chosen; and therefore when *Hezekiah* invited all *Israel*, that is, all those of the ten revolted Tribes, as well as the other two, to come up to his Passover, *Hoshea* hindered them not, ^b but permitted all that would to go up thereto. And when those of his Subjects who were at that Festival, did on their return out of their zeal for the true worship of their God ^c break in pieces the Images, cut down the Groves, demolish the high places, and absolutely destroyed all other Monuments of Idolatry throughout the whole Kingdom of *Samaria*, as will be hereafter related, *Hoshea* forbade them not, but in all likelihood gave his consent to it, and concurred with them herein. For he being King, without his encouraging of it, and giving his authority for it, it could not have been done. And therefore he hath, as to Religion, the best Character given him in Scripture of all, that reigned before him over *Israel* from the division of the Kingdom. For although he were not perfect in the true worship of God, and therefore it is said of him, ^d That *he did evil in the sight of the Lord*, yet it is subjoined in the next words, *but not so, as the Kings of Israel which were before him*. By which it appears, that his ways were less offensive to God than were the ways of any of those that had reigned before him in that Kingdom. However still he was far from being perfectly righteous, which this alone sufficiently proves, that he treacherously slew his Master to reign in his stead.

An. 727.
Ahaz 16.
Hezek. 1.

AHAZ in the sixteenth year of his Reign being smitten of God for his iniquities, ^e died in the thirty sixth year of his age, and was buried in the City of *David*, but not with a Royal burial in the Sepulchres of the Kings. For from this honour he was excluded because of his wicked reign, as were *Jehoram* and *Joash* before him, and *Manasseh* and *Ammon* after him for the same reason, it being the usage of the *Jews* to lay this mark of infamy upon those that reigned wickedly over them.

AFTER *Ahaz* reigned ^f *Hezekiah* his Son, a very worthy and religious Prince. He had in the last year of his Father's reign been admitted a Partner with him in the Kingdom, while he was languishing (as it may be supposed) under the sickness, of which he died. However, as long as his Father lived he could make no alteration in that evil course of affairs, which he had put both Church and State into. But as soon as he was dead, and *Hezekiah* had the whole power in his hands, he immediately set himself with all his might to work a thorough Reformation in both.

An. 726.
Hezek. 2.

THE first thing which he did was to open the House of God, which his Father had impiously shut up, and restore the true worship therein; in order whereto he called the Priests and Levites together out of all parts of the Land to attend their duty in the Temple, ordering them to remove his Father's new Altar, and to restore the Altar of the Lord to its place again, and purge the Temple of all other pollutions, with which it had been prophaned during the reign of his Father. But it not being till the end of the former year that *Ahaz* died, the beginning of the first month of the ensuing year (which is called *Nisan*, and corresponds partly with *March*

^b 2 Chron. xxx. 10, 18.
^c 2 Chron. xxxi. 1.
^d 2 Chron. xxviii. 27.

^e 2 Chron. xxxi. 1.
^f 2 Kings xviii. 2 Chron. xxix.

^g 2 Kings xvi. 20.

and partly with *April* in our Kalendar) was the soonest that they could be employed in this work, so that it not being compleated till the 16th day of that month, the Passover could not be kept that year in its regular time, which ought to have been begun on the 14th day of the said Month of *Nisan*.

HOWEVER, the House of the Lord being now sanctified, and made fit for the service of God, *Hezekiah* went up thither on the 17th day of that Month with the Rulers and great men of his Kingdom, where the People being gathered together he offered Sin-Offerings for the Kingdom, and the Sanctuary, and for *Judah* to make atonement to God for them, and for all *Israel*, and after that he offered Peace-Offerings, and in all other particulars restored the service of God in the same manner as it had been performed in the purest times that had been before him, and there was great joy among all the good people of the Land thereon.

AND seeing the Passover could not be kept on the Regular time this year, because neither the Temple, nor the Priests, nor the people were sanctified in order hereto, and in this case ^s the Law of *Moses* allowed a second Passover to be kept from the 14th day of the second Month, King *Hezekiah* having taken Counsel hereon with the chief Priests, and his Princes, and all the Congregation in *Jerusalem* ^h decreed, that this second Passover should be kept by all the Congregation of *Israel* instead of the first, and accordingly he sent Messengers to carry notice hereof not only through all *Judah*, but also through all the other Tribes of *Israel*, and to invite all that were of *Israel* to come to it. And accordingly on the day appointed there was at *Jerusalem* a very great concourse of people from all parts met together to solemnize the holy Festival, and that as well from those Tribes that had separated from the House of *David*, as from those who had stuck to it. For although many of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, and the rest of those Tribes laughed at *Hezekiah's* Messengers when they invited them to this solemnity, because of the impious contempt, which through long disusage they had contracted of it, yet a great multitude even from those parts came to it, and very religiously joined in the observance of it, whereby it became the greatest Passover that had been solemnized at *Jerusalem* since the Days of King *Solomon*. And because they had long neglected the observing of this solemn Festival, to make some amends for it they now doubled the time of its continuance. For whereas the Law directs it to be observed only seven days, they kept it fourteen with much joy and gladness of Heart, and resolving from thenceforth to serve the God of *Israel* only, as soon as the solemnity was ended they went out into all the Coasts of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and brake the Images in pieces, and cut down the Groves, and threw down the high places, and the Altars, and absolutely destroyed all the monuments of Idolatry which were any where to be found, either in *Jerusalem*, *Judea*, or any of the Coasts belonging thereto. And those of the other Tribes on their return home did the same in all the rest of *Israel*; so that the true worship of God was again universally restored throughout all the Land, and they might have received a blessing proportionable hereto, had they with the same zeal persisted in it.

AND the Brazen-Serpent, which *Moses* had set up in the Wilderness, having been by many in the preceding times of iniquity made the object of

^s Num. ix. 10, 11.

^h 2 Chron. xxx.

idolatrous Worship, ⁱ *Hezekiah* caused this also to be destroyed, whereas otherwise it might have served, as well as the Pot of *Mannah*, and *Aaron's* Rod, to have been a monument of the miraculous Mercy of God shewn to his people on their coming out of *Egypt*, and for this reason it seems to have been so long preserved.

BUT notwithstanding it is thus positively said in the Holy Scripture, that the Brazen-Serpent was destroyed by *Hezekiah* in the manner as I have related, yet the impudence of the *Romanists* is such, ^k that in the Church of St. *Ambrose* at *Milan* they now keep and shew to their Devoto's a Brazen-Serpent, which they pretend to be the very same that *Moses* did set up in the Wilderness, and upon this belief an idolatrous Devotion is there paid to it as gross as was that of the *Jews*, for which *Hezekiah* caused it to be destroyed. But it must not be denied, that among their learned men there are those who acknowledge the Cheat and disclaim it.

ABOUT the beginning of the Reign of *Hezekiah* ^l *Sabacou* the *Ethiopian* having invaded *Egypt*, and taken *Boccharis* the King of that Country prisoner, caused him with great cruelty to be burnt alive, and then seizing his Kingdom reigned there in his stead. This is the same who in Scripture is called ^m *So*. And he having thus settled himself in *Egypt*, and after some time grown very potent there, *Hoshea* King of *Samaria* entred into confederacy with him, hoping by his assistance to shake off the yoke of *Assyria*, and in confidence hereof he withdrew his Subjection from *Salmaneser*, and would pay him no more Tribute, nor bring any more presents unto him, as he had formerly used every year to do. Whereon ⁿ *Salmaneser* in the beginning of the fourth year of *Hezekiah* marched with an army against him, and having subdued all the Country round pent him up in *Samaria*, and there besieged him three years, at the end of which he took the City, and thereon putting *Hoshea* in Chains he shut him up in prison all his days, and carried the people into Captivity, placing them in *Halab*, and in *Habor*, and in the other Cities of the *Medes*, where *Tiglath-Pileser* had afore placed those whom he had carried into Captivity out of the same Land.

IN this Captivity ^o *Tobit* being taken out of his City of *Thisbe* in the Tribe of *Neptthali*, was with *Anna* his Wife, and *Tobias* his Son, carried into *Assyria*, where he became Purveyor to King *Salmaneser*. But the rest of his Brethren were carried into *Media*, as is abovesaid, and planted there, as particularly were *Gabael* in *Rages*, and *Raguel* in *Ecbatana*, which proves *Media* to have been still under the King of *Assyria*, and that there was no King in *Media* in those days distinct from the King of *Assyria*.

THERE is in the xvth and xvith Chapters of *Isaiah* a very terrible Prophecy against *Moab*, bearing date in the first year of *Hezekiah*, wherein it was foretold, that within three years *Arne* and *Kir-Harasheth*, the two principal Cities of that Country, should be destroyed, and all the rest of it brought to contempt, ruin, and desolation, which must have been executed the same year that *Samaria* was first besieged. It seemeth most likely that *Salmaneser* to secure himself from any disturbance on that side first invaded

ⁱ 2 Kings xviii. 4.

^k Vid. Sigonii Historiam de Regno Italiæ, lib. 7. Torniellum in Annalibus sub A. M. 3315. Tom. 2. p. 105. Buxtorfii Historiam serpentis ænei, cap. 6, &c.

^l Herodotus, lib. 2. Africanus apud Syncellum, p. 74. Eusebius in Chronico.

^m 2 Kings xviii.

ⁿ Tobit, chap. i.

^o 2 Kings xvii. 4.

Moab, and having destroyed these two Cities brought all the rest of that Countrey under his Subjection, and placed Garrisons therein sufficient to put a stop to all Incurfions of the *Arabs*; which might that way be made upon him, before he would begin that Siege. For otherwise he could not have been able to carry it on with fuccess.

IN the same year that *Samaria* was taken, ^p *Mardoc-Empadus* began his reign at *Babylon*. He was the Son of *Belesis* or *Baladan*, or *Nabonassar*; (for by all these names was he called) and was the same, ^q who in Scripture is called *Merodach Baladan* the Son of *Baladan*. But after the death of his Father, several other Princes had fucceeded in *Babylon* before the Crown came to him. For ^r *Nabonassar* dying when he had fat in the Throne fourteen years, after him reigned *Nadius* two years, and after him *Chinzernus* and *Porus* jointly five years, and then after them *Jugæus* five years. But of these there being nothing on record besides their Names in the Canon of *Ptolemy*, we have not hitherto taken any notice of them. After *Jugæus* fucceeded *Mardoc-Empadus* in the twenty feventh year after the beginning of his Father's Kingdom in *Babylon*, and reigned twelve years.

WHILE *Salmanefer* was engaged in the Siege of *Samaria*, *Hezekiah* took the opportunity of recovering what had been loft from his Kingdom in the Reign of his Father. And therefore ^s making war upon the *Philiftins* he not only regained all the Cities of *Judab*, which they had feized during the time that *Pekab* and *Rezin* diftressed the Land, but alfo difpoffeffed them of almoft all their own Countrey, excepting *Gaza* and *Gath*.

As foon as the Siege of *Samaria* was over, *Salmanefer* fent to *Hezekiah* An. 720. Hezek. 8. to demand the Tribute, which *Abaz* had agreed to pay for the Kingdom of *Judæa* in the time of *Tiglath-Pilefer* his Father, but ^t *Hezekiah* trufting in the Lord his God would not hearken unto him, neither did he pay him any Tribute, or fend any presents unto him, which would immediately have brought *Salmanefer* upon him with all his Power, but that he was diverted by another war.

FOR ^u *Elulæus* King of *Tyre* feeing the *Philiftins* brought low by the war, which *Hezekiah* had lately made upon them, laid hold of the opportunity of reducing *Gath* again under his obedience, which had fome time before revolted from him. Whereon the *Gittites* applying themselves to *Salmanefer* engaged him in their caufe, fo that he marched with his whole army againft the *Tyrians*. Whereon *Sidon*, *Ace*, (afterwards called *Ptolemais* and now *Acon*) and the other maritim Towns of *Phænicia*, which had till then been fubject to the *Tyrians*, revolted from them, and fubmitted to *Salmanefer*. But the *Tyrians* having in a fea fight with twelve fhips only beaten the *Affyrian* and *Phænician* fleets both joyned together, which confifted of fixty fhips, this gave them fuch a reputation in naval Affairs, and made their name fo terrible in this fort of war, that *Salmanefer* would not venture to cope with them any more at fea, but turning the war into a Siege left an army to block up the City, and returned into *Affyria*. The Forces which he left there much diftressed the place by ftopping their Acquæducts, and cutting off all the conveyance of water to them. To re-

^p Canon Ptolemæi.

^q Ifa. xxxix. 1.

^r Canon Ptolemæi.

^s 2 Kings xviii. 8.

Josephus Antiq. lib. 9. c. 13.

^t 2 Kings xviii. 7.

^u Annales Menandri apud Josephum

Antiq. lib. 9. c. 14. & contra Apionem, lib. 1.

lieve themselves in this Exigency they digged wells, from whence they drew up water, and by the help of them held out five years, at the end of which *Salmaneser* dying, this delivered them for that time. But they being over puffed up with this success, and growing very insolent hereon, this provoked that Prophecy against them in the xxiii^d Chapter of *Isaiah*, which foretold the miserable overthrow that should afterwards happen unto them, and was accordingly effected by *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, as will be hereafter shewn.

An. 715.
Hez. 13.

IN the ninth year of *Hezekiah* dyed *Sabakon* or *So* King of *Egypt*, after he had reigned in that Countrey ^w eight years, and ^x *Sevechus* his son, whom ^y *Herodotus* called *Sethon*, reigned in his stead.

An. 714.
Hez. 14.

SALMANESER King of *Assyria* being dead after he had reigned fourteen years, *Sennacherib* ^z his son succeeded him in the Kingdom, and reigned about eight years. He is the same whom the Prophet *Isaiah* (c. xx. 1.) calleth *Sargon*. As soon as he was settled in the Throne, he renewed the demand which his Father had made upon *Hezekiah* for the Tribute, which *Abaz* had agreed to pay in the reign of *Tiglath-Pileser* his Grandfather, and ^a on his refusal to comply with him herein denounced war against him, and marched with a great army into *Judea* to fall upon him. This was in the fourteenth year of the Reign of King *Hezekiah*.

IN this same year ^b *Hezekiah* falling sick of the pestilence, had a Message from God by the Prophet *Isaiah* to set his House in order, and prepare for death. But on his hearty prayer to God he obtained another Message from him by the same Prophet, which promised him Life for fifteen years longer, and also deliverance from the *Assyrians*, who were then coming against him; and to give him thorough Assurance hereof by a miraculous Sign, God did at his request make the Sun go backward ten degrees upon the Sun-Dial of *Abaz*. And accordingly a lump of figs having been by the Prophet's direction made into a Plaister, and laid to the Pestilential boil, he recovered within three days, and went up to the House of God to return thanks unto him for so wonderful a deliverance.

An. 713.
Hez. 15.

MERODACH BALADAN King of *Babylon* (the same who in *Ptolemy's* Canon is called *Mardoc-Empadus*) hearing of this miraculous recovery ^c sent Ambassadors unto him to congratulate him hereon, which *Hezekiah* was much pleased with. Their coming on this occasion seemeth principally to have been for two reasons. The first, to enquire about the miracle of the Sun's retrogradation (for the *Chaldeans* being above all other Nations then given to the study of Astronomy, were very curious in their enquiries after such matters.) And the other, to enter into an Alliance with him against *Sennacherib*, whose growing power the *Babylonians* had reason to fear, as well as the *Jews*. And to make the *Babylonians* put the greater value upon his alliance on this account, seems to be the reason that *Hezekiah* shewed those Ambassadors from them all the riches of his House, his Treasures, his Armory, and all his stores and strength for War. But by this he having expressed the vanity and pride of his mind, God sent him by the Prophet *Isaiah* a rebuking Message for it, and also a Prophecy of what the *Babylonians* should afterwards do unto his family, in order to the humbling of that pride with which his heart was then elated.

^w Africanus apud Syncellum p. 74.

^x Africanus ibid.

^y Lib. 2.

^z Tobit i. 15.

^a 2 Kings xviii. 2 Chron. xxxii. *Isaiah* xxxvi.

^b 2 Kings xx. 2 Chron. xxxii. 24.

Isaiah xxxviii. ^c 2 Kings xx. *Isaiah* xxxix.

TOWARDS the end of the fourteenth year of *Hezekiah's* reign ^d *Sennacherib* came up with a great army against the fenced Cities of *Judah*, and took several of them, and laid siege to *Lachish*, threatening *Jerusalem* it self next. Whereon *Hezekiah* taking advice of his Princes and chief Counsellors made all manner of Preparations for its defence, repairing the walls, and making new ones where they were wanting, and fortifying them with Towers, and all other works and buildings necessary for their defence. And he provided also Darts and Shields in great abundance, and all other Arms and Artillery, which might be any way useful for the defending of the place, and the annoying of the Enemy on their coming against it. And he caused all the people to be enroll'd and marshall'd for the war, that were fit and able for it, placing over them Captains of Experience to instruct them in all military Exercises, and to conduct and lead them forth against the Enemy, whenever there should be an occasion for it. And he took care also to stop up all the Wells that were without the Walls of *Jerusalem* for a great compass round the City, and diverted all Brooks and Water-courses from coming that way, thereby to distress the Enemy for want of Water, should they come and set down before that place. And farther, to strengthen himself the more against so potent and formidable an Enemy, he entered into alliance with the King of *Egypt* for their mutual defence. But ^e the Prophet *Isaiah* condemned this alliance, as carrying with it a distrust in God, telling the *Jews* that they should confide in him alone for their deliverance, who would himself come down to fight for Mount *Zion*, and deliver and preserve *Jerusalem* from the power of the enemy that was then risen up against it: And that whatsoever trust they should place in *Egypt* should all come to nothing, and be of no benefit to them, but rather turn to their shame, their reproach, and their confusion, and so in the event it accordingly happened.

HOWEVER *Sennacherib* being informed of all these preparations which *Hezekiah* had made for his defence, and perceiving thereby how difficult a work it would be to take so strong a City, when so well appointed and provided for its defence, he became inclined to hearken to Terms of accommodation, and therefore on *Hezekiah's* sending to treat with him, it was agreed that *Hezekiah* paying unto him ^f three hundred Talents of Silver, and thirty Talents of Gold for the present, and duly rendring his Tribute for the future, there should be Peace. But when *Sennacherib* had received the money he had little regard to this agreement, but soon after broke it, and again renewed the war, as will be hereafter shewn. However for the present he gave him some respite and marched against *Egypt*, and the better to open his way into that Countrey ^g he sent *Tartan* one of his Generals before him to take *Ashdod*, or *Azotus*, from the taking of which place the Prophet *Isaiah* dates the beginning of the war which *Sennacherib* had with the *Egyptians*, wherein, according as that Prophet ^h had foretold, he much afflicted that people three years together, destroying

^d 2 Kings xx. 2 Chron. xxxii. *Isaiah* xxxvi. ^e *Isaiah* xxx, xxxi. ^f An Hebrew Talent according to the Scripture (Exod. xxxviii. 25, 26, 27.) containing three thousand Shekels, and every Shekel being three Shillings of our money, these three hundred Talents of Silver must contain of our money one hundred thirty five thousand pound, and the thirty Talents of Gold two hundred and sixteen thousand pound. So the whole Sum here paid by *Hezekiah* amounted to three hundred fifty one thousand pound of our money. ^g *Isaiah* xx. 1. ^h *Isaiah* xx. 3, 4. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10, c. 1, 2.

their Cities, and carrying multitudes of them into Captivity. At that time *Sevechus* the son of *Sabacon* or *So* the *Ethiopian* was King of *Egypt*, whom *Herodotus*¹ calls *Sethon*, and represents him as a Prince of so foolish a conduct, as was most likely to bring such a Calamity upon his Kingdom, whenever it should be assaulted by an enemy. For affecting the office of a Priest he neglected that of a King, and causing himself to be consecrated chief Pontif of *Vulcan* gave himself wholly up to Superstition, and having no regard to the warlike defence of his Kingdom, he so far neglected and discouraged the Military order, which were there maintained for it, that he took from them their Tenures, which in the time of the former Kings his Predecessors had been allowed them for their support, which gave them such a just cause of offence and indignation against him, that when he had need for their valour on this occasion, they would not fight for him, whereon he was forced to raise an Army of such raw and inexperienced men as he could get out of the Shopkeepers, Tradesmen, Labourers, and such like People, which being wholly unable to cope with such an Army of Veterans as *Sennacherib* brought against them, he did with great ease overrun the Countrey, and work what devastation in it he pleased. And at this time seems to have been brought upon *No-Amon*, a famous City in *Egypt*, that destruction which the Prophet *Nahum* speaks of (*Ch. iii. 10.*) where he tells us, that her Inhabitants were carryed into Captivity, her young children dash'd in Pieces in the top of her Streets, and her great men divided by lot among the Conquerors, and put into Chains to be led away as Slaves and Captives. All which he tells us happened while *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* were her strength, which plainly points out unto us this time, when an *Ethiopian* Prince reigned over *Egypt*. For *Sabacon* or *So* the Father of *Sevechus* was an *Ethiopian*, who made himself King of *Egypt* by Conquest, and therefore during his and his Son's reign *Egypt* and *Ethiopia* were as one Countrey, and they mutually helped each other, an instance whereof will not be wanting in this War.

NO-AMON in *Egypt* was^k the same with *Thebes*, famous for its hundred Gates, and vast number of Inhabitants. The *Greeks* called it *Diospolis*, or the City of *Jupiter*, because of a famous Temple there built to *Jupiter*. And for the same reason was it called *No-Amon* by the *Egyptians*. For *Amon* was the name of *Jupiter* among that People.

It is to be observed that the destruction of *No-Amon* mentioned in *Nahum* must have been some time before that of *Niniveh*. For the former is historically related by him as past, and the other only prophetically foretold as to come. And therefore *Niniveh* having been destroyed in the twenty ninth year of *Josiah*, as will hereafter be shewn, this destruction of *No-Amon* must have been long before, and in no time more likely, than when *Sennacherib* made this war upon *Egypt*, and harrassed it from one end to the other for three years together. They who refer this destruction of *No-Amon* spoken of by *Nahum* to the Invasion of *Nebuchadnezzar*, place it after the destruction of *Niniveh*, and thereby make one part of the Text inconsistent with the other.

BUT *Sennacherib* did not end this war with the same Success as he begun it. For^l having laid siege to *Pelusium*, and spent much time in it, he was at length forced to break up from thence, and retreat out of *Egypt*,

¹ Herod. lib. 2.^k Vide Bochart. Phaleg. Part I. lib. 1. c. 1.^l Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 1.

because

because of *Tirhakab* King of *Ethiopia*. For he being come into *Egypt* An. 710. Hez. 18. with a great Army to help *Sevechus* his Kinsman, was on a full march towards *Pelufium* to relieve the place, which *Sennacherib* hearing of durst not abide his coming, but raised the siege and returning into *Judea* encamped again ^m at *Lachish*, where he renewed the war with *Hezekiah* notwithstanding the agreement of Peace which he had afore made with him; and to let him know as much he sent *Tartan*, *Rabsaris*, and *Rabshakeh*, three of his principal Captains, with that proud and blasphemous message, which we have at full recited ⁿ in two places of the Holy Scripture. It was delivered to the King's Officers from under the Walls of *Jerusalem* in the hearing of all the People, and in the *Hebrew* tongue. For they hoped thereby to draw the People to a Revolt, but they failing of success herein returned to *Sennacherib* without their design. The person appointed to deliver this Message was *Rabshakeh*, who by his ready speaking of the *Hebrew* tongue seems to have been an Apostate Jew, or else one of the Captivity of *Israel*. By office he was the King's chief cup-bearer, as his name imports. On their return they found *Sennacherib* decamped from *Lachish*, and laying siege to *Libnah*, where hearing that *Tirhakab* on his finding him gone from *Pelufium* was marching after him, as in pursuit of one flying from him, he led forth his army against him, and gave him a great overthrow. For it was ^o from God by the Prophet *Isaiah* afore laid as a burthen upon *Egypt*, and as a burthen upon *Ethiopia* thus to be punished by him, and he was no more than as God's Executioner herein. But before ^p he went forth to this last war he sent again to *Hezekiah*, adding a most blasphemous Letter to his former Message, defying therein both him, and also the Lord his God, in a most impious manner, which justly provoked the wrath of God against him to that degree, as brought a most dismal destruction upon him to the cutting off of almost all his Army. For when swelling with his fresh victory over the *Ethiopians*, he was on his full march towards *Jerusalem*, with thorough purpose utterly to destroy that place and all in it, an Angel of the Lord went forth, and in one night smote in the Camp of the *Assyrians* an hundred fourscore and five thousand men, so that when he arose in the morning he found almost all his Army dead Corps, with which being terrified he fled out of *Judea* in great confusion, and made all the haste he could back again to *Niniveh*, where he dwelt all the remainder of his Life in dishonour, shame, and regret. This hapned in the eighteenth year of King *Hezekiah*, and four years after *Sennacherib* first came into those parts. After this *Hezekiah* reigned the rest of his time in great peace and prosperity, being feared and honoured by all the Nations round him, by reason of the favour which they saw he had with the Lord his God, in the great and wonderful deliverance which he had vouchsafed unto him. So that none of them after this would any more lift up their hand against him.

THE *Babylonish Talmud* hath it, that this destruction upon the Army of the *Assyrians* was executed by lightning, and some of the *Targums* are quoted for saying the same thing. But it seemeth most likely, that it was

^m 2 Kings xviii. 17, 18, &c. 2 Chron. xxxii, 9, 10, &c. *Isaiah* xxxvi. ⁿ 2 Kings xviii. 19, 20, &c. *Isaiah* xxxvi. 4, 5, &c. ^o *Isaiah* xviii. and xx. ^p *Isaiah* xxxvii. 2 Kings xix. 2 Chron. xxxii.

effected by bringing on them the hot wind, which ^a is frequent in those parts, and often, when it lights among a multitude, destroys great numbers of them in a moment, as it frequently happens in those vast Caravans of the *Mahometans*, who go their annual Pilgrimages to *Mecca*. And the words of ^r *Isaiah* which threatned *Sennacherib* with a blast, that God would send upon him, seem to denote this thing.

HERODOTUS ^r gives us from the relation of the *Egyptian* Priests some kind of a disguised account of this deliverance from the *Assyrians*, in a fabulous application of it to the City of *Pelusium*, instead of *Jerusalem*, and to *Sethon* the *Egyptian* King instead of *Hezekiah*: By whose piety he saith it was obtained, that while the King of *Assyria* laid siege to *Pelusium*, a great number of Rats were miraculously sent into his Army, which in one night did eat all their Shield-straps, Quivers, and Bow-strings, so that on their rising the next morning finding themselves without arms for the carrying on of the war, they were forced to raise the Siege and be gone. And it is particularly to be remarked that *Herodotus* calls the King of *Assyria*, to whom he saith this hapned, by the same name of *Sennacherib*, as the Scriptures do, and the time in both doth also well agree, which plainly shews, that it is the same fact that is referred to by *Herodotus*, although much disguised in the relation, which may easily be accounted for, when we consider that it comes to us through the hands of such as had the greatest aversion both to the Nation and the Religion of the *Jews*, and therefore would relate nothing in such manner as might give any reputation to either.

An. 709.
Hez. 19.

AFTER this terrible blow, and the loss of so great an Army, *Sennacherib* was so weakned, that he had no way of again recovering himself, which making him to fall into contempt among his Subjects, several of his Provinces revolted from him, and particularly *Media*, which was the largest and the most considerable of all his Empire. For the *Medes*, when they heard in how low a condition he was returned to *Niniveh*, immediately shook off his Yoke, and set ^r up for themselves in a sort of Democratical Government; but soon growing sick of the Confusions, which this caused among them, they were forced to have recourse to Monarchy for the remedy, and the next year after chose *Deioces* for their King, whom they had formerly made great use of, as a common Arbitrator of their differences, and for the great proof which he had given of his justice and abilities on such occasions, they advanced him to this dignity. He began his reign in the nineteenth year of King *Hezekiah*, and having repaired, beautified, and enlarged the City of *Ecbatana*, he made it the Royal Seat of his Kingdom, and reigned there with great wisdom, honour, and prosperity, fifty three years, during which time it growing to be a great City, he is for this reason reckoned by the *Greeks* to have been the Founder of it.

THE same year ^r *Arkianus* began his reign at *Babylon* after the decease of *Mardoc-Empadus*, or *Merodach-Baladan*, who ended his life with the former year, after having reigned over the *Babylonians* twelve years.

SENNACHERIB after his return to *Niniveh* being enflamed with rage for his great loss and disappointment, as if he would revenge himself

^a Thevenot's *Travels*, Part 2. Book 1. c. 20. and P. 2. B. 2. c. 16. and P. 1. B. 2. c. 20. This wind is by the Prophet *Jeremiah* LI. 1. called a destroying wind, where the Arabic version renders it, An hot pestilential wind. ^r *Isaiah* xxxvii. 7. ² *Kings* xix. 7. ^f Lib. 2. ^r *Herodotus*, Lib. 1.

^v Can. Ptol.

upon his Subjects for it, grew thenceforth ^w very cruel and tyrannical in the management of his Government, especially towards the *Jews* and *Israelites*, abundance of which he caused every day to be slain and cast into the streets, by which savage humour having made himself so intolerable, that he could be no longer born by his own family, his two eldest Sons ^{*} *Adramelech* and *Sharezar* conspired against him, and falling upon him while he was worshipping in the House of *Nisroch* his God, they there slew him with the Sword, and thereon having made their escape into the Land of *Armenia*, *Esharhaddon* his third Son reigned in his stead. Some Commentators ^y will have it, that he had vowed to sacrifice these his two Sons to appease his Gods, and make them the more favourable to him for the restoration of his affairs, and that it was to prevent this that they thus sacrificed him. But for this there is no other foundation, but that scarce any thing else can be thought of, which can afford any excuse for so wicked and barbarous a parricide.

ESARHADDON begun his reign over *Assyria* about the twenty An. 706. second year of King *Hezekiah*, which was the last of the reign of *Sevechus* Hez. 22. or *Sethon*, in the Kingdom of *Egypt*, who dying after he had reigned fourteen years ^z was succeeded by *Tirbakah*, the same who came with the *Ethiopian* Army to his help. He was the third and last of that race, that reigned in *Egypt*.

IN the twenty third year of *Hezekiah*, *Arkianus* dying without issue, An. 705. there followed an ^{*} interregnum of two years in the Kingdom of *Babylon*, Hez. 23. before they could agree upon a Successor. At length ^{*} *Belibus* being advanced to the Throne sat in it three years. After him succeeded ^{*} *Apronadius*, and reigned six years.

THE same year that *Apronadius* began his Reign at *Babylon*, *Hezekiah* An. 699. ended his at *Jerusalem*. For ^b he died there after he had reigned twenty Hez. 29. and nine years, and all *Judah* and *Jerusalem* did him honour at his Death. For they buried him with great Solemnity in the chiefest and highest place of the Sepulchres of the Sons of *David*, expressing thereby that they looked on him as the worthiest, and best of all, that had reigned over them of that family since him, that was the first Founder of it.

THE Burial-place called the Sepulchres of the Kings of the House of *David* (which hath been afore spoken of) was a very sumptuous and stately thing ^c. It lies now without the Walls of *Jerusalem*, but as it is supposed, was formerly ^d within them before that City was destroyed by the *Romans*. It consists of a large Court of about 120 foot square, with a Gallery or Cloyster on the left hand, which Court and Gallery, with the Pillars that supported it, were cut out of the solid marble rock. At the end of the Gallery there is a narrow passage or hole, through which there is an en-

^w Tobit i. 18. ^{*} 2 Kings xix. 37. 2 Chron. xxxii. 21. Isaiah xxxvii. 38.

^y Bishop Patrick on 2 Kings xix. 37. Sallianus, sub Anno ante Christum, 729. ^z Africanus apud Syncellum, p. 74. ^a Ptol. Can. ^b 2 Kings xx. 21. 2 Chron. xxxii. 33.

^c Thevenot's Travels, Part 1. Book 2. c. 40. Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 76.

^d Maimonides in his Tract. Beth Habbechirah, c. 7. saith, In Jerusalem they do not allow a Sepulchre, except the Sepulchres of the House of David, and the Sepulchre of *Huldah* the Prophetess, which were there from the days of the former Prophets. This proves these Sepulchres to have been within the walls of Jerusalem, and that the words of Scripture which place them in the City of David are strictly to be understood.

trance into a large Room or Hall of about 24 foot square, within which are several lesser Rooms one within another, with stone-doors opening into them; all which Rooms with the great Room were all likewise cut out of the solid marble rock. In the sides of those lesser Rooms are several Niches, in which the Corps of the deceased Kings were deposited in stone coffins. In the innermost or chiefest of these Rooms was the body of *Hezekiah* laid in a Nich, perchance cut of purpose at that time for it in the upper end of that Room to do him the greater honour. And all this remains entire even to this day. It seems to have been the work of King *Solomon*, for it could not have been made without vast expence, and it is the only true remainder of old *Jerusalem*, which is now to be seen in that place.

HEZEKIAH during his reign much improved the City of *Jerusalem* not only by new fortifying of it, erecting Magazines therein, and filling them with all manner of Armory, which were in use in those days; but also by building ^e a new Aquæduct, which was of great convenience to the Inhabitants for the supplying of them with water. And for ^s the better promoting of Religion he maintained skilful Scribes to collate together and write out Copies of the Holy Scripture, and it is particularly mentioned that the Proverbs of *Solomon* were thus collected together, and wrote out by those men.

AND in his time the ^h *Simeonites* being streightned in their Habitations much enlarged their Borders towards the South. For falling on the *Amalekites*, who dwelt in part of *Mount Seir* and in the rich valley adjoyning, they smote them, and utterly destroyed them, and dwelt in their rooms.

An. 698.
Manaf. 1.

BUT it was the misfortune of this good King *Hezekiah* to be succeeded by a son, who was the wickedest and worst of the whole Race. For after him reigned ⁱ *Manasseh*, who being a minor only of twelve years old at his coming to the Crown, had the misfortune to fall into the hands of such of the Nobility for his Guardians, and chief Ministers, who being ill affected to his Father's reformation took care to breed him up in the greatest aversion to it, that they were able, corrupting his youth with the worst of principles, both as to Religion and Government; so that when he grew up, he proved the most impious towards God, and most tyrannical and wicked towards his Subjects, of any that had ever reigned either in *Jerusalem* or *Samaria* over the Tribes of *Israel*. For he not only restored all the Idolatry of *Abaz*, but went much beyond him in every abomination, whereby the true worship of God might be suppress'd, and his most holy Name dishonoured in the Land. For whereas *Abaz* did only shut up the House of God, he converted it into an House of all manner of idolatrous Prophanations, setting up an Image in the Sanctuary, and erecting Altars for *Baalim*, and all the Host of Heaven, in both its Courts. And he also practised Witchcrafts and Enchantments, and dealt with familiar Spirits, and made his children pass thorough the Fire to *Molech*, and filled *Judah* and *Jerusalem* with his High places, Idols, Groves, and Altars erected to false Gods, and brought in all manner of other idolatrous Prophanations, whereby the true Religion might be most corrupted, and all manner of Impiety be most promoted in the Kingdom. And to all these ways of abomination he made *Judah* and *Jerusalem* to conform, raising a terrible Perse-

^e 2 Chron. xxxii. 5. Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 17.
clesiasticus xlviii. 17.
2 Chron. xxxiii.

^s Prov. xxv. 1.

^f 2 Kings xx. 20. 2 Chron. xxxii. 30. Ec-
^h 1 Chron. iv. 39---43. ⁱ 2 Kings xxi.

cution against all that would not comply with him herein, whereby he filled the whole Land with innocent blood, of which he did shed very much in the carrying on of these and his other wicked purposes. And when God sent his Prophets to him to tell him of these his iniquities, and to exhort him to depart from them, he treated them with contempt and outrage, and * several of them he put to death. And particularly it is said; that *Isaiah* the Prophet on this account suffered Martyrdom under him, by being cruelly sawn asunder. This was † an old Tradition among the *Jews*; and the holy Apostle *St. Paul* in his Epistle to the *Hebrews* (*Ch. xi. ver. 37.*) having among the torments undergone by the Prophets and Martyrs of foregoing times, reckoned that of being sawn asunder, he † is generally thought in that place to have had respect hereto. By which horrid iniquities and abominations God was so justly incensed against the Land, that he declared hereon, * that he would stretch out over *Jerusalem* the line of *Samarita*, and the plummet of the House of *Ahab*, and wipe *Jerusalem* clean of all its Inhabitants as a man wipeth a Dish and turneth it, when empty, upside down. Which accordingly was executed upon it in the destruction of that City, and the desolation, which was brought upon all *Judah* at the same time. And among all the iniquities that drew down these heavy Judgments upon that City and Land, the sins of *Manasseh* are always reckoned as † the most provoking cause; by which an estimate may be best made of the greatness of them.

In the fifth year of *Manasseh* died † *Apronadius* King of *Babylon*, and was succeeded by † *Regibilus*, who reigned only one year. After him † *Mesessimordacus* had the Kingdom and held it four years. An. 674.
Manaf. 5.

In the eleventh year of *Manasseh* † dyed *Tirhakah* King of *Egypt*, after he had reigned there eighteen years, who was the last of the *Ethiopian* Kings that reigned in that Countrey. The *Egyptians* after his death not being able to agree about the Succession continued for † two years together in a state of Anarchy, and great confusion, till † at length twelve of the principal Nobility conspiring together seized the kingdom, and dividing it among themselves into twelve parts, governed it by joint confederacy fifteen years. An. 688.
Man. 11.

THE same year that this hapned in *Egypt* by the death of *Tirhakah*, the like hapned in *Babylon* by the death of *Mesessimordacus*. For he leaving no son behind him to inherit the kingdom, † an interregnum of Anarchy and confusion followed there for eight years together, of which *Esarhaddon* King of *Assyria* taking the advantage seized *Babylon*, and adding it to his former Empire thenceforth † reigned over both for thirteen years. He is in the Canon of *Ptolemy* called *Affar-Addinus*. And in the Scriptures he is spoken of as King † of *Babylon* and *Assyria* jointly together. In *Ezra* he An. 680.
Man. 19.

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 4. † Talmud Hierosol. in Sanhedrin, fol. 28. col. 3.
Talmud Babylon in Jevammoth, fol. 49. col. 2. & in Sanhedrin, fol. 103. col. 2. Shalshelch
Hakkabalab, fol. 19. col. 1. Yalkut lib. Regum, fol. 38. col. 4. = Vid. Justin. Martyr. in
Dialogo cum Tryphone. Hieronymum in Esaiam, c. 20. & 57. Epiphanius & alios.
* 2 Kings xxi. 13. * 2 Kings xxiii. 26. & xxiv. 3. Jeremiah xv. 4. † Can. Ptol.
† Africanus apud Syncellum, p. 74. † Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. † Herodotus, lib. 2.
Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. † Can. Ptolemæi. † Canon Ptol. = He is said as King
of *Assyria* to have brought a Colony out of *Babylon* into *Samarita*, 2 Kings xvii. 24. *Ezra*. iv. 9, 10. which
he could not have done, if he had not been King of *Babylon*, as well as of *Assyria* at that time. And in
2 Chron. xxiii. 11. he is said as King of *Assyria* to have taken *Manasseh* prisoner, and to have carried
him to *Babylon*, which argues him at that time to have been King of *Babylon* also.

is called * *Afnapper*, and hath there the honourable epithets of the *great* and *noble* added to his name by the Author of that Book, which argues him to have been a Prince of great excellency and worth in his time, and far exceeding all others that had reigned before him in either of the kingdoms.

An. 677.
Man. 22.

IN the twenty second year of *Manasseh*, *Efarbaddon*, after he had now entered on the fourth year of his reign in *Babylon*, and fully settled his authority there, began to set his thoughts on the recovery of what had been lost to the Empire of the *Assyrians* in *Syria* and *Palestine* on the destruction of his Father's army in *Judea*, and on that doleful retreat, which thereon he was forced to make from thence, and being encouraged to this undertaking by the great augmentation of strength, which he had acquired by adding *Babylon* and *Chaldea* to his former kingdom of *Assyria*, he prepared a great army, and marched into those parts, and again added them to the *Assyrian* Empire. And then was accomplished the Prophecy, which was spoken by *Isaiah* in the first year of *Abaz* against *Samaria*,^y that within three-score and five years *Ephraim* should be absolutely broken, so as from thenceforth to be no more a people. For this year being exactly sixty five years from the first of *Abaz*, *Efarbaddon*, after he had settled all affairs in *Syria*, marched into the Land of *Israel*, and there taking captive all those, who were the remains of the former Captivity, (excepting only some few, who escaped his hands, and continued still in the Land) carried them away into *Babylon* and *Assyria*. And then to prevent the Land from becoming desolate, he brought others from^z *Babylon*, and from *Cutha*, and from *Avah*, and *Hamath*, and *Sephervaim*, to dwell in the Cities of *Samaria* in their stead. And so the ten Tribes of *Israel*, which had separated from the House of *David*, were brought to a full and utter destruction, and never after recovered themselves again. For those, who were thus carried away as well in this, as the former Captivities (excepting only some few, who joyning themselves to the *Jews* in the Land of their Captivity returned with them) soon going into the usages, and idolatry of the Nations among whom they were planted, (to which they were too much addicted while in their own Land) after a while became wholly absorb'd, and swallowed up in them, and thenceforth utterly losing their name, their language, and their memorial, were never after any more spoke of. And whereas there is a sect of *Samaritans* still remaining in *Samaria*, *Sichem*, and other Towns thereabout, even to this day, who still have the Law of *Moses* in a character peculiar to themselves, and in a dialect very little, if any thing at all, different from that of the *Jews*; yet these are not of the descendents of the *Israelites*, but of those Nations which *Efarbaddon* brought to dwell in that Countrey in their stead, after the others had been carried thence into captivity. And for this reason the *Jews* call them by no other name, than that of *Cuthites*, (the name of one of those Nations, whom *Efarbaddon* had planted there) and have that utter hatred and aversion to them, that reckoning them among the worst of Hereticks they express on all occasions a greater detestation of them, than they do even of the Christians themselves.

ESARHADDON, after he had thus possessed himself of the Land of *Israel*, sent some of his Princes with part of his Army into *Judea*, to re-

* Ezra iv. 10.

^y Isaiah vii. 8.

^z 2 Kings xvii. 24. Ezra iv. 2, 10.

duce that Countrey also under his subjection, who ^a having vanquished *Manasseh* in battel, and taken him hid in a thicket of Thorns, brought him prisoner to *Efarhaddon*, who bound him in fetters and carried him to *Babylon*; where his chains and his prison having brought him to himself, and a due sense of his great sin, wherewith he had sinned against the Lord his God, he returned unto him with repentance and prayer, and in his affliction greatly humbled himself before him; whereon God being intreated by him, he mollified the heart of the King of *Babylon* towards him, so that on a Treaty he was again restored to his liberty, and returned to *Jerusalem*; and then knowing the Lord to be God he abolished all those idolatrous prophanations both out of the Temple and out of all other parts of the Land, which he had in his wickedness introduced into them, and again restored in all things the Reformation of King *Hezekiah* his Father, and walked according thereto all the remainder of his life, worshipping the Lord his God only, and none other, and all *Judah* conformed to him herein. So that he continued in prosperity after this to the end of his Reign, which was the longest of any of the Kings that had sat on the Throne of *David* either before or after him. For he reigned full fifty five years, and these being all reckoned to his Reign without any chasm, it is argued from hence, that his Captivity at *Babylon* could not have been long, but that he was within a very short time after again released from it.

AND to this time may be referred the completion of the Prophecy of *Isaiah* concerning ^b the removal of *Shebna*, the chief minister of state, and the advancement of *Eliakim* the son of *Hilkiab* in his place. Both of them had been ministers of state under King *Hezekiah*, *Shebna* having been his scribe or secretary, and *Eliakim* the master of his household. And their History, as far as may be collected from the words of the Prophet appears to be thus. *Shebna* being a very wicked man was a fit person to serve the lusts and evil inclinations of *Manasseh* in the first part of his reign, and therefore was made his first minister of state, and *Eliakim*, who was of a quite contrary character was quite laid aside. But on the Revolution that hapned on the coming of the army of the *Affyrians*, *Shebna* ^c was taken prisoner with his master, and carried to *Babylon*, and there detained in captivity ^d to his death. And therefore *Manasseh* on his repentance, and return to *Jerusalem*, having resolved on other measures, called for *Eliakim*, and put the management of all his affairs into his hands, who being a person of great wisdom, justice, and piety, soon re-established them upon the same foot as they had been in the days of *Hezekiah*, and so preserved them in peace and prosperity all his time, to the great honour of the King, and the good of all his people, and therefore he hath the character given him of being ^e a Father to the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, and to all the House of *Judah*, and that having ^f the key and government of the House of *David* upon his shoulders he was the great support of it all his days. This *Eliakim* is supposed to have been of the pontifical family, and to have himself in the time of *Manasseh* born the office of High-Priest, and to have been the same who is mentioned by the name of *Joakim*, or *Eliakim* in the History of *Judith*, as High-Priest at that time. For *Joakim* and *Eli-*

^a 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. Josephus Antiq. lib. 10. c. 4. ^b Isaiah xxii. 15---25. ^c Isaiah xxii. 17.
^d Isaiah xxii. 18. ^e Isaiah xxii. 21. ^f Isaiah xxii. 22.

kim are both the same name, being both of the same signification in the *Hebrew* tongue, and therefore the said High-Priest in *Judith* is in the *Syriac* version, and also in *Jerom's Latin* version of that Book, called promiscuously by both these names. But of this more will be said hereafter in its proper place.

An. 676.
Manass.
23.

THE Nations which *Esharhaddon* had brought to dwell in the Cities of *Samarid*, instead of the *Israelites* who had been carried thence, being on their settling in that Countrey^s much infested with Lions, and the King of *Babylon* being told that it was because they worshipped not the God of the Countrey, he ordered that one of the Priests, which had been carried thence, should be sent back to teach these new Inhabitants how to worship the God of *Israel*. But they only took him hereon into the number of their former Deities, and worshipped him jointly with the Gods of the Nations from whence they came. And in this corruption of joining the worship of their false Gods with that of the true, they continued till the building of the *Samaritan* Temple on Mount *Gerizim* by *Sanballat*. But on that occasion abundance of *Jews* falling off to them, they reduced them from this Idolatry to the worship of the true God only, as shall be hereafter related, and they have continued in the same worship ever since, even to this day.

An. 671.
Manass.
28.

IN the eight and twentieth year of the reign of *Manasseh*, the twelve confederated Sovereigns of *Egypt*, after they had jointly reigned there fifteen years, falling^b out among themselves, expelled *Psammitichus*, one of their number, out of his share which he had hitherto had with them in the Government of the kingdom, and drove him into banishment; whereon flying into the fens near the Sea he lay hid there, till having gotten together out of the *Arabian* Free-booters, and the Pirates of *Caria* and *Ionia*, such a number of soldiers, as with the *Egyptians* of his party made a considerable army, he marched with it against the other eleven, and having overthrown them in battel slew several of them, and drove the rest out of the Land, and thereon seizing the whole kingdom to himself reigned over it in great prosperity fifty and four years.

An. 670.
Manass.
29.

As soon as he was well settled in the kingdom, heⁱ entered into a war with the King of *Affyria* about the boundaries of their two Empires, which lasted many years. For after the *Affyrians* had conquered *Syria*, *Palestine* only separating their respective Territories, it became a constant bone of contention between them, as it was between the *Ptolemies* and the *Seleucidae* afterwards, both parties striving which of the two should have the mastery of this Province, and according as they prevailed sometimes the one and sometimes the other possessed themselves of it. From the time of *Hezekiah* it appears to have been in the hands of the *Egyptians* till the captivity of *Manasseh*. But when *Esharhaddon* had conquered *Judea*, and carried the King prisoner to *Babylon* (as hath been above-mentioned) it's plain that from thenceforth the King of *Affyria* became master of all, even to the very entry of *Egypt*; and the *Egyptians* being at that time divided under several Princes, and in civil wars among themselves, were in no capacity to put a stop to this progress. But when *Psammitichus* had gained the whole Monarchy to himself, and again settled the affairs of that kingdom upon its former foundation, (which hapned about seven years af-

^s 2 Kings xvii.

^b Herodotus lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus lib. 1.

ⁱ Herodot. lib. 2.

ter the Captivity of *Manasseh*) he thought it time to look to the frontiers of his Kingdom, and secure them as well as he could against the power of this growing neighbour, and therefore marched with an army into *Palestine* for this purpose. But in the entry thereof he found *Ashdod*, one of the first Towns of that Countrey, so strong a barrier against him, that it^k cost him a blockade of nine and twenty years before he could make himself master of it.

THIS place had formerly been^l one of the five capital Cities of the Countrey of the *Philistins*. After this the *Egyptians* got possession of it, and by well fortifying of it made it so strong a barrier of their Empire on that side, that *Sennacherib* could not enter *Egypt*,^m till he had by *Tartan*, one of his Generals, made himself master of it; and when he had gotten it into his possession, finding the importance of the place, he added so much to its strength, that notwithstanding his unfortunate retreat out of *Egypt*, and the terrible loss of his army in *Judea* immediately after, the *Assyrians* still kept it even to this time; and it was not without that long and tedious siege, which I have mentioned, that the *Egyptians* at last became again masters of it. And when they had gotten it, they found it in such a manner wasted and reduced by so long a war, that it did them but little service afterwards, it being then no more than the carcass of that City which it had formerly been. And therefore the Prophet *Jeremiah* speaking of it calls itⁿ *the Remnant of Ashdod*, intimating thereby that it was then only the poor remains of what it had been in times foregoing.

BUT notwithstanding this long siege, the whole war did not rest there. While part of the army lay at the blockade, the rest carried on the war against the other parts of *Palestine*, and so it continued many years, which obliged *Manasseh*^o to fortify *Jerusalem* anew, and to put strong Garrisons into all his frontier Towns against them. For since his release from the captivity of the *Assyrians*, and the restoration of his kingdom again to him, he was obliged to become their homager, and engage on their side in this war against the *Egyptians*, although they had been his former allies. And the better to enable him to support himself herein, and also the more firmly to fix him in his fidelity to them, they seem at this time to have put under his command all the other parts of the Land of *Canaan*, that is, all that had formerly been possessed by the Kings of *Samaria*, as well as what belong'd to him as King of *Judah*. For it is certain that *Josiah* his Grandson had all this, (as will hereafter be shewn) that is, not only the two Tribes which made up the Kingdom of *Judah*, but also all that had formerly been possessed by the other ten under the Kings of *Israel*. And the most probable account that can be given of his coming by all this, is, that it was all given to *Manasseh* on this occasion to hold in homage of the Kings of *Assyria*, and that after his death it was continued to his Son and Grandson on the same conditions, in the performance of which that good and just Prince King *Josiah* afterwards lost his life, as will be shewn in its proper place.

IN the thirty first year of *Manasseh* dyed *Esharaddon*, after he had reign-^{An. 668.} ed with great felicity thirty nine years over the *Assyrians*, and thirteen o-^{Manass.} ver the *Babylonians*, and^p *Saosduchinus* his Son reigned in his stead. He^{31.} is the same who in the Book of *Judith* is called^q *Nabuchodonosor*. In the

^k Herodotus lib. 2.^o 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14.^l 1 Samuel vi. 17.^p Canon Ptol.^m Isaiah xx. 1.^q Judith i. 1.ⁿ Jeremiah xxv. 20.

An. 656.
Manaff.
43.

beginning of the twelfth year of his reign, which was the forty third of *Manasseh*, he fought a great battel in the plains of *Ragau* with *Deioces* King of *Media*, (who in the book of *Judith* is called *Arphaxad*) and having overthrown him, and put him to flight, pursued after him to the adjacent mountains, where he made his retreat, and there having overtaken him he cut him off and all his army; and thereon following his blow, and making the best of the advantage he had gotten, he made himself master of many of the Cities of *Media*, and among them took *Ecbatana* it self, the Royal Seat of the *Median* Empire, and after having miserably defaced it returned in great triumph to *Niniveh*, and there took his pleasure in banquetting and feasting, both he and his army, for an hundred and twenty days.

An. 655.
Manaff.
44.

AFTER this time of feasting was over, he called his Officers, Nobles, and chief Counsellors together, to take an account of what tributary Countries and Provinces had not gone with him to the war. For he had summoned them all to attend him herein, and finding that none of the Western Countries had paid any regard to his commands in this matter, he made a Decree, that *Holofernes* the chief Captain of his army should go forth to execute the wrath of his Lord upon them for it. And accordingly the next year after he marched westward with an army of an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, and there wasted and destroyed a great many of those Nations; till at length coming into *Judea*, and laying siege to *Bethulia*, he was there destroyed, and all his army cut in pieces, in the manner as is in the Book of *Judith* at full related.

THAT *Arphaxad* in the said Book of *Judith* was *Deioces*, and *Nabuchodonosor Saosduchinus*, appears from hence, that *Arphaxad* is said to be that King of *Media* who was ^w the founder of *Ecbatana*, which all other writers agree to have been *Deioces*. And the beginning of the twelfth year of *Saosduchinus* exactly agreeth with the last year of *Deioces*, when this battel of *Ragau* is said to have been fought. And there are several particulars in that History, which make it utterly inconsistent with any other times. For it was ^{*} while *Niniveh* was the Metropolis of the *Assyrian* Empire; it was ^v while the *Persians*, *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Cilicians*, and *Egyptians* were subject to them; it was ^z while the *Median* Empire was in being, and not long after the building of *Ecbatana*; none of which could be after the Captivity of *Judah*, where some would place this History. For before that time *Niniveh* had been long destroyed, and both the *Assyrian* and *Median* Empires had been wholly extinguished, and the *Persians* instead of being subject to the *Assyrians* had made themselves Lords over them, and over all the other Nations of the *East*, from the *Hellepont* to the River *Indus*. For so far they had extended and established their Empire, before the *Jews* were returned from the *Babylonish* Captivity, and settled again in their own Countrey. And therefore we must go much higher than the times after that Captivity to find a proper scene for the matters in that Book related, and it can be no where laid more agreeably both with Scripture, and prophane History, than in the time where I have placed it.

THIS Book of *Judith* was originally written ^a in the *Chaldee* language by some *Jew* of *Babylon*; (which is not now extant) and from thence at

^{*} Judith i. 5.
^x Judith i. 1.
in Librum Judith.

^f Judith i. 1.
^y Judith i. 7---10.

^t Judith i. 14.
^z Judith i. 1, 2.

^v Judith ii.

^w Judith i. 2.

^a Hieronimi Prefatio

the desire of *Paula* and *Eustochium* was by St. *Jerom* translated into the *Latin* tongue, which is the Translation that is now extant in the vulgar *Latin* edition of the Bible, of which he himself saith in the Preface before it, that he did not translate it word for word, but only render'd it according to the sense of the Author, and that cutting off all the corruptions of various readings which he found in different copies, he did put only that into the translation which he judged to be the true and entire sense of the Original. But besides this translation of St. *Jerom* there are two others, one in *Greek*, and the other in *Syriac*. That which is in *Greek* is attributed to *Theodotion*, who flourished in the time of *Commodus*, who was made *Roman* Emperor in the year of *Christ* 180. But it must be much ancients. For *Clemens Romanus* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians* (which was wrote near 120 years before) brings a quotation out of it. The *Syriac* translation was made from the *Greek*, and so was also the *English*, which we at present have among the Apocryphal writings in our Bible. And it is to be observed, that all these three versions last mentioned have several particulars which are not in *Jerom's*, and some of these seem to be those various readings, which he professeth to have cut off as corruptions of the Text. And particularly that which is added in the thirteenth verse of the first chapter appears to be of this sort. For there the battel of *Ragau* is placed in the seventeenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, which is directly contradictory to what is in the former part of the same chapter. For there it is positively said, that it was in the twelfth year of his reign, and agreeable hereto *Jerom's* version placeth the expedition of *Holofernes* (that was the next year after) in the thirteenth year of *Nabuchodonosor*, which is the truth of the matter, whereas the other following the blunder of the former contradiction makes another by placing it in the eighteenth year of his reign, and so renders that part of the History wholly inconsistent with it self. And therefore certainly in this particular *Jerom's* version is to be prefer'd, which gives good reason to think, that it ought to be so in all the rest, wherever there is any difference between them.

BUT still, whether the Book be a true or a feigned History, is what learned men are not agreed in: The Romanists will have it all to be true, for they have received it into the Canon of divine writ. But on the other hand it is the opinion of ^b *Grotius*, that it is wholly a parabolical fiction, written in the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, when he came into *Judea* to raise a persecution against the *Jewish* Church, and that the design of it was to confirm the *Jews* under that persecution in their hopes, that God would send them a deliverance. "That therein by *Judith* is meant *Judea*, by " *Bethulia* the Temple, or House of God, and by the sword, which went " out from thence the prayers of the Saints, that *Nabuchodonosor* doth there " denote the Devil, and the kingdom of *Assyria* the Devil's kingdom, " pride: That by *Holofernes* is there meant the instrument or agent of the " Devil in that persecution, *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who made himself master of *Judea*, that fair widow, so called because destitute of relief. That " *Eliakim* signifies God, who would arise in her defence, and at length " cut off that instrument of the Devil, who would have corrupted her." This particular explication of the Parable (as he will have it to be) is I con-

^b In Præfatione ad Annotationes in Librum Judith.

feels the peculiar fancy of this great Man. But otherwise there are abundance of other learned writers among the Protestants, who agree with him in the general, that this Book is rather a parabolical than a real History, made for the instructing and comforting of the people of the *Jews* under that figure, and not to give them a Narrative of any thing really done. And their reason for it is, that they think it utterly inconsistent with all times where it hath been endeavoured to be placed, either before or after the Captivity of the *Jews*. My putting it in the time of *Manasseh* takes off all the Objections, which are brought to prove its inconsistency with the times after the Captivity, which I confess are unanswerable.

BUT where it here stands the objections from the other part still remain, and they are these following. 1st, That *Joakim* or *Eliakim* (for they are acknowledged to be both the same name) is said in the History of *Judith* to have been then High-priest. But there is none of that name to be found either in the Scriptures, or in *Josephus*, that was High-priest before the Captivity. 2^{dly}, *Achior* the *Ammonite* in his speech to *Holofernes*, (*Chap. v. 18.*) there speaks of the Temple, as having been lately cast to the ground, which was not done till the last year of the reign of *Zedekiah*, and therefore this cannot be consistent with any time before it. And the 3^d Verse of the ivth Chapter plainly puts it after the Captivity. For there the Text is, that the People of the *Jews* were newly returned from their Captivity, when *Holofernes* invaded *Judea*. 3^{dly}, The chief management of the publick affairs of the state are in that book placed wholly in the High-priest without any mention made of the King throughout the whole of it, or implying in the least, that there was then any such Government in the Land, which renders it wholly inconsistent with any other times, than those in which there was no King in *Judah*. 4^{thly}, That in the conclusion of the Book, *Judith* is said to have lived an hundred and five years, and that none made the children of *Israel* any more afraid in all her days, nor a long time after her death. But supposing her to have been forty five years old when she went out to *Holofernes*, (and in an older age she cannot well be supposed to have beauty enough to charm such a man) to make her an hundred and five years old there must be sixty years more added to her life, which will carry down her death to the fourth year of *Zedekiah*, when the state of the *Jews* had for several years been exceedingly disturb'd by the *Babylonians*, and was within a little while after totally subverted by them, which makes both her life and her death absolutely inconsistent with the times in which they are above placed.

TO the first of these objections it may be answered; 1st, That tho' there be no such person as *Joakim*, or *Eliakim*, named in Scripture to have been High-priest, before the Captivity, yet this is no argument, but that there might have been such an one. For the Scripture no where professeth to give us an exact catalogue of all such as had been High-priests till the Captivity. That which looks most like it is what we have in the sixth Chapter of the first Book of *Chronicles*. But that is only a direct lineal descent of the Pontifical family from *Aaron* to *Josadak* the son of *Seraiah*, who was High-priest at the Captivity, and not a catalogue of such as had born

* For they are both of the same signification, *El* being the name of God in one, as *Jehovah* is the other, and the latter part of the name is the same in both; and therefore as *Jehoiakim* or *Joakim* King of *Judah* is called also *Eliakim*, so this High-priest is in the Version of *Jerom* called promiscuously by both names.

the pontifical office. For several are in that pedigree who never were High-priests, and several are left out that were. The High-priests of the family of *Eli* are instances of the latter. For they are left out of that pedigree, tho' they were High-priests. And those of the true race, who were excluded by them, are instances of the former. For they are in it, tho' they never were High-priests. And it is very likely, that from the time of *Solomon* to the Captivity many more such instances might have happened to hinder that pedigree from being an exact Catalogue of the High-priests. For on the minority, or some other unqualifying defect of the right Heir, the next collateral must have been admitted to the office, whose name could not come into the pedigree; and on the failing of an elder branch (as might have hapned) the Heir of the next collateral branch must have come into the office. And then the ancestors of the collateral successor must be in the pedigree, though they had never been in the office. And those of the elder branch, though they had been in the office, could not be in the pedigree, because it had failed. For it is only the pedigree of *Josadack* the son of *Seraiah*, who was High-priest at the Captivity, which is in a direct line from *Aaron*, given us in the vith Chapter of the first Book of *Chronicles*. And it being the usage of the *Jews* in their pedigrees to pass from a remote ancestor to a remote descendent, by leaving out those who are between, of which abundance of instances may be given in Scripture, it's possible this also might have hapned in this case. And thus much is certain, that four High-priests named in Scripture are not in that pedigree, i. e. *Jehoiada*, and *Zechariah* his son, who were High-priests in the reign of *Joash*; *Azariah*, who was High-priest in the reign of *Uzziah*; and *Urijah*, who was High-priest in the reign of *Abaz*, Kings of *Judah*. There are indeed two *Azariah's* named in that pedigree, besides the *Azariah* who was the father of *Seraiah*, but neither of these two could be the *Azariah* that was High-priest in the time of *Uzziah*. For ^d *Amariah* the son of the last of the said two *Azariah's* in that pedigree, was High-priest in the time of *Jehosaphat*, five generations before. As to the pedigrees of the High-priests in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, they are but imperfect parts of that which we have in the vith Chapter of the first Book of *Chronicles*. As for the Catalogue of *Josephus*, it is so corrupted, that scarce five of the names in it agree with any thing that we have in Scripture. And therefore putting all this together, *Joakim* or *Eliakim* might have been High-priest in the time of *Manasseh*, tho' there be no mention of him as such by either of his names, either in the Holy Scriptures or in the History of *Josephus*. But ^{2dly}, That this *Joakim* or *Eliakim* (for both, as hath been afore observ'd, is the same name) is not named in Scripture, is not certainly true. For there are some, who will have *Eliakim* the son of *Hilkiah*, that is afore spoken of, to have been the person, and understand what is said in the xxii^d Chapter of *Isaiah*, ver. 21. of the robe and the girdle, which he was to put on, as meant of the Pontifical robe and girdle, and therefore infer from hence that he was High-priest, and ^c St. *Jerom* and St. *Cyril* among the ancients both were of this opinion. And it must be said, that what is there prophesied of him by *Isaiah*, that God would commit the government of the state to his hands in the room of *Shebna*, who was chief Minister before him, and that he should be a father to the Inha-

^d 2 Chron. xix. 11.

^c In *Esaïam* xxii.

bitants of *Jerusalem*, and to the House of *Judah*, and that the key of the House of *David* should be laid upon his shoulder, to open and to shut without controul, as he should think fit, doth very well agree with that part which *Joakim* is said to have acted in the Book of *Judith*. But that he was the same person, is what I durst not from that, which is brought to prove it, lay much stress upon, neither is there any need of it for the satisfying of this objection; what I have else said being sufficient for it.

2dly, As to the objection from the 3^d verse of the ivth Chapter of *Judith*, and from the speech of *Achior* (Ch. v. ver. 18.) the words on which they are founded are not in *Jerom's* version, and therefore it is most likely they were put into the *Greek* version (from whence the *English* is taken) from some of those corrupted Copies of the original which *Jerom* complains of. For in his version (which he made from the best corrected Copies of the original *Chaldee*) the 3^d verse of the ivth Chapter is wholly left out, as are also those words of the 18th verse of the vth Chapter, which speak of *the Temple's having been cast to the ground*. And altho' there be words still remaining in *Jerom's* version, as well as in our *English*, which speak of the Captivity and dispersion of the *Jews*, and their late restoration again to their own Land, yet they are none other than what may be better understood of the *Assyrian* Captivity in the time of *Manasseh*, than of the *Babylonish* which hapned afterwards.

As to the third objection, it's possible *Manasseh* might be then engaged in the defence of some other part of his kingdom, and therefore had entrusted *Joakim* with the management of all affairs at *Jerusalem* during his absence. And if he were the *Eliakim* mentioned in the xxii^d Chapter of *Isaiab*, and as chief minister of state was then invested with all that amplitude of trust and power, as is there described, that might be reason enough for him only to be made mention of in this transaction, without naming of his master at all therein.

BUT lastly, to give a satisfactory answer to the fourth objection, I must confess is not in my power. Could we put this History so far back as the minority of *Manasseh*, this would not only afford us an answer to this objection, but would also give us a much clearer one to the last preceding. For then there would be reason enough not to mention the minor King, but only the chief minister and guardian of the kingdom, in the transacting of the whole affair. And the death of *Judith* would on this supposition be at such a distance from the destruction of the *Jewish* state, as not to make this objection unanswerable. But the wickedness of the pupil will not allow him to have been bred under so good a man for his governour, as *Eliakim* is described to be. And what is said in the 18th and 19th verses of the vth Chapter of *Judith* concerning the Captivity and Restoration of the *Jews*, and is retained also in *Jerom's* version, must necessarily refer the matters therein related to those times which followed the Captivity of *Manasseh*, and the restoration of him and his people again to their own Land. And the Chronology of this History will not permit the beginning of it to fall any where else but in the twelfth year of *Saosduchinus*, and the last of *Deioces*; and these two characters of the time exactly concurring according to *Herodotus* and *Ptolemy* do unavoidably determine us to fix it here. However our not being able to clear this difficulty is not a sufficient reason for us to reject the whole History. There is scarce any History written, but what to the next age after may appear as to time, place, and other circum-

circumstances, with those seeming inconsistencies, as cannot then be easily reconciled, when the memory of men begin to fail concerning them. And how much more then may we be apt to be blundered, when we take our view at the distance of above two thousand years, and have no other light to discern the so far distant object by, than such glimmerings from broken scraps of history, as leave us next door to groping in the dark for whatsoever knowledge we get by them? That which seemeth most probable in this case is, that the writer of this book, the more to magnify his heroine attributed too long a continuance to that peace, which was by her obtained for the land. For according to this account it must have lasted at least eighty years, which being what they never had enjoyed from the time they were a nation, or what scarce any other nation ever had, I would rather chuse to allow a fiction in this particular, than for the sake of it condemn the whole book as such, which seemeth to carry with it the air of a true history in all other particulars.

HOWEVER I must acknowledge, that what is above said in the defence of this book for its being a true history doth not so far clear the matter, especially in respect of the fourth objection; but that if any one will still contend, that it is only a religious romance, and not a true history; that according to the intention of the author the scene of it was put under the reign of *Xerxes*, when ^b *Joakim* the son of *Joshua* was high-priest, and the civil government of *Judea*, as well as the ecclesiastical, was in the hands of that officer; and that the inconsistency of so many particulars in that book, with the state and transactions of those times, was only from the ignorance of the author in the history of the said times, and his unskilfulness in placing the scene of his story in them; I say, if any one will insist on all this notwithstanding what is above said, I shall not enter into any controversy with him about it, only thus much I must insist on, that if it be a true history (which I am inclined most to think, though I will not be positive in it) it can fall no where else, but in the time where I have laid it.

AFTER the death of *Deioces* ^c *Phraortes* his son succeeded in the kingdom of *Media*, and reigned over it twenty two years.

IN the fifty first year of *Manasseh* died ^d *Saosduchinus* King of *Babylon* ^{An. 648.} and *Affyria*, and *Chyniladanus* reigned in his stead. ^{Manass.}

MANASSEH King of *Judah*, after he had reigned fifty five years, ^{51.} and lived sixty seven, ^{An. 644.} died at *Jerusalem*; and notwithstanding his signal ^{Manass.} repentance, since his former wickedness had been so great, they would not ^{55.} allow him the honour of being buried in the sepulchres of the sons of *David*, but laid him in a grave made for him in his own garden.

AFTER *Manasseh* reigned *Ammon* his son, who imitating the first part ^{An. 643.} of his father's reign, rather than the latter, gave himself up to all manner ^{Ammon} of wickedness and impiety, whereon the servants of his house conspired ^{1.} against him and slew him, after he had reigned two years. But the people

* For allowing her to have been 45 years old at the time of her killing Holofernes, there must be 60 years after to the time of her death, and a long time after in the Text (Judith xvi. 25.) cannot imply less than 20 years more. But if we suppose her to be but 25 at the killing of Holofernes, (which is more likely) it will carry down the computation even beyond the destruction of Jerusalem, which makes the objection much stronger.

^b Nehemiah xii. 10, 26. ^c Herodotus lib. 1. ^d Canon Ptol. ^e 2 Kings xxi. 18. 2 Chron. xxiii. 20.

of the land severely reveng'd the murder, putting them all to death, that had any hand in it. However they would not give him in his burial the honour of a place among the sepulchres of the sons of *David*, but buried him in the garden by his father, which shows, that though they condemn'd the wickedness of his reign, they would not allow of the violence that was offer'd to his person, tho' it may well be suppos'd, that nothing less than the highest tyranny and oppression could have provok'd his own domesticks to it.

*Am. 643.
Josiah 1.*

AFTER the death of *Amnon*¹ *Josiah* his son succeeded him in the kingdom, being then but eight years old. But having the happiness to fall under the conduct of better guardians in his minority, than did *Manasseh* his grandfather, he proved, when grown up, a Prince of very extraordinary worth, equalling in piety, virtue and goodness, if not exceeding herein the best of his predecessors.

ALTHOUGH *Amnon* reigned but two years, yet the beginning of the reign of *Josiah* is here put at the distance of three years from the beginning of the first year of *Amnon*, because the odd months of the reign of *Hezekiah*, *Manasseh* and *Amnon*, over and above the round number of years, which they are said to have reigned, do by this time amount to a whole year more, which the chronology of the ensuing history makes necessary to be here suppos'd.

*Am. 635.
Josiah 6.*

IN the sixth year of *Josiah*² *Phraortes* King of *Media* having brought under him all the upper *Asia*, (which is all that lay north of mount *Taurus* from *Media* to the river *Halys*) and made the *Persians* also to become subject unto him, elated his thoughts on these successes to the revenging of himself upon the *Assyrians* for his father's death, and accordingly march'd with a great army against them, and having made himself master of the countrey laid siege to *Niniveh* it self, the capital of the empire. But he had there the misfortune to meet with the same ill fate that his father had in the former war, for being overthrown in the attempt, he and all his army perished in it.

*Am. 633.
Josiah 8.*

JOSIAH in the³ eighth year of his reign, being now sixteen years old, took on him the administration of the kingdom, and beginning with the reformation of religion endeavour'd to purge it of all those corruptions, which had been introduced in the time of *Amnon* and *Manasseh*, his father and grandfather, and did set his heart to seek the Lord his God with all his might, as did *David* his father.

CYAXARES the son of *Phraortes*⁴ having succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Media*, as soon as he had well settled himself in the government, drew together a great army to be revenged on the *Assyrians* for the late loss, and having overthrown them in a great battel led the *Medes* the second time to the siege of *Niniveh*; but before he could make any progress therein he was called off to defend his own territories against a new enemy. For the *Scythians* from the parts about the *Palus Maeotis* passing round the *Caucasus* had made a great inroad upon them, whereby he was forced to leave *Niniveh* to march against them. But he had not the same success in this war, which he had against the *Assyrians*, for the *Scythians* having vanquish'd him in battel dispossest him of all the upper *Asia*, and

¹ 2 Kings xxii. 2 Chron. xxxiv.
² Herodot. lib. 1.

³ Herodot. lib. 1.

⁴ 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3.

reigned there twenty eight years, during which time they enlarg'd their conquests into *Syria*, and as far as the borders of *Egypt*. But there *Psammitichus* King of *Egypt* having met them, prevailed with intreaties and large gifts, that they proceeded no farther, and thereby saved his countrey from this dangerous invasion. In this expedition they seized on *Beelshaan*, a city in the territories of the tribe of *Manasseh*, on this side *Jordan*, and kept it as long as they continued in *Asia*, and therefore from them it was afterwards called *Scythopolis*, or the city of the *Scythians*. But how far the ravages of these barbarians might affect *Judea* is no where said, altho' there can be no doubt but that those parts, as well as the rest of *Palestine*, both in their march to the borders of *Egypt*, and also in their return from thence, must have suffered much by them. It is related of them, that in their passage through the land of the *Philistines*, on their return from *Egypt*, some of the straglers robbed the temple of *Venus* at *Ascalon*, and that for the punishment hereof they and their posterity were afflicted with em- rods for a long while after, which lets us know, that the *Philistines* had till then still preserved the memory of what they had formerly suffered on the account of the ark of God. For from that time, it seems, they looked on this disease as the proper punishment from the hand of God for all such like sacrilegious impieties, and for this reason assigned it to the *Scy- thians* in their histories, on the charging of them there with this crime.

JOSIAH in the twelfth year of his reign, being now twenty years old, and having farther improved himself in the knowledge of God and his Laws, proceeded according hereto farther to perfect that reformation which he had begun. And therefore making a strict enquiry by a general progress through the land after all the reliëts of idolatry, which might be any where remaining therein, he broke down all the altars of *Baalim*, with the idols erected on high before them, and all the high-places, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces all the carved images, and the mol- ten images, and digged up the graves of the idolatrous priests, and burnt their bones upon all places of idolatrous worship, thereby to pollute and defile them for ever. And when he had thus cleansed all *Judah* and *Je- rusalem*, he went into the cities of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh*, and all the rest of the land that had formerly been possess'd by the ten tribes of *Israel*, (for all this was then subject to him) and there did the same thing.

In the thirteenth year of *Josiah* *Jeremiah* was called to the prophetick office, which he afterwards executed for above forty years in warning *Judah* and *Jerusalem* of the wrath of God impending on them for their iniquities, and in calling them to repentance for the averting of it, till at length on their continuing wholly obdurate in their evil ways, it was poured out in full measure upon both in a most calamitous destruction.

In the fifteenth year of *Josiah*, *Chyniladanus* King of *Babylon* and *As- syria*, having by his effeminacy and unprofitableness in the state made him- self contemptible to his people, *Nabopolassar*, who was general of his army, took this advantage to set up for himself, and being a *Babylonian* by birth, made use of his interest there to seize that part of the *Assyrian* empire, and reigned King of *Babylon* twenty one years.

¹ Syncellus, p. 214.

¹ Herodot. lib. 1.

² 1 Sam. v.

³ 2 Chron. xxiv. 3, 4, 5, &c.

⁴ Jer. i. 2. and xxv. 3.
apud Syncellum, p. 210.

⁵ Alexander Polyhistor apud Eusebium in Chronicis, p. 46. &

An. 623.
Josiah 18.

*JOSIAH*¹ in the eighteenth year of his reign took especial care for the repairing of the house of God, and therefore sent several of the chief officers of his court to take an account of the money collected for it, and to lay his command upon *Hilkiah* the high-priest, that he should see it be forthwith laid out in the doing of the work, so that all might be put in thorough repair. The high-priest in pursuance of this order took a general view of the house, to see what was necessary to be done, and while he was thus examining every place he found the authentick copy of the law of *Moses*. This ought to have been laid up^r on the side of the ark of the covenant in the most holy place, but it was taken out thence and hid elsewhere in the time of *Manasseh*, as it is conjectur'd, that it might not be destroyed by him in the time of his iniquity. This Book *Hilkiah* sent to the King by *Shaphan* the scribe, who on his delivering of it to the King, did by his command read some part of it to him. The place, which on the opening the book he hapned on, was (say the *Jewish* doctors) that part of the xxviiith chapter of *Deuteronomy*, wherein are denounc'd the curses of God against the people of *Israel*, and against the King in particular, (Ver. 26.) in case they should not keep the law which he had commanded them. On the hearing of this *Josiah* rent his cloaths through grief, and was seized with great fear and consternation on the account both of himself and his people, as knowing how much they and their fathers had transgressed this law, and dreading the curses denounced against them for it. To ease his mind under this trouble and anxiety of his thoughts he sent *Hilkiah* the high-priest with several of his officers to *Huldah* the prophetess, to enquire of the Lord. The answer which they brought back was a sentence of destruction upon *Judah* and *Jerusalem*; but that as to *Josiah*, because of his repentance, the execution of it should be delayed till after his days. However the good King, to appease the wrath of God as much as lay in his power, called together a solemn assembly of all the elders and people of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, and going up with them to the temple caused the law of God to be there read to them, and after that both King and people publickly entered into a solemn covenant to walk after the Lord, and to keep his commandments, and his testimonies, and his statutes, with all their heart and all their soul, and to perform all the words of the covenant, that were written in that book. And after this he made another progress through the land, to purge it of all other abominations of idolatry or other wickedness, which might be still remaining in it, which he thoroughly rooted out in all parts of his kingdom in such manner, as is in the xxiii^d chapter of the 2^d book of *Kings* at large related. And particularly he destroyed the altar and high-place which *Jeroboam* had built at *Bethel*, first polluting them by burning on them the bones of men taken out of their sepulchres near adjoining, and then breaking down the altar, and burning the high-place and the grove, and stamping them all to powder, whereby he fulfilled what had been prophesied of him by name many ages before, in the time of *Jeroboam*. And he did the same in all the rest of the cities of *Samaria*, destroying every remainder of idolatry which he could any where find in any of them. And when the next passover approached, he caused that feast to be kept with so great a solemn-

¹ 2 Kings xxii. 2 Chron. xxxiv.

² Deut. xxxi. 26.

³ 1 Kings xiii. 2.

nity, and concourse of people from all parts of the land, that it not only exceeded the passover of *Hezekiah*, which is afore-mention'd, but all other passovers from the days of *Samuel* the prophet to that time.

By the behaviour both of the high-priest, as well as of the King, at the finding of the book of the law, it plainly appears that neither of them had seen any copy of it before; which shews into how corrupt a state the Church of the *Jews* was then sunk, till this good King reformed it. For although *Hezekiah* kept scribes on purpose to collect together, and write out copies of the holy scriptures, yet through the iniquity of the times that after followed in the reigns of *Manasseh* and *Ammon*, they had either been so destroyed, or else so neglected and lost, that there were then none of them left in the land, unless in some few private hands, where they were kept up and concealed till this copy was found in the temple. And therefore after this time (by the care we may be assured of this religious Prince) were written out those copies of the law; and other holy scriptures then in being, which were preserv'd after the captivity, and out of which *Exra* mad his edition of them in such manner as will be hereafter related.

IN the twenty fourth year of *Josiah* died *Psammitichus* King of *Egypt*, after he had reigned fifty four years, and was succeeded by *Necus* his son, the same who in scripture is called *Pharaoh Necho*, and often mentioned there under that name. He made an attempt to joyn the *Nile* and the *Red-Sea*, by drawing a canal from the one to the other. But after he had consumed an hundred and twenty thousand men in the work, he was forced to desist from it. But he had better success in another undertaking, for having gotten some of the expertest of the *Phenician* sailors into his service he sent them out by the *Red-Sea* through the streights of *Babel-mandel*, to discover the coasts of *Africa*, who having sailed round it came home the third year through the streights of *Gibraltar* and the *Mediterranean* sea, which was a very extraordinary voyage to be made in those days, when the use of the loadstone was not known. This voyage was performed about two thousand one hundred years before *Vasquez de Gama*, a *Portuguese*, by discovering the *Cape of Good-hope*, *Anno Domini* 1497, found out the same way from hence to the *Indies*, by which these *Phenicians* came from thence. Since that it hath been made the common passage thither from all these western parts of the world.

IN the twenty ninth year of the reign of *Josiah*, which was the twenty third of *Cyaxares* in the kingdom of *Media*, * *Nabopolassar* King of *Babylon* having made an affinity with *Astyages* the eldest son of *Cyaxares*, by the marriage of *Nebuchadnezzar* his Son with *Amyitis* the daughter of *Astyages*, entered into a confederacy with him against the *Affyrians*, and thereon joining their forces together they besieged *Niniveh*, and after having taken the place, and slain *Saracus* the King, (who was either the successor of *Chyniladanus*, or he himself under another name) to gratify the *Medes* they utterly destroyed that great and ancient city, and from that time *Babylon* became the sole metropolis of the *Affyrian* empire. From the time that *Esarhaddon* obtained the kingdom of *Babylon* * both cities equally had

* Prov. xiv. 1. * Herodotus, lib. 1. * Herodotus, lib. 4. * Eusebii Chronicon, p. 124. Alexander Polyhistor apud Syncellum, p. 210. & apud Eusebium in Chronico, p. 46. Herodotus, lib. 1. * Strabo, lib. 16. p. 734.

this honour, the King sometimes residing at *Niniveh* and sometimes at *Babylon*. But after this *Niniveh* lost it for ever. For although there was another city afterwards erected out of the ruins of old *Niniveh*, which for a long time bore the same name, yet it never attained to the grandeur and glory of the former. It is at this day called *Mosul*, and is only famous for being the seat of the patriarch of the *Nestorians*, of which sect are most of the christians in those parts. It is situated on the west side of the river *Tigris*, where was anciently only a suburb of the old *Niniveh*, for the city it self stood on the east side of the river, where are to be seen some of its ruins of great extent even to this day. According to *Diodorus Siculus* the circuit of *Niniveh* was four hundred and eighty furlongs, which make sixty of our miles. And hence it is that it is said in *Jonah* to be a city of three days journey, that is in compass. For twenty miles is as much as a man can well go in one day. *Strabo* saith of it, that it was much bigger than *Babylon*, and in the same place he tells us, that the circuit of *Babylon* was three hundred eighty five furlongs, that is forty eight of our miles. The phrase *much bigger* may well extend to the other twelve miles to make it up sixty.

In this destruction of *Niniveh* was fulfilled the prophecies of *Jonah*, *Nabum* and *Zephaniah*, against it. And we are told in the book of *Tobit*, that *Tobias* his son liv'd to hear of it, and that it was accomplished by *Nabuchodonosor*, and *Assuerus*, which exactly agrees with the account which out of *Alexander Polyhistor* I have just above given of it. For that the *Assuerus* here mentioned was *Astyages* appears from *Daniel*: For *Darius* the *Mede*, who was *Cyaxares* the son of *Astyages*, is there called the son of *Ahasuerus*. And *Nabuchodonosor* was a name among the *Babylonians* commonly given to their Kings, as that of *Pharaoh* was among the *Egyptians*. And that *Nabopolassar* in particular was so called, not only appears from the rabbinical writings of the *Jews*, but also from *Josephus* himself, a writer by reason of his antiquity of much better authority in this matter. For in his antiquities where he is speaking of the same King, he calls him in a quotation, which is there brought out of *Berosus*, by the name of *Nabuchodonosor*, and afterwards in his book against *Apion*, repeating the same quotation, he there calls him *Nabulassar*, the same by contraction with *Nabopolassar*, which plainly proves him to have been called by both these names. I know there are those who take upon them from this passage in the book against *Apion* to mend that in the antiquities, and put *Nabopolassar* in both places. But I see no reason for it but their own fancy. Others may with as good authority from the passage in the antiquities mend that in the book against *Apion*, and put *Nabuchodonosor* in both places. It's certain the books of *Tobit* and *Judith*, can never be reconciled with any other ancient writings, either sacred or prophane, which relate to those times, unless we allow *Nabuchodonosor* to have been a name common to the Kings of *Babylon*.

* Thevenot's Travels, part 2. book 1. chap. 11. p. 50. * Lib. 2. * Jonah iii. 3.
 * Lib. 16. p. 737. * Chap. iii. * Chap. ii. 13. * Chap. xiv. 15.
 * Daniel ix. 1. * In *Juchasin* Nebuchadnezzar is called Nebuchadnezzar the son of Nebuchadnezzar, fol. 136. And David Ganz under the year of the world 3285 calls the father Nebuchadnezzar the first, and the son Nebuchadnezzar the second. * Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.
 * Lib. 1.

THE archbishop of *Armagh* hath put this destruction of *Niniveh* fourteen years earlier, that is, in the last year of *Chyniladanus* in the canon of *Ptolomy*, for no other reason, I suppose, but that he reckon'd that the end of his life and the end of his reign in that canon hapned both at the same time, and both together in the destruction of that city. Whereas the computation of that canon being by the years of the Kings that reigned at *Babylon*, *Chyniladanus's* reign there must end where *Nabopolassar's* begun, whether he then died or no, as it is most probable he did not, but that he continued to hold the kingdom of *Assyria* after he had lost that of *Babylon*, and that it was not till some time after that loss that *Niniveh* was destroyed. For *Eusebius* placeth the destruction of *Niniveh* in the twenty third year of the reign of *Cyaxares*, and to put it back fourteen years to the last of *Chyniladanus* in the canon will make it fall in the ninth year of *Cyaxares*, which is too early either for his son *Astyages* to have a daughter marriageable, or for *Nebuchadnezzar* to be of age sufficient to take her to wife: For after this rate *Nebuchadnezzar* must be allowed to have been "at the least eighty five years old at the time of his death, and *Astyages* much older, which is an age very unlikely for such to live, who usually waste their lives both by luxury and fatigue much faster than other men.

AT the destruction of this city of *Niniveh* ended the book of *Tobit*. It was first written "in *Chaldee* by some *Babylonian Jew*, and seems in its original draught to have been the memoirs of the family to which it relates, first begun by *Tobit*, then continued by *Tobias*, and lastly finished by some other of the family, and afterwards digested by the *Chaldee* author into that form in which we now have it. *Jerom* "translated it out of the *Chaldee* into *Latin*, and his translation is that which we have in the vulgar *Latin* edition of the Bible. But there is a *Greek* version much ancients than this. For we find it made use of by *Polycarp*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and other fathers, who were before *Jerom*, and from this hath been made the *Syriac* version, and also that which we have in *English* among the *Apocryphal* writers in our Bible. But the *Chaldee* original is not now extant. The *Hebrew* copies which go about of this book, as well as of that of *Judith*, seem both to be of "a modern compofure. It being easier to settle the chronology of this book than that of the book of *Judith*, it hath met with much less opposition from learned men, and is generally looked on by both *Jews* and *Christians*, as a genuine and true history, tho' as to some matters in it (as particularly that of the angel's accompanying of *Tobias* in a long journey, under the shape of *Azarias*, the story of *Raguel's* daughter, the frightening away of the devil by the smoak of the heart and liver of a fish, and the curing of *Tobit's* blindness by the gall of the same fish,) it is much less reconcilable to a rational credibility. For these things look more like the fictions of *Homer*, than the writings of a sacred historian, and give an objection against this book, which doth not lie against the other. However it may excellently well serve to represent unto us the duties of charity and patience in the example of *Tobit's* ready helping his brethren in distress to

¹ In annalibus veteris testamenti sub anno mundi. " For according to this account, this marriage must have been one and twenty years before *Nebuchadnezzar* began to reign, and he reigned forty three years: And it must also have been one and thirty years before *Astyages* began to reign, and he reigned thirty years. " *Præfatio Hieronymi in Tobiam*. " They are generally thought to have been made by *Munster*.

the utmost of his power, and his bearing with a pious submission the calamities of his captivity, poverty, and blindness, as long as inflicted upon him. The *Latin* and *Greek* Versions of this book, which I have mentioned, do much differ, each having some particulars in it which are wanting in the other. But here the *Latin* Version must give place to the *Greek*. For *Jerom*^p made it before he himself understood *Chaldee*, by the help of a learned *Jew*, from whose mouth he tells us he wrote down in *Latin* what the other rendred into *Hebrew* from the original, and in this manner finished the whole work in one day's time. And a work so done must undoubtedly have abundance of mistakes, as well as unaccuracies in it. But his translation^q of *Judith* was made afterwards, when by his farther studies in the oriental languages he had rendred himself as much master of the *Chaldee*, as he was before of the *Hebrew*, and he did it with great care, comparing diligently many various copies, and making use only of such as he found to be the best, and therefore his version of that book may well deserve an authority beyond the *Greek*, which cannot be claimed for the other. If the copy which *Jerom* translated his *Tobit* from were a true copy, and he were not mistaken in the version, there is one passage in it which absolutely overthrows the whole authority of the book. For (*cb. xiv. 7.*) there is mention made of the temple of *Jerusalem*, as then burnt and destroyed, which makes the whole of it utterly inconsistent with the times in which it is placed. The *Greek* version, as also the *English*, which is taken from it, I acknowledge, speak only prophetically of it, as of that which was to be done, and not historically, as of that which was already done, as *Jerom*'s doth. However, this *Latin* edition is that which the church of *Rome* hath canonized. If the historical ground-plot of the book be true, which is the most that can be said of it, yet certainly it is interlarded with many fictions of the invention of him that wrote it.

THE *Babylonians* and the *Medes* having thus destroyed *Niniveh*, as is above-related, they became so formidable hereon, as raised the jealousy of all their neighbours, and therefore to put a stop to their growing greatness, *Necho* King of *Egypt* in the thirty first year of King *Josiah* marched with a great army towards *Euphrates*, to make war upon them. The words of *Josephus* are, 'That it was to make war upon the *Medes* and *Babylonians*, who had dissolved the *Assyrian* empire, which plainly shews, that this war was commenced immediately upon that dissolution, and consequently that the destruction of *Niniveh*, whereby this dissolution was brought to pass, was just before this war, in the year where according to *Eusebius* I have placed it.

An. 610.
Josiah 31.

ON *Necho*'s taking his way through *Judea* *Josiah* resolved to impede his march, and therefore getting together his forces he posted himself in the valley of *Megiddo*, there to stop his passage, whereon *Necho* sent ambassadors unto him, to let him know that he had no design upon him, that the war he was engaged in was against others, and therefore advised him not to meddle with him, lest it should turn to his hurt. But *Josiah* not hearkening thereto, on *Necho*'s marching up to the place, where he was posted to stop his passage, it there came to a battel between them, wherein *Jo-*

^p Hieronymi præfatio in Tobiam.

^q Hieronymi præfatio in librum Judith.

^r Herodotus lib. 2. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 6.

^s Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 6.

^t 2 Kings xxxiii. 29, 30. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20---25.

siab was not only overthrown, but also unfortunately received a wound, of which on his return to *Jerusalem* he there died, after he had reigned thirty one years.

It is the notion of many, that *Josiah* engaged rashly and unadvisedly in this war, upon an over-confidence in the merit of his own righteousness, as if God for this reason must necessarily have given him success in every war which he should engage himself in. But this would be a presumption very unworthy of so religious a person. There was another reason that engaged him in this undertaking, which hath been above hinted at. From the time of *Manasseh's* restoration the Kings of *Judah* were homagers to the Kings of *Babylon*, and bound by oath to adhere to them against all their enemies, especially against the *Egyptians*, and to defend that border of their empire against them. And for this purpose they seem to have had conferred on them the rest of the land of *Canaan*, that which had formerly been possessed by the other ten tribes, till conquered from them by the *Assyrians*. It's certain *Josiah* had the whole land of *Israel* in the same extent, in which it had been held by *David* and *Solomon*, before it was divided into two kingdoms. For his reformation went through all of it, and it was executed by him not only in *Bethel* (where one of *Jereboam's* calves stood) but also in every other part thereof, and with the same sovereign authority as in *Judea* it self, and therefore he must have been King of the whole. And it is to be remarked, that the battle was fought, not within the territories of *Judea*, but at *Megiddo* a town of the tribe of *Manasseh*, lying in the middle of the kingdom of *Israel*, where *Josiah* would have had nothing to do, had he not been King of that kingdom also, as well as of the other of *Judah*. And he could have had it no otherwise, but by grant from the King of *Babylon*, a province of whose empire it was made by the conquest of it, first begun by *Tiglath-Pileser*, and afterwards finished by *Salmaneser* and *Esarhaddon*. And if this grant was not upon the express conditions which I have mentioned, yet whatsoever other terms there were of this concession, most certainly fidelity to the sovereign paramount, and a steady adherence to his interest against all his enemies was always required in such cases, and an oath of God exacted for the performance hereof. And it is not to be doubted, but that *Josiah* had taken such an oath to *Nabopolassar* the then reigning King of *Babylon*, as *Jehoiakim* and *Zedekiah* afterwards did to *Nebuchadnezzar*, his son and successor in that empire. And therefore should *Josiah*, when under such an obligation, have permitted an enemy of the King of *Babylon* to pass through his country to make war upon him without any opposition, it would plainly have amounted to a breach of his oath, and a violation of that fidelity, which he had in the name of his God sworn unto him, which so good and just a man as *Josiah* was, could not but absolutely detest. For altho' the Romanists make nothing of breaking faith with heretics, yet the breaking of faith with an heathen was condemned by God himself in *Jehoiakim* and *Zedekiah*, and most certainly it would have been condemn'd in *Josiah* also, had he become guilty of it, which being what a person so well instructed in religion, as *Josiah* was, could not but be thoroughly convinced of, the sense, which he had of his duty in this particular seems solely to have been that which engaged

him in this war in which he perished. And with him perished all the glory, honour, and prosperity of the *Jewish* nation. For after that, nothing else ensued but a dismal scene of God's Judgments upon the land, till at length all *Judah* and *Jerusalem* were swallowed up by them in a woful destruction.

THE death of so excellent a prince was deservedly lamented by all his people, and by none more than by *Jeremiah* the prophet, who had a thorough sense of the greatness of the loss, and also a full foresight of the great calamities that were afterwards to follow upon the whole people of the *Jews*, and therefore while his heart was full with the view of both, he wrote "a song of lamentation upon this doleful occasion, as he afterwards did another upon the destruction of *Jerusalem*. This * last is that which we still have, the other is not now extant.

MEGIDDO, where the battel was fought, was a city † in the tribe of *Manasseh* on this side *Jordan*, which is by *Herodotus* called *Magdolum*; nigh it was the town of *Hadad-Rimmon*, afterwards called † *Maximianopolis*, and therefore the Lamentation for the death of *Josiah* is in scripture called *the Lamentation of Hadad-Rimmon in the valley of Megiddo*, which was so great for this excellent prince, and so long continued, that † the lamentation of *Hadad-Rimmon* afterwards became a proverbial phrase for the expressing of any extraordinary sorrow.

THIS great and general mourning of all the people of *Israel* for the death of this prince, and the prophet *Jeremiah's* joining so pathetically with them herein, sheweth in how great a reputation he was with them; which he would not have deserved, had he engaged in this war contrary to the words of that prophet spoken to him from the mouth of the Lord, as the apocryphal writer of the first book † of *Esdra*, and others from him say. For then he would have died in rebellion against God, and disobedience to his command, and then neither God's prophet, nor God's people, could in this case, without sinning against God, have expressed so great an esteem for him, as this mourning implied. And therefore this mourning alone is a sufficient proof of the contrary. Besides it is to be observed, that no part of canonical scripture gives us the least intimation of it, nor can we from thence have any reason or ground to believe, that there was any such word from the Lord by the prophet *Jeremiah*, or any other prophet, to recal *Josiah* from this war. All that is said of it, is from that apocryphal book I have mentioned, of which it may be truly said, that where it is not a transcript from *Ezra*, or some other canonical scripture, it is no more than a bundle of fables, too absurd for the belief of the Romanists themselves, (for they have not taken this book into their canonical scripture, though they have those of *Tobit* and of *Bel and the Dragon*) and therefore it is deserving of no man's regard in this particular.

It is said indeed (2 *Chron.* xxxv. 21.) that *Necho* sent Messengers to *Josiah*, to tell him, that he was sent of God on this expedition; that God was with him in it; and that to meddle with him would be to meddle with God; and that therefore he ought to forbear, that God destroy him not.

* 2 Chron. xxxv. 25.

† This last referring throughout to the destruction of Jerusalem could not be that which was wrote upon the death of Josiah.

‡ Hieronymus.

§ Zechariah xii. 11.

¶ Joshua xvii. 11. Judges i. 27.

‡ Chap. i. 28.

And (ver. 22.) that *Josiah* hearkened not to the word of *Necho* from the mouth of God. And from all this put together, some would infer that *Josiah* was disobedient to the word of God in going to that war. But this is utterly inconsistent with the character, which is given us in scripture, of that religious and excellent prince. And therefore what is here said must not be understood of the true God, *the Lord Jehovah*, who was the God of *Israel*, but of the *Egyptian* Gods, whose oracles *Josiah* had no reason to have any regard to. For *Necho* being an heathen Prince knew not *the Lord Jehovah*, nor ever consulted his prophets or his oracles; the *Egyptian* Gods were those only which he worshipped, and whose oracles he consulted, and therefore when he saith he was sent of God on this expedition, and that God was with him, he meant none other than his false *Egyptian* Gods whom he served. For wherever the word *God* occurs in this text, it is not expressed in the *Hebrew* original by the word *Jehovah*, which is the proper name of the true God, but by the word *Elohim*, which being in the plural number is equally applicable to the false Gods of the heathens, as well as to the true God, who was the God of *Israel*, and in the scriptures of the old testament it is equally used for the expressing of the one, as well as the other. For wherever there is occasion therein to speak of those false Gods, it is by the word *Elohim* that they are there mentioned. And whereas it is said (ver. 22.) that *Josiah* hearkened not to the words of *Necho* from the mouth of God, (and from hence it is chiefly inferr'd that the message which *Necho* sent to *Josiah* was truly from God) it is to be observed, that the phrase, which we render *from the mouth of God*, is in the *Hebrew* original *Mippi Elohim*, i. e. from the mouth of *Elohim*, which may be interpreted of the false Gods, as well as of the true God, (as hath been already said) and much rather in this place of the former, than of the latter. For wherever else through the whole *Hebrew* text of the holy scriptures there is mention made of any word coming from the mouth of God, he is there mentioned by the name *Jehovah*, which determines it to the true God; and this is the only place in the whole *Hebrew* bible, where in the use of this phrase it is expressed otherwise, that is, by the name *Elohim*, and not by the name *Jehovah*, which change in the phrase in this place is a sufficient proof to me, that there must be here a change in the signification also, and that the word which is here said to come from the mouth of *Elohim* is not the same with the word which is every where else in the use of this phrase in scripture said to come from the mouth of *Jehovah*, but that *Elohim* must in this place signify the false Gods of the *Egyptians*, and that from their false oracles only *Necho* had this word, which he sent to *Josiah*. For what had he to do with any word from the true God, who knew him not, nor ever worshipped him? or how could any such revelation come to him, who knew not any of his prophets, or ever consulted them? and therefore most certainly the word, which is here said to come *Mippi Elohim*, i. e. from the month of *Elohim*, must be understood only of *Necho's Elohim*, that is, of those false *Egyptian* Gods whose oracles he consulted, before he undertook this expedition, as it was then usual with heathen princes on such occasions to consult the false deluding oracles of the Gods they worshipped. And had it been here *Mippi Jeho-*

^c See Deuter. viii. 3. Joshua ix. 14. 1 Kings xiii. 21. 2 Chron xxxvi. 12. Isaiah i. 20. xl. 5. lviii. 14. lxii. 2. Jer. ix. 12. and xxiii. 16. Micah iv. 4.

vah, i. e. from the mouth of *Jehovah*, instead of *Mippi Elohim*, considering who sent the message, it would not have much mended the matter. For *Josiah* would have had no reason to believe it from such a messenger. When *Sennacherib* came up against *Judah*, he sent *Hezekiah* word,^d that the Lord (*Jehovah* in the *Hebrew*) said unto him, *Go up against this land and destroy it*. But it was not reckoned a fault in *Hezekiah*, that he believed him not, neither could it be reckoned a fault in *Josiah* in doing the same. For it is certain that *Sennacherib* in so pretending lyed to King *Hezekiah*, and why might not *Josiah* then have as good reason to conclude that *Necho*, in the like pretence might have lyed also unto him? For God used not to send his word to his servants by such messengers. But *Necho's* pretence was not so large as *Sennacherib's*. For *Sennacherib* pretended to be sent by *Jehovah*, the certain name of the true God, but *Necho* pretended to be sent only by *Elohim*, which may be interpreted of his false *Egyptian* Gods, as well as of the true God. And it seems clear he could mean none other than the former by that word in this text. And therefore *Josiah* could not be liable to any blame in not hearkening to any words which came from them.

AFTER the death of *Josiah* * the people of the land took *Jehoahaz* his son, who was also called *Shallum*, and made him King in his stead. He was much unlike his father. For he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, and therefore he was soon tumbled down from his throne into a prison, where he ended his days with misery and disgrace in a strange land.

FOR *Pharaoh Necho* † having had the good success in his expedition to beat the *Babylonians* at the *Euphrates*, and having thereon taken *Charchemish*, a great city in those parts, and secured it to himself with a good garrison, after three months returned again towards *Egypt*, and hearing in his way that *Jehoahaz* had taken upon him to be King of *Judah* without his consent, ‡ he sent for him to *Riblah* in *Syria*, and on his arrival caused him to be put in chains, and sent him prisoner into *Egypt*, where he died; and then proceeding on in his way came to *Jerusalem*, where he made § *Jehoiakim*, another of the sons of *Josiah*, King instead of his brother, and put the land to an annual tribute of an † hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold, and after that returned with great triumph into his own kingdom.

HERODOTUS making mention of this expedition of *Necho's*, and also of the battle which he fought at *Megiddo* (or *Magdolum*, as he calleth it) * faith, that after the victory there obtained by him, he took the great city *Cadytis*, which city he afterwards describes to be a mountainous city in *Palestine*, of the bigness of *Sardis* in *Lidya*, the chief city of all *Lesser Asia* in those times. By which description this city *Cadytis* could be none other than *Jerusalem*. For that is situated in the mountains of *Palestine*, and there was then no other city in those parts which could be equalled

^d 2 Kings xviii. 25. Isaiah xxxvi. 10.

^e 2 Kings xxiii. 31. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 1.

^f Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 6.

^g 2 Kings xxiii. 33. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3, 4.

^h This *Jehoiakim* was elder brother to *Jehoahaz*. For the latter was but twenty three years old when the other was twenty five, 2 Kings xxiii. 31, 36. and yet the people on the death of *Josiah* chose *Jehoahaz* to succeed him.

ⁱ The whole annual tribute, as here taxed, came to 52200 l. of our money.

* Herod. lib. 2.

to *Sardis*, but that only. And it is certain from scripture, that after this battel *Necho* did take *Jerusalem*. For he¹ was there when he made *Jehoia-kim* King. There is, I confess, no mention of this name either in the scriptures or in *Josephus*. But that it was however called so in the time of *Herodotus* by the *Syrians* and *Arabians* doth appear from this, that it is called by them and all the eastern nations by no other name, but one of the same original, and the same signification, even to this day. For *Jerusalem* is a name now altogether as strange among them as *Cadytis* is to us. They² all call it by the name of *Al-kuds*, which signifies the same that *Cadytis* doth, that is, *The Holy*. For from the time that *Solomon* built the temple at *Jerusalem*, and it was thereby made to all *Israel* the common place of their religious worship, this epithet of *The Holy* was commonly given unto it. And therefore we find it thenceforth called, in the sacred writings of the *Old Testament*,³ *Air Hakkodesh*, i. e. the city of holiness or *the Holy City*, and so also⁴ in several places in the *New Testament*. And this same title they gave it in their coins. For the inscription of their shekels (many of which are still extant) was⁵ *Jerusalem Kedushab*, i. e. *Jerusalem the holy*, and this coin going current among the neighbouring nations, especially after the *Babylonish* captivity had made a dispersion of that people over all the east, it carry'd this name with it among them, and they from hence called the city by both names *Jerusalem Kedushab*, and at length for shortness sake *Kedushab* only, and the *Syrians* (who in their dialect usually turned the *Hebrew sh* into *th*) *Kedutha*. And the *Syriac*, in the time of *Herodotus*, being the only language that was then spoken in *Palestine* (the *Hebrew* having been no more used there, or any where else, as a vulgar language, after the *Babylonish* captivity) he found it when he travelled thorough that countrey to be called there in the *Syriac* dialect *Kedutha*, from whence by giving it a *Greek* termination he made it in the *Greek* language *Kadulic* or *Cadytis* in his history, which he wrote about the time that *Nehemiah* ended his twelve years government at *Jerusalem*. And for the same reason that it was called *Kedusha* or *Kedutha* in *Syria* and *Palestine*, the *Arabs* in their language called it⁶ *Bait Almokdes*, i. e. *the holy Buildings*, or *the holy City*, and often with another adjective of the same root and the same signification *Bait Alkuds*, and at length simply *Al-kuds*, i. e. *The Holy*, by which name only⁷ it is now called by the *Turks*, *Arabs*, and all other nations of the *Mahometan* religion in those parts. And that it may not look strange to prove an ancient name by the modern name, which is now given that place, it is necessary I acquaint the reader, that the *Arabs* being the ancientest nation in the world, (who have never been by any conquest dispossessed, or driven out of their countrey, but have there always remained in a continued descent from the first planters of it even to this day) and being also as little given to make changes in their manners and usages, as they are as to their countrey, they have still retained those same names of places which were at first given them, and on their getting the empire of the east restored them again to many of them, after

¹ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3. ² Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 137. Sandys's Travels, book 3. p. 155.
Baudrandi Geographia sub voce Hierosolyma. ³ Nehemiah xi. 1 and 18. Isaiah xlviii. 2. and
Chap. LII. 1. Daniel ix. 24. ⁴ Matt. iv. 5. and Chap. xxvii. 53. Rev. xxi. 2.
⁵ See Lightfoot's Works, Vol. 1. p. 497. and Vol. 2. p. 303. and Walton's Apparatus before the
Polygot Bible, p. 36, 37. ⁶ Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 137. ⁷ Sandys's Travels,
book 3. p. 155. Baudrandi Geographia sub voce Hierosolyma.

they had been for several ages extinct by the intermediate changes, that had hapned in them. And thus ' the ancient metropolis of *Egypt*, which from *Mezraim* the son of *Ham*, the first planter of that countrey after the flood, was called *Mefri*, and afterwards for many ages had the name of *Memphis*, was on the *Arabs* making themselves masters of *Egypt*, again called *Mefri*, and hath retained that name ever since, tho' by the building of *Cairo* on the other side of *Nile* over against it, (for *Mefri* stands on the west side of that river) that ancient and once noble city is now brought in a manner to desolation. And for the same reason the city of *Tyrus*, which was anciently called ' *Zor* or *Zur*, (from whence the whole countrey of *Syria* had its name) hath since it fell into the hands of the *Arabs* on the erecting of their empire in the east been again called ' *Sor*, and is at this day known by no other name in those parts. And by the same means the city of *Palmyra* hath again recovered the old name of *Tadmor*, by which it was called " in the time of *Solomon*, and is now known in the east by no other name. And abundance of other like instances might be given in the east to this purpose. And the like may be found nearer home. For it is well known that the *Welsh* in their language do still call all the cities in *England* by the old *British* names, by which they were called 1300 years ago, before the *Saxons* dispossessed them of this countrey; and should they recover it again, and here get the dominion over it as formerly, no doubt they would again restore to all places here the same *British* names by which they still call them.

AN. 609.
Jehoiakim 1.

J E H O I A K I M, on his taking on him the kingdom, followed the example of his brother ' in doing that which was evil. For he went on in his steps to relax all the good order and discipline of his father, as the other had done, and the people (who never went heartily into that good King's reformation) gladly laying hold hereof did let themselves loose to the full bent of their own depraved inclinations, and run into all manner of iniquity, whereon the prophet *Jeremiah* being sent of God * first went into the King's house, and there proclaimed God's judgments against him and his family, if he went on in his iniquities, and did not amend and repent of them. And after that * he went up into the temple, and there spoke to all the people that came up thither to worship after the same manner, declaring unto them, that if they would turn from their evil ways, God would turn from his wrath, and repent of the evil which he purposed to bring upon them. But that if they would not hearken unto him to walk in the law of God, and keep his commandments, then the wrath of God should be poured out upon them, and both that city and the temple should be brought to utter desolation. Which angring the priests that then attended in the temple, they laid hold of him, and brought him before the King's council to have him put to death. But *Abikam*, one of the chief lords of the council, so befriended *Jeremiah*, that he brought him off, and got him discharged by the general suffrage, not only of the princes, but also of all the elders of the people that were then present. This *Abikam* was ' the father

* Bocharti Phaleg. Part I. lib. 4. c. 24. Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 152, 153, &c. ' So it is called in the original Hebrew text of the Old Testament where ever there is mention of this City therein. ' Golii Notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 130 and 131. Baudrandi Geographia sub voce *Tyrus*. Thevenot's Travels, Part I. Book II. Ch. 60. p. 220. " 1 Kings ix. 18. 2 Chron. viii. 4. ' 2 Kings xxiii. 37. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5. w Jer. xxii. * Jer. xxvi. y 2 Kings xxv. 22.

of *Gedaliah*, that was afterwards made governor of the land under the *Chaldeans*, and the son of *Shaphan* the scribe, (who was ^a chief minister of state under King *Josiah*) and brother ^a to *Gemariah*, ^b *Elasah*, and ^c *Jaazaniah*, who were great men in those days, and members also of the council with him, and therefore in conjunction with them he had a great interest there, which he made use of on this occasion, to deliver the prophet from that mischief which was intended against him.

BUT ^d *Uriah*, another prophet of the Lord, who had this same year prophesied after the same manner, could not so come off. For *Jehoiakim* was so incensed against him for it, that he sought to put him to death, whereon *Uriah* fled into *Egypt*; but this did not secure him from his revenge, for he sent into *Egypt* after him, and having procur'd him to be there seized, brought him up from thence, and slew him at *Jerusalem*, which became a farther enhancing of his iniquity, and also of God's wrath against him for it.

ABOUT the same time also prophesied the Prophets *Habakuk* and *Zephaniah*, who being called to the prophetick office in the reign of *Josiah*, continued (as seems most likely) to this time. For they prophesied the same things that *Jeremiah* did, and upon the same occasion, ^e that is, destruction and desolation upon *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, because of the many hainous sins they were then guilty of. *Zephaniah* doth not name the *Chaldeans*, who were to be the executioners of this wrath of God upon them; but ^f *Habakuk* doth. As to *Habakuk*, neither the time in which he lived, nor the parents from whom he was descended, are any where named in scripture. But he prophesying the coming of the *Chaldeans* in the same manner, as *Jeremiah* did, this gives reason to conjecture that he lived in the same time. Of *Zephaniah* it is directly said, ^g that he prophesied in the time of *Josiah*; and in his pedigree (which is also given us) his father's grandfather is called ^h *Hezekiah*, which some taking to be King *Hezekiah* do therefore reckon this Prophet to have been of royal descent.

IN the third year of *Jehoiakim*, ⁱ *Nabopolassar* King of *Babylon*, finding that on *Necho's* taking of *Carchemish* all *Syria* and *Palestine* had revolted to him, and that he being old and infirm was unable to march thither himself to reduce them, he took *Nebuchadnezzar* his son into partnership with him in the empire, and ^j sent him with an army into those parts, and from hence the *Jewish* computation of the years of *Nebuchadnezzar's* reign begins, that is, from the end of the third year of *Jehoiakim*. For it was about the end of that year that this was done, and therefore according to the *Jews*, ^k the fourth year of *Jehoiakim* was the first year of *Nebuchadnezzar*. But according to the *Babylonians* his reign is not reckoned to begin till after his father's death, which hapned two years afterwards; and both computations being found in scripture, it is necessary to say so much here for the reconciling of them.

IN the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*. *Nebuchadnezzar*, ^l having beaten the

An. 607.
Jehoiakim 3.

An. 606.
Jehoiakim 4.

^a 2 Kings. xxii. ^b Jer. xxxvi. 10. ^c Jer. xix. 3. ^d Ezek. viii. 11. From which place it is inferred that *Jaazaniah* was then President of the Sanhedrim. ^e Jer. xxvi. 20---23.
^f Habakuk i. 1---11. ^g Zephaniah i. 1---18. ^h Hab. i. 5. ⁱ Zephaniah i. 1.
^j Berosus apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. & contra Apionem, lib. 1. ^k Dan. i. 1.
^l Jer. xxv. 1. Which same fourth year, was the 23^d from the 13th of *Josiah*, when *Jeremiah* first began to prophesy, ver. 3. ^m Jer. xli. 1.

army of *Necho* King of *Egypt* at the *Euphrates*, and retaken *Carchemish*, marched towards *Syria* and *Palestine* to recover those provinces again to the *Babylonish* empire; on whose approach ^m the *Rechabites*, who according to the institution of *Jonadab* the son of *Rechab* their father, had always abstained from wine, and hitherto only liv'd in tents, finding no security from this invasion in the open countrey retired for their safety to *Jerusalem*, where was transacted between them and *Jeremiah* what we find related in the thirty fifth chapter of his prophecies.

THIS very ^a same year *Jeremiah* prophesied of the coming of *Nebuchadnezzar* against *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, that the whole land should be delivered into his hands, and that a captivity of seventy years continuance should after that ensue upon the people of the *Jews*, and he also delivered several other prophecies of the many calamities and woful desolations that were then ready to be brought upon them, intending thereby if possible to bring them to repentance, that so the wrath of God might be diverted from them.

BUT all this working nothing upon their hardned and obdurate hearts, God commanded him ^o to collect together, and write in a roll, all the words of prophecy, which had been spoken by him against *Israel*, and against *Judah*, and against the nations, from the thirteenth year of *Josiab* (when he was first called to the prophetick office) to that time; whereon *Jeremiah* called to him *Baruch* the son of *Neriah*, a chief disciple of his, who being a ready scribe wrote from his mouth all as God had commanded, and then went with the roll which he had thus written up into the temple, and there read it in the hearing of all the people on the great fast of the expiation, when all *Judah* and *Jerusalem* were assembled together at that solemnity. For *Jeremiah* being then shut up in prison for his former prophesying could not go up thither himself, and therefore by God's command *Baruch* was sent to do it in his stead, and at his first reading of the roll, whether it were that *Jehoiakim* and his Princes were then absent to take care of the borders of the kingdom, which *Nebuchadnezzar* was then just ready to invade; or that amidst the distractions, which usually happen on such impending dangers, mens minds were otherwise engaged, no resentments were at that time express'd either against the prophet or his disciple on this occasion. But *Baruch* being very much affrighted and dismayed at the threats of the roll, which he had thus wrote and publickly read, the word of prophecy, which we have in the forty fifth chapter of *Jeremiah*, was sent from God on purpose to comfort him, and a promise is therein given him, that amidst all the calamities, destructions, and desolations, which according to the words of the roll should be certainly brought upon *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, he should be sure to find a deliverance. For that none of them should reach him, but God would give him his life for a prey in all places wheresoever he should go.

THE great fast of the expiation, wherein *Baruch* read the roll, as is above related, was annually kept by the *Jews* ^p on the tenth day of the month *Tizri*, which answers to our *September*. Immediately after that *Nebuchadnezzar* invaded *Judea*, and having laid siege to *Jerusalem* ^q made himself master of it in the ninth month called *Casfeu* (which answers to our

^m Jeremiah xxxv. 6---11.
& xxiii. 27.

^a Jeremiah xxv.
^q Dan. i. 2. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6.

^o Jeremiah xxxvi.

^p Leviticus xvi. 29.

November) on the eighteenth day of that month, (for on that day is still kept by the *Jews* an annual fast in commemoration of it even to this day) and having then taken *Jehoiakim* prisoner, he put him in chains to carry him to *Babylon*. But he having humbled himself to King *Nebuchadnezzar*, and submitted to become his tributary, and thereon sworn fealty to him, he was again restored to his kingdom, and *Nebuchadnezzar* marched from *Jerusalem* for the farther prosecuting of his victories against the *Egyptians*.

BUT before he removed from *Jerusalem*, he had caused great numbers of the people to be sent captives to *Babylon*, and particularly gave order to *Ashpenaz* the master of his eunuchs, that he should make choice out of the children of the royal family, and of the nobility of the land, of such as he found to be of the fairest countenance and the quickest parts, to be carried to *Babylon*, and there made eunuchs in his palace. Whereby was fulfilled the word of the Lord spoken by *Isaiah* the prophet to *Hezekiah* King of *Judah* above an hundred years before. At the same time also he carried away a great part of the vessels of the house of the Lord to put them in the house of *Bel* his God at *Babylon*. And therefore the people being thus carried into Captivity, the sons of the royal family and of the nobility of the Land made eunuchs and slaves in the palace of the King of *Babylon*, the vessels of the temple carried thither, and the King made a tributary, and the whole land now brought into vassalage under the *Babylonians*; from hence must be reckoned the beginning of the seventy years of the *Babylonish* captivity foretold by the prophet *Jeremiah*; and the fourth year of *Jehoiakim* must be the first year in that computation.

AMONG the number of the children that were carried away in this captivity by the master of the eunuchs, were * *Daniel*, *Hananiah*, *Misbael* and *Azariah*. *Daniel* they called *Belteshazzar*, and the other three *Shadrach*, *Meshae*, and *Abednego*. Some indeed do place their captivity some years later, but that is absolutely inconsistent with what is elsewhere said in Scripture. For these children after their carrying away to *Babylon* were to be three years under the tuition of the master of the eunuchs, to be instructed by him in the language and the learning of the *Chaldeans*, before they were to be admitted to the presence of the King to stand and serve before him. But in the second year of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign at *Babylon* from his father's death, (which was but the fourth year after his first taking of *Jerusalem*) *Daniel* had not only admission and freedom of access to the presence of the King, but we find him there interpreting of his dream, and immediately thereon advanced to be chief of the governors of the wise men, and ruler over all the province of *Babylon*. For which trust less than four years instruction in the language, laws, usages and learning of the countrey, can scarce be thought sufficient to qualify him, nor could he any sooner be old enough for it. For he was but a youth when he was first carried away from *Jerusalem*. And therefore all this put together doth necessarily determine the time of *Daniel*'s and the other children's carrying away to *Babylon* to the year where I have placed it. And if we will make Scripture consistent with Scripture, it could not

* 2 Kings xxiv. 1. f Dan. i. 3. t Isaiah xxxix. 7. 2 Kings xx. 18. v Dan. i. 2.
w Jer. xxv. 11. & xxix. 10. x Dan. i. 6. y Dan. i. 5. z Dan. ii. 16.
a Dan. ii. 31. b Dan. ii. 48.

possibly have been any later. *Daniel* speaking of the captivity, ^c begins the History of it from the third year of *Jehoiakim*, which placeth it back yet still a year farther than I have done, and this is an objection on the other hand. But the answer hereto is easy. *Daniel* begins his computation from the time that *Nebuchadnezzar* was sent from *Babylon* by his Father on this expedition, which was in the latter end of the third year of *Jehoiakim*. After that two months at least must have been spent in his march to the borders of *Syria*. There in the fourth year of *Jehoiakim* (we suppose in the beginning of that year) he fought the *Egyptians*, and having overthrown them in battel, besieged *Carchemish* and took it. After this he reduced all the provinces and cities of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, in which having employed the greatest part of the year, (and a great deal of work it was to do within that time) in the beginning of *October* he came and laid siege to *Jerusalem*, and about a month after took the city. And from hence we date the beginning of *Daniel's* servitude, and also the beginning of the seventy years of the *Babylonish* captivity, and therefore do reckon that year to have been the first of both.

THE *Scythians*, who had now for twenty eight years held all the upper *Asia*, (that is the two *Armenias*, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Colchis* and *Iberia*,) were this year again ^d driven out of it. The *Medes*, whom they had dispossessed of these Provinces, had long endeavoured to recover them by open force, but finding themselves unable to succeed this way they at length accomplished it by treachery. For under the covert of a peace (which they had made on purpose to carry on the fraud) they invited the greatest part of them to a feast, where having made them drunk they slew them all. After which having easily subdued the rest they recovered from them all that they had lost, and again extended their empire to the river *Halys*, which had been the ancient borders of it towards the west.

AA. 605.
Jehoiakim 5.

AFTER the *Chaldeans* were gone from *Jerusalem*, *Jehoiakim* instead of being amended by those heavy chastisements, which by their hand God had inflicted on him and his kingdom, rather grew worse under them in all those ways of wickedness and impiety, which he had afore practised; and *Judah* and *Jerusalem* kept pace with him herein, to the farther provoking of God's wrath, and the hastning of their own destruction. However no means were omitted to reclaim them; and *Jeremiah* the prophet, who was particularly sent to them for this purpose, was constantly calling upon them and exhorting them to turn unto the Lord their God, that so his wrath might be turned from them, and they saved from the destruction which was coming upon them; of which he ceased not continually to warn them. And they having on the ninth month, called *Casfeu*, proclaimed a publick fast to be held on the eighteenth day of the same, because of the calamity, which they had suffered thereon in the taking of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans* the year foregoing, (which hath ever since been annually observed by them in commemoration hereof, as hath been aforesaid) the prophet laying hold of this opportunity, when all *Judah* and *Jerusalem* were met together to keep this solemnity, ^e sent *Baruch* again up into the temple with the roll of his prophecies there to read it the second time in the hearing of all of them, making thereby another tryal, if by the ter-

^c Dan. i. 1.

^d Herodotus lib. 1.

^e Jer. xxxvi. 9, 10, 11, &c.

rors of these prophecies it were possible to fright them into their duty. And it being God's command by the mouth of his prophet, *Baruch* accordingly went up into the temple on the said fast-day, and entering into the chamber of *Gemariah* the scribe (which was the room where the King's council used to sit in the temple near the east gate of the same) did there from a window aloft read in the hearing of all the people then gathered together in the court below all the words of the said roll; which *Michaiab* the son of *Gemariah*, who was then present, hearing, went immediately to the King's house, and there informed the lords of the council of it, whereon they sent for *Baruch*, and caused him to sit down, and read the roll over to them; at the hearing whereof, and the threats therein contained, they being much afrighted enquired of *Baruch* the manner of his writing of it, and being informed that it was all dictated to him from the mouth of the prophet, they ordered him to leave the roll, and depart, advising, that he and *Jeremiah* should immediately go and hide themselves where no one might find them; and then went in to the King, and informed him of all that had passed; whereon he sent for the roll, and caused it to be read to him, but after he had heard three or four leaves of it, as he was sitting by the fire in the winter parlour, he took it and cut it with a penknife, and cast it into the fire that was there before him, till it was all consumed, notwithstanding some of the lords of the council intreated him to the contrary, and immediately thereon issued out an order to have *Baruch* and *Jeremiah* seiz'd, but having hid themselves, as advised by the council, they could not be found.

THE *Jews* keep an annual fast even to this day for the burning of this roll. The day marked for it in their calendar is the 29th day of *Casleu*, eleven days after that which they keep for that fast, on which it was read in the temple. But the reading of the roll on the fast of the 18th of *Casleu*, and the burning of it according to the account given hereof by *Jeremiah*, seem immediately to have followed each other.

AFTER the burning of this roll, another by God's especial command was forthwith written in the same manner from the mouth of the Prophet by the hand of *Baruch*, wherein was contained all that was in the former roll, and there were added many other like words, and particularly that prophecy in respect of *Jehoiakim* and his house, which is for this impious fact in the 30th and 31st verses of the xxxvith chapter of *Jeremiah* denounced against them.

IN making the roll to be read twice in the temple by *Baruch*, I confess I differ from most that have commented upon this place of Scripture. But as the reading of the roll by *Baruch* is in the xxxvith chapter of *Jeremiah* twice related, so it is plain to me that it was twice done. For in the first relation ^e it is said to be done in the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, and in the second ^h it is said to be done in the fifth, which plainly denotes two different times. And in the first relation *Jeremiah* ⁱ is said to be shut up in prison when the roll was read, but in the second relation it plainly appears he was out of prison, for ^k he was then at full liberty to go out of the way, and hide himself. For these reasons I take it for certain, that the roll was twice read, and I have Archbishop *Usher* with me in the same opinion,

^e *Casleu* is the ninth month in the Jewish year, and answers to our November.

^g Jer. xxxvi. 1.

^h Jer. xxxvi. 9.

ⁱ Jer. xxxvi. 5.

^k Jer. xxxvi. 26.

whose judgment must always be of the greatest weight in such matters.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR after his departure from *Jerusalem* employed all this year in carrying on his war against the *Egyptians*, in which he had that success, that before the ensuing winter he had driven them out of all *Syria* and *Palestine*, and brought in subjection to him¹ from the river *Euphrates* to the river of *Egypt* all that formerly belonged to the King of *Egypt*, i. e. all *Syria* and *Palestine*. For as the river *Euphrates* was the boundary of *Syria* towards the north-east, so the river of *Egypt* was the boundary of *Palestine* towards the south-west. This river of *Egypt*, which is so often mentioned in scripture as the boundary of the land of *Canaan* or *Palestine* towards *Egypt*, was not the *Nile*, as many suppose, but a small river which running thorough the desert, that lies between these two countries, was anciently reckoned the common boundary of both. And thus far the land reached, which was promised to the seed of *Abraham* (*Gen.* xv. 18.) and was afterwards by lot divided among them, *Joshua* xv. 4.

An. 604.
Jehoiakim 6.

TOWARDS the end of the fifth year of *Jehoiakim* dyed *Nabopolassar* King of *Babylon*, and father of *Nebuchadnezzar*, after he had reigned^m one and twenty years; which *Nebuchadnezzar* being informed ofⁿ he immediately with a few only of his followers hastned through the desert the nearest way to *Babylon*, leaving the gross of his army, with the prisoners and prey, to be brought after him by his generals. On his arrival at the palace, he received the government from the hands of those who had carefully reserved it for him, and thereon succeeded his father in the whole empire, which contained *Chaldea*, *Assyria*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, and *Palestine*, and reigned over it according to *Ptolemy* forty three years; the first of which begins from the *January* following, which is the *Babylonish* account, from which the *Jewish* account differs two years, as reckoning his reign from the time he was admitted to be partner with his father. From hence we have a double computation of the years of his reign, the *Jewish* and the *Babylonish*; *Daniel* follows the latter, but all other parts of Scripture, that make mention of him, the other.

An. 603.
Jehoiakim 7.

IN the seventh year of *Jehoiakim*, which was the second year of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Babylonish* account, and the fourth according to the *Jewish*, *Daniel*^o revealed unto *Nebuchadnezzar* his dream, and also unfolded to him the interpretation of it, in the manner as we have it at large related in the ii^d chapter of *Daniel*, whereon he was advanced to great honour, being made chief of the governours over all the wise men of *Babylon*, and also chief ruler over the whole province of *Babylon*, and one of the chief lords of the council, who always continued in the King's court, he being then about the age of two and twenty. And in his prosperity he was not forgetful of his three companions, who had been brought to *Babylon* with him, *Shadrach*, *Mesbach*, and *Abednego*, but having spoken to the King in their behalf, procured that they were preferred to places of honourable trust under him in the province of *Babylon*. These afterwards made themselves very signally known to the King, and also to the whole empire of *Babylon*, by their constancy to their religion in refusing to worship the golden image which *Nebuchadnezzar* had set up, and by the wonderful deliverance which God wrought for them thereon, which

¹ 2 Kings xxiv. 7.
& contra Apionem lib. 1.

^m Canon Ptolemæi.
^o Daniel ii.

ⁿ Berosus apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

deservedly recommending them to the King's highest regard, they were thereon much higher advanced. The whole history whereof is at full related in the iii^d chapter of *Daniel*.

THE same year *Jehoiakim*, after he had served the King of *Babylon* three years, ^p rebelled against him, and refusing to pay him any more tribute renewed his confederacy with *Pharaoh Necho* King of *Egypt* in opposition to him. Whereon *Nebuchadnezzar*, not being then at leisure by reason of other engagements to come himself and chastise him, sent orders to all his lieutenants and governors of provinces in those parts to make war upon him, which brought upon *Jehoiakim* inroads and invasions from every quarter, ^q the *Ammonites*, the *Moabites*, the *Syrians*, the *Arabians*, and all the other nations round him, who had subjected themselves to the *Babylonish* yoke, infesting him with incursions, and harassing him with depredations on every side. And thus they continued to do for three years together, till at length in the eleventh year of his reign all parties joyning together against him ^r they shut him up in *Jerusalem*, where in the prosecution of the siege having taken him prisoner in some sally (it may be supposed) which he made upon them, they slew him with the sword, and then cast out his dead body into the high way without one of the gates of *Jerusalem*, allowing it no other burial, ^s as the prophet *Jeremiah* had foretold, than that of an ass, that is, to be cast forth into a place of the greatest contempt, there to rot and be consumed to dust in the open air.

An. 599.
Jehoiakim 11.

THE year before ^t dyed his confederate, on whom he chiefly depended, *Pharaoh Necho* King of *Egypt*, after he had reigned sixteen years, and *Psamis* his son succeeded him in the kingdom.

JEHOIAKIM being dead, ^u *Jehoiachin* his son (who is also called *Jechoniah*, and *Coniah*) reigned in his stead, who doing evil in the sight of the Lord, in the same manner as his father had done, this provoked ^w a very bitter declaration of God's wrath against him by the mouth of the prophet *Jeremiah*, and it was as bitterly executed upon him. For after *Jehoiakim's* death the servants of *Nebuchadnezzar* (that is his lieutenants, and governours of the provinces, that were under his subjection in those parts) still ^x continued to block up *Jerusalem*, and after three months *Nebuchadnezzar* himself came thither in person with his royal army, and caused the place to be begirt with a close siege on every side, whereon *Jehoiachin* finding himself unable to defend it went out to *Nebuchadnezzar*, with his mother, and his princes and servants, and delivered himself into his hands. But hereby he obtained no other favour than to save his life. For being immediately put in chains, he was carryed to *Babylon*, and there continued shut up in prison till the death of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which was full seven and thirty years.

An. 598.
Jehoiachin.
Zedekiah 1.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR having hereon made himself master of *Jerusalem*, ^y took thence all the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the King's house, and cut in pieces the vessels of gold, which *Solomon* King of *Israel* made in the temple of the Lord, and carried them to *Babylon*; and he also carried thither with him a vast number of captives, *Jehoiachin* the King, his mother, and his wives, and his offi-

^p 2 Kings xxiv. 1. ^q 2 Kings xxiv. 2. ^r 2 Kings xxiv. 10. ^s Jeremiah xxii. 18, 19.
xxxvi. 30. ^t Herodotus lib. 2. ^u 2 Kings xxiv. 6. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 9. ^w Jer. xxii. 24--30.
^x 2 Kings xxiv. 10, 11. ^y 2 Kings xxiv. 13--16.

cers and princes, and all the mighty men of valour, even to the number of ten thousand men out of *Jerusalem* only, besides the smiths and the carpenters, and other artificers; and out of the rest of the land, of the mighty men seven thousand, and of the craftsmen and smiths one thousand, besides three thousand twenty and three, ^z which had been carried away the year before out of the open countrey, before the siege of *Jerusalem* was begun. With the mighty men of valour he recruited his army, and the artificers he employed in the carrying on of his building at *Babylon*, of which we shall speak hereafter.

IN this captivity ^a was carryed away to *Babylon* *Ezekiel* the prophet, the son of *Buzi* of the house of *Aaron*, and therefore the *Æra* whereby he reckons throughout all his prophecies is from this captivity.

AFTER this great carrying away of the *Jews* into captivity^b the poorer sort of the people being still left in the land, *Nebuchadnezzar* made *Mattaniah*, the son of *Josiah* and unkle of *Jehoiachin*, King over them, taking of him a solemn oath to be true and faithful unto him. And to engage him the more to be so, he changed his name from *Mattaniah* to *Zedekiah*, which signifyeth *the justice of the Lord*, intending by this name to put him continually in mind of the vengeance which he was to expect from the justice of the Lord his God, if he violated that fidelity which he had in his name sworn unto him.

ZEDEKIAH being thus made King reigned eleven years in *Jerusalem*, but his ways being evil in the sight of the Lord, as were those of his nephew and brothers that reigned before him, he did thereby so far fill up the measure of the iniquities of his fore-fathers, that they at length drew down upon *Judah* and *Jerusalem* that terrible destruction in which his reign ended.

AND thus was concluded the second war which *Nebuchadnezzar* had with the *Jews*. Three years he managed it by his lieutenants and governors of the neighbouring provinces of his empire. In the fourth year he came himself in person, and put an end to it in the captivity of *Jehoiachin*, and the taking of *Jerusalem*. What hindred him from coming sooner is not said. Only it appears, that in the tenth year of *Jehoiakim* he was engaged in an arbitration between the *Medes* and *Lydians*. The occasion was this: After ^c the *Medes* had recovered all the *Upper Asia* out of the hands of the *Scythians*, and again extended their borders to the river *Haly*, which was the common boundary between them and the *Lydians*, it was not long before there hapned a war between these two nations, which was managed for five years together with various success. In the sixth year they engaged each other with the utmost of their strength, intending to make that battel decisive of the quarrel that was between them. But in the midst of it, while the fortune of the day seemed to hang in an equal balance between them, there hapned an eclipse, which overspread both armies with darkness, whereon being frightned with what had hapned they both desisted from fighting any longer, and agreed to refer the controversy to the arbitration of two neighbouring princes. The *Lydians* chose *Syennesis* King of *Cilicia*, and the *Medes* ^d *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, who agreed a peace between them, on the terms that *Astyages*, son to *Cyaxares*

^z Jer. lii. 28.

^c Herodotus lib. 2.

^a Ezekiel xl. 1.

^d He is by Herodotus lib. 1. called Labynetus.

^b 2 Kings xxiv. 17. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10.

King of *Media*, should take to wife *Ariena* the daughter of *Halyattis* King of the *Lydians*, of which marriage within a year after was born *Cyaxares*, who is called *Darius* the *Median* in the book of *Daniel*. This eclipse was foretold by *Thales* the *Milesian*, and it hapned on the 20th of *September*, according to the *Julian* account, in the hundred and forty seventh year of *Nabonassar*, and in the ninth of the reign of *Jehoiakim* King of *Judah*, which was the year before Christ 601.

THE same year that *Cyaxares* was born to *Astyages*, he gave his daughter *Mandana*, whom he had by a former wife, in marriage to *Cambyfes* King of *Persia*, of whom the next year after (which was the last year of *Jehoiakim*) was born *Cyrus*, the famous founder of the *Persian* monarchy, and the restorer of the *Jews* to their countrey, their temple, and their former state.

JEHOIACHIN being thus carried into captivity, and *Zedekiah* settled in the throne, *Jeremiah* had in ^e a vision, under the type of two baskets of figs, foreshewn unto him the restoration which God would again give to them who were carried into captivity, and the misery and desolation which should befall them, with their King, that were still in the land; that the captivity of the former should become a means of preservation unto them, while the liberty which the others were left in should serve only to lead them to their utter ruin, as accordingly it befel them in the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the utter devastation of the land, which hapned a few years afterwards.

THE same year God also foreshewed to *Jeremiah* the confusion which he would bring upon ^f *Elam*, (a kingdom lying upon the river *Ulai* eastward beyond the *Tigris*) and the restoration which he would afterwards give thereto, which accordingly came to pass. For it was ^g conquered by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and subjected to him in the same manner as *Judah* was. But afterwards joining with *Cyrus*, it helped to conquer and subdue the *Babylonians*, who had before conquered them; and ^h *Shushan*, which was the chief city of that province, was thenceforth made the metropolis of the *Persian* empire, and had the throne of the kingdom placed in it.

AFTER the departure of *Nebuchadnezzar* out of *Judea* and *Syria*, *Zedekiah* having settled himself in the kingdom, † the Kings of the *Ammonites*, and of the *Moabites*, and of the *Edomites*, and of the *Zidonians*, and the *Tyrians*, and of the other neighbouring nations, sent their ambassadors to *Jerusalem* to congratulate *Zedekiah* on his accession to the throne, and then proposed to him a league against the King of *Babylon*, for the shaking off his yoke, and the hindring of him from any more returning into those parts. Whereon *Jeremiah* by the command of God made him yokes and bonds, and sent them by the said ambassadors to their respective masters, with this message from God, That God had given all their countries unto the King of *Babylon*, and that they should serve him, and his son, and his son's son, and that if they would submit to his yoke, and become obedient to him, it should be well with them and their land; but if otherwise, they should be consumed and destroyed before him. And he spake also to King *Zedekiah* according to the same words, which had that influence on him, that he did not then enter into the league that was proposed to him by the

• Jeremiah xxiv.

‡ Jeremiah xlix. 34---39.

g Xenophon. Cyropæd. lib. 6.

h Strabo lib. 15. p. 727.

† Jeremiah xxvii.

embassadors of those princes. But afterwards when it was farther strengthened by the joyning of the *Egyptians*, and other nations in it, and he and his people began to be tired with the heavy burden and oppression of the *Babylonish* domination over them, he also was drawn into this confederacy, which ended in the absolute ruin both of him and his kingdom, as will be hereafter related.

An. 597.
Zedekiah 2.

ZEDEKIAH about the second year of his reignⁱ sent *Elasah* the son of *Shaphan*, and *Gemariah* the son of *Hilkiab*, to *Babylon* on an embassy to King *Nebuchadnezzar*. By them *Jeremiah* wrote a letter to the *Jews* of the captivity in *Babylon*. The occasion of which was, *Ahab* the son of *Kilaiab*, and *Zedekiah* the son of *Maaseiah*, two of the captivity among the *Jews* at *Babylon*, taking upon them to be prophets sent to them from God, fed them with lying prophecies, and false promises of a speedy restoration, whereon they neglected to make any settlements in the places assigned them for their habitation, either by building of houses, cultivating their land, marrying of wives, or doing any thing else for their own interest and welfare in the countrey, where they were carried, out of a vain expectation of a speedy return. To remedy this evil *Jeremiah* wrote to them to let them know, that they were deceived by those who made them entertain such false hopes, that by the appointment of God their captivity at *Babylon* was to last seventy years. And those who remained in *Judah* and *Jerusalem* should be so far from being able to effect any restoration for them, that God would speedily send against them the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, for the consuming of the greatest part of them, and scatter the rest over the face of the earth to be a curse, and an astonishment, and an hissing, and a reproach among the nations, whither he would drive them. And therefore he exhorts them to provide for themselves in the countrey whither they are carried, as settled inhabitants of the same, and comport themselves there according to all the duties, which belong to them as such, without expecting any return till the time that God had appointed. And as to their false prophets who had prophesied a lie unto them, he denounced God's curse against them in a speedy and fearful destruction, which accordingly was soon after executed upon them. For *Nebuchadnezzar* finding that they disturbed the people by their vain prophecies, and hindered them from making settlements for themselves in the places where he had planted them, caused them to be seized, and roasted to death in the fire. The^k latter *Jews* say, that these two men were the two elders, who would have corrupted *Susanna*, and that *Nebuchadnezzar* commanded them to be burnt for this reason. The whole foundation of this conceit is, that *Jeremiah* in the 23^d verse of the chapter, where he writes hereof, accuseth them for committing adultery with their neighbours wives, from whence they conjecture all the rest.

THESE letters being read to the people of the captivity at *Babylon*, such as were loath to be dispossessed of their vain hopes were much offended at them, and therefore *Semaiah* the *Nehelamite*, another false pretender to prophesy among them, writing their as well as his own sentiments hereof, sent back letters by the same ambassadors, directing them to *Zephaniah* the son of *Maaseiah* the second priest, and to all the priests and

ⁱ Jeremiah xxix.

^k Vide Gemaram in Sanhedrin.

people at *Jerusalem*, wherein he complained of *Jeremiah* for writing the said letters, and required them to rebuke him for the same; which letters being read to *Jeremiah*, the word of God came unto him, which denounced a very severe punishment upon *Semaiah* for the same.

IN the fourth of *Zedekiah*, and the fifth month of that year, *Hananiah*, An. 595. Zedekiah 4. the son *Azur* of ¹ *Gibeon*, took upon him to prophesy falsely in the name of the Lord, that within two full years God would bring back all the vessels of the house of the Lord, and King *Jechoniah*, and all the captives again to *Jerusalem*; whereon the word of the Lord came to *Jeremiah* concerning *Hananiah*, that seeing he had spoken to the people of *Judah* in the name of the Lord, who sent him not, and had made them thereby to trust in a lye, he should be smitten of God, and dye before the year should expire; and accordingly he died the same year in the seventh month, which was within two months after.

THE same year *Jeremiah* had revealed unto him the prophecies, which we have in the fiftieth and fifty first chapters of *Jeremiah* concerning God's judgments, which were to be executed upon *Chaldea* and *Babylon* by the *Medes* and *Persians*. All which *Jeremiah* wrote in a book, and ^m delivered it to *Seraiah* the son of *Neriah*, and brother of *Baruch*, who was then sent to *Babylon* by *Zedekiah*, commanding him, that when he should come to *Babylon*, he should there read the same upon the Banks of *Euphrates*; and that, when he should have there made an end of reading it, he should bind a stone to it and cast it into the midst of the river, to denote thereby, that as that should sink, so should *Babylon* also sink, and never rise any more; which hath since been fully verified, about two thousand years having now passed, since *Babylon* hath been wholly desolated, and without an inhabitant.

BARUCH seemeth to have gone with his brother in this journey to *Babylon*. For he is ⁿ said in the apocryphal book that bears his name, to have read that book at *Babylon* in the hearing of King *Jechoniah*, or *Jehoiachin*, and of the elders and people of the *Jews* then at *Babylon*, on the fifth year after the taking of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*; which can be understood of no other taking of it, than that wherein *Jehoiachin* was made a captive. For after the last taking of it, in the eleventh of *Zedekiah*, *Baruch* could not be in *Babylon*. For after that he went into *Egypt* with *Jeremiah*, from whence it is not likely that he did ever return. And farther it is said in this very book of *Baruch*, that after the reading of his book as aforesaid, a collection was made at *Babylon* of money, which was sent to *Jerusalem* to *Joakim* the high-priest, the son of *Hilkiah* the son of *Shallum*, and to the priests, and to all the people that were found with him at *Jerusalem*, to buy burnt-offerings, and sin-offerings, and incense, and to prepare the *mincha*, and to offer upon the altar of the Lord their God, nothing of which could be true after the last taking of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*. For then the city and temple were burnt and utterly destroyed, and after that there was no high-priest, altar, altar-service, or people to be found at *Jerusalem*, till the return of the *Jews* again thither, after the end of their seventy years captivity. And if there were any such person as *Joakim*, (for he is no where else named) since he is here said to be the son of *Hilkiah* the son of *Shallum*, he must have been the unkle of *Se-*

¹ Jeremiah xxviii.

^m Jeremiah li. 59---64.

ⁿ Baruch i. 1---4.

raiah, who was high-priest at the burning of the temple, and grandson to the same *Hilkiab*. And therefore he must have been high-priest before *Seraiah*, if there were any such person in that office at all. For it is certain there was none such in it after him during the life of *Jeconiah*. But of what authority this book is, or by whom it was written, whether any thing related therein be historically true, or the whole of it a fiction, is altogether uncertain. *Grotius* ° thinks it wholly feigned by some hellenistical *Jew* under *Baruch*'s name, and so do many others, and it cannot be denied but that they have strong reasons on their side. The subject of the book is an epistle sent, or feigned to be sent, by King *Jehoiachin* and the *Jews* in captivity with him at *Babylon* to their brethren the *Jews*, that were still left in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, with an historical preface premised; in which it is related, how *Baruch*, being then at *Babylon*, did in the name of the said King and the people by their appointment draw up the said epistle, and afterwards read it to them for their approbation; and how that the collection being then made, which is above mentioned, the epistle with the money was sent to *Jerusalem*. There are three copies of it, one in *Greek*, and the other two in *Syriac*, whereof one agreeth with the *Greek*, and the other very much differs from it. But in what language it was originally written, or whether one of these be not the original, or which of them may be so, is what no one can say. *Jerom* ^p rejected it wholly, because it is not to be found among the *Jews*, and calls the epistle annex'd to it $\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\delta\omicron\gamma\epsilon\gamma\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, i. e. a false or feigned writing. The most that can be said for it is, that *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, and the *Laodicean* council held *Anno Domini* 364, both name *Baruch* among the canonical books of holy Scripture. For in both the catalogues which are given us by them of these canonical books, are these words, *Jeremias cum Baruch, lamentationibus & epistola*, i. e. *Jeremiah with Baruch, the lamentations and the epistle*; whereby may seem to be meant the prophecies of *Jeremiah*, the lamentations of *Jeremiah*, the book of *Baruch*, with the epistle of *Jeremiah* at the end of it, as they are all laid together in the vulgar *Latin* edition of the Bible. The answer given hereto is, that these words were intended by them to express no more than *Jeremiah*'s prophecies and lamentations only; that by the epistle is meant none other, than the epistle in the xxixth chapter of *Jeremiah*; and that *Baruch*'s name is added only because of the part which he bore in collecting all these together, and adding the last chapter to the book of his prophecies, which is supposed to be *Baruch*'s, because the prophecies of *Jeremiah* end with the chapter before, that is, the LIth, as it is positively said in the last words of it. And it must be said, that since neither in *St. Cyril*, nor in the *Laodicean* council any of the other apocryphal books are named, it is very unlikely, that by the name of *Baruch* in either of them should be meant the apocryphal book so named, which hath the least pretence of any of them to be canonical, as it appeared by the difficulty which ^a the *Trentine* fathers found to make it so.

An. 594.
Zedekiah 5.

IN the fifth year of *Zedekiah*, which was also the fifth year of *Jehoiachin*'s captivity, and the thirtieth from the great reformation made in the eighteenth year of King *Josiah*, *Ezekiel* was called of God to be a pro-

° In Comment ad Baruch.
Book II. p. 144.

^p In præfatione ad Jeremiam.
Ezekiel i. 1, 2, 3, &c.

^a The History of Trent.

phet among the *Jews* of the captivity. And this same year he saw the vision of the four cherubims and the four wheels, which is related in the first chapter of his prophecies. The same year were also revealed unto him ^r the three hundred and ninety years of God's utmost forbearance of the house of *Israel*, and the forty years of God's utmost forbearance of the house of *Judah*, and the judgment which after that God would inflict upon both, as the whole is contained in the ivth, vth, vith, and viith chapters of his prophecies.

IN the same year ^r died *Cyaxares* King of *Media*, after he had reigned forty years; and *Astyages* his son, who in scripture is called *Ahasuerus*, reigned in his stead.

IN the same year ^v died also *Psammiss* King of *Egypt*, in an expedition which he made against the *Ethiopians*; and *Apries* his son, the same who is in Scripture called *Pharaoh Hophra*, succeeded him in that kingdom, and reigned twenty five years.

IN the same year *Ezekiel* being in a vision was carried to *Jerusalem*, and there shewn all the several sorts of idolatry, which were practis'd by the *Jews* in that place; had revealed unto him the punishments which God would inflict upon them for those abominations, and this makes up the subject of the viiith, ixth, xth, and xith chapters of his prophecies. But at the same time God promised to those ^w of the captivity, who avoiding these abominations kept themselves steady and faithful to his service, that he would become a sanctuary unto them in the strange land, where they were carried, and bring them back again unto the land of *Israel*, and there make them flourish in peace and righteousness as in former times. All ^x which the prophet declared to the *Jews* of *Babylon*, among whom he dwelt.

IN the seventh year of *Zedekiah* God did both by types and words of revelation foreshew unto *Ezekiel* the taking of *Jerusalem* by the *Chalde-ans*, *Zedekiah's* flight from thence by night, the putting out of his eyes, and his imprisonment and death at *Babylon*; and also the carrying away of the *Jews* at the same time into captivity, the desolation of their country, and the many and great calamities which should befall them for their iniquities; and this is the subject of the xiith chapter of his prophecies. And what is contained in the seven following chapters was also the same year revealed unto him, and relates mostly to the same subject.

AT this time *Daniel* was grown to so great a perfection and eminency in all righteousness, holiness and piety of life, in the sight both of God and man, that ^v he is by God himself equalled with *Noah* and *Job*, and reckoned with these two to make up the three, who of all the Saints that had till then liv'd upon the earth, had the greatest power to prevail with God in their prayers for others. And yet he was then but a young man; for allowing him to be eighteen when he was carried away to *Babylon* among other children to be there educated, and brought up for the service of the King, (and a greater will not agree with this character) thirty two at this time must have been the utmost of his age. But he dedicated the prime and vigour of his life to the service of God, and that is the best time to make proficiency therein.

^r Ezek. iv. 4, 5, 6, &c.

^s Herodot. lib. 1.

^v Herodot. lib. 2.

^w Ezek. xi. 15--21.

^x Ezek. xi. 25.

^y Ezek. xiv. 14, & 20.

An. 591.
Zedekiah 8.

ZEDEKIAH having in the seventh year of his reign ^a sent ambassadors into *Egypt*, made a confederacy with *Pharaoh Hophra* King of *Egypt*. And therefore the next year after breaking the oath of fidelity, which he had sworn in the name of the Lord his God unto *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, he rebelled against him, which drew on him that war, which ended in his ruine, and in the ruine of all *Judah* and *Jerusalem* with him in that calamitous destruction, in which both were involved hereby.

An. 590.
Zedekiah 9.

In the ninth year of *Zedekiah*, ^b *Nebuchadnezzar* having drawn together a great army out of all the nations under his dominion, marched against him to punish him for his perfidy and rebellion. But on his coming into *Syria*, finding that the *Ammonites* had also entred into the same confederacy with *Egypt* against him, he was ^c in a doubt for some time which of these two people he should first fall upon, them, or the *Jews*; whereon he committed the decision of the matter to his diviners, who consulting by the entrails of their sacrifices, their teraphim, and their arrows, determined for the carrying of the war against the *Jews*. This way of divining by arrows was usual among those idolaters. The manner of it *Jerom* ^d tells us was thus. They wrote on several arrows the names of the cities, they intended to make war against, and then, putting them promiscuously all together into a quiver, they caused them to be drawn out thence in the manner as they draw lots, and that city whose name was on the arrow first drawn was the first they assaulted. And by this way of divination the war being determined against *Judah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* immediately marched his army into that Countrey, and in a few days ^e took all the cities thereof, excepting only *Lachish*, *Azekah* and *Jerusalem*. Whereon the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* being terrified with these losses, and the apprehensions of a siege then ready to be laid to that place, made a shew of returning unto the Lord their God, and entred into a solemn covenant thenceforth to serve him only, and faithfully observe all his laws. And in pursuance hereof ^f proclamation was made, that every man should let his man servant, and every man his maid servant, being an *Hebrew* or an *Hebrewess*, go free ^g according to the law of God, and every man did according hereto.

On the ^h tenth month of the same year and the tenth day of the month, (which was about the end of our *December*;) *Nebuchadnezzar* with all his numerous army laid siege to *Jerusalem*, and blocked it close up on every side, in memory whereof the tenth day of *Tebeth*, which is their tenth month, hath ever since been observed ⁱ by the *Jews* as a day of solemn fast even to this time.

On the same ^k tenth day of the tenth month, in which this siege began at *Jerusalem*, was the same revealed to *Ezekiel* in *Chaldea*, where by the type of a boiling pot was foreshewn unto him the dismal destruction which should thereby be brought upon that city. And the ^l same night the wife of the prophet, who was the desire of his eyes, was by a sudden stroke of death taken from him, and he was forbid by God to make any manner of mourning for her, or appear with any of the usual signs of it upon him,

^a Ezek. xvii. 15.

^c Ezekiel. xxi. 19---24.

^e Jer. xxxiv. 8---10.

^g Zechariah viii. 19.

^b 2 Kings xxv. 1. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17. Jer. xxxix. 1. lii. 4.

^d In Comment. in Ezek. xxi.

^f Jer. xxxiv. 7.

^g Deut. xv. 12.

^h 2 Kings xxv. 1. Jer. xxxix. 1. lii. 4.

ⁱ Ezek. xxiv. 1, 2.

^k Ezek. xxiv. 16---18.

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thereby to foreshew, that the holy city, the temple, and the sanctuary, which were dearer to them than any wife can be in the eyes of her husband, should not only by a speedy and sudden stroke of destruction be taken from them, but that the calamity ensuing thereon should be such, and so great, as should not allow them as much as to mourn for the loss of them.

IN the beginning of the tenth year of *Zedekiah*,^m the prophet *Jeremiah*,ⁿ being sent of God declared unto him, That the *Babylonians* who were now besieging of the city should certainly take it, and burn it with fire, and take him prisoner, and carry him to *Babylon*, and that he should die there. Whereon^o *Zedekiah* being much displeased put him in prison, and while he was shut up there, even in this very year, ^p he purchased of *Hanameel* his unkie's son a field in *Anathoth*, thereby to foreshew, that although *Judah* and *Jerusalem* should be laid desolate, and the inhabitants led into captivity, yet there should be a restoration, when lands and possessions should be again enjoyed by the legal owners of them, in the same manner as in former times.

An. 589.
Zedekiah 10.

PHARAOH HOPHRA^p coming out of *Egypt* with a great army to the relief of *Zedekiah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* raised the siege of *Jerusalem* to march against him. But before he went on this expedition^q he sent all the captive *Jews* which he then had in his camp to *Babylon*, the number of which were eight hundred thirty and two persons.

ON the departure of the *Chaldeans* from *Jerusalem*, *Jeremiah* being again set at liberty,^r *Zedekiah* sent unto him *Jehucal* the son of *Shelemiah*, and *Zephaniah* the son of *Maaseiah* the priest, to enquire of the Lord by him, and to desire him to pray for him and his people. To whom the prophet returned an answer from God, That the *Egyptians*, whom they did depend upon, would certainly deceive them; that their army would again return into *Egypt* without giving them any help at all, and that thereon the *Chaldeans* would again renew the siege, take the city, and burn it with fire.

BUT the general opinion of the people being, that the *Chaldeans* were gone for good and all, and would return no more to renew the war against them, they^s repented of the covenant of reformation, which they had entered into before God, when they were in fear of them; and caused every man his servant, and every man his handmaid, whom they had set at liberty, again to return into servitude, to be unto them again for servants and for handmaids, contrary to the law of the Lord, and the covenant which they had lately entered into with him, to walk according to it. For^t which inhuman and unjust act, and their impious breach of the covenant lately made with God, *Jeremiah* proclaim'd liberty to the sword, and to the famine, and to the pestilence, to execute the wrath of God upon them and their King, and their Princes, and all *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, to their utter destruction.

WHILE the *Chaldeans* were yet absent from *Jerusalem*,^v *Jeremiah* intending to retire to *Anathoth* his native place, that thereby he might avoid the siege, which he knew would be again renewed on the return of the

^m Jer. xxxiv.

ⁿ Jer. xxxii. 1, 2, 3.

^o Jer. xxxii. 7---17.

^p Jer. xxxvii. 5.

^q Jer. lii. 29.

^r Jer. xxxvii. 3---10.

^s Jer. xxxiv. 11.

^t Jer. xxxiv. 17---22.

^v Jer. xxxvii. 11---15.

Chaldeans from their expedition against the *Egyptians*, put himself on his journey thither, but as he was passing the gate of the city that led that way, the captain that kept guard there seized him for a deserter, as if his intentions were to fall away to the *Chaldeans*, whereon he was again put in prison in the house of *Jonathan* the scribe, which they had made the common jail of the city, where he remained many days.

THE *Egyptians*, on the coming of the *Chaldeans* against them, durst not stay to engage in battle with so numerous and well-appointed an army, but ^w withdrawing on their approach retired again into their own country, treacherously leaving *Zedekiah* and his people to perish in that war, which they had drawn them into. Whereon ^x the prophet *Ezekiel* reproaching them for their perfidy in thus becoming a staff of reed to those, whom by oaths and covenants of alliance they had made to lean and confide on them, denounced God's judgments against them to be executed both upon King and people in war, confusion, and desolation, for forty years ensuing for the punishment hereof. And ^y also foretold, how after that, they should sink low and become a mean and base people, and should no more have a prince of their own to reign over them. Which hath accordingly come to pass. For not long after the expiration of the said forty years they were made a province of the *Persian* empire, and have been governed by strangers ever since. For on the failure of the *Persian* empire they became subject to the *Macedonians*, and after them to the *Romans*, and after the *Romans* to the *Saracens*, and then to the *Mamlukes*, and are now a province of the *Turkish* empire.

ON the retreat of the *Egyptians* *Nebuchadnezzar* ^z returned to *Jerusalem*, and again renewed the siege of that place, which lasted about a year from the second investing of it to the time when it was taken.

THE siege being thus renewed *Zedekiah* ^a sent for *Jeremiah* out of prison to consult with him, and enquire of him, what word there was from God concerning the present state of his affairs. To which he found there was no other answer, but that he was to be delivered into the hands of the King of *Babylon*. However at the intreaty of the prophet he was prevailed with not to send him back again to the common jail of the city, lest he should die there by reason of the noisomeness of the place, and therefore instead thereof he was ordered to the prison of the King's court, where he continued with the allowance of a certain portion of bread out of the common store till the city was taken.

ZEDEKIAH finding himself in the siege much pressed by the *Chaldeans*, ^b sent messengers to *Jeremiah*, farther to enquire of the Lord by him concerning the present war. To which he answered, That the word of the Lord concerning him was, that God being very much provoked against him and his people, for their iniquities, would fight against the city and smite it; that both King and people should be delivered into the hands of the King of *Babylon*; that those who continued in the city during the siege, should perish by the pestilence, by the famine, and by the sword; but that those who should go out, and fall to the *Chaldeans*, should have their lives given them for a prey. At which answer ^c several of the princes and chief commanders about the King being very much offended pressed the King

^w Jer. xxxvii. 7.

^a Jer. xxxvii. 17---21.

^x Ezek. xxix.

^b Jer. xxi. 1---14.

^y Ezek. xxx. 13.

^c Jer. xxxviii. 1---6.

^z Jer. xxxvii. 8.

against him, as one that weakened the hands of the men of war, and of all the people, and fought their hurt more than their good; whereon he being delivered into their hands, they cast him into a dungeon, where he must have perished, but that ^d *Ebedmelec* an eunuch of the court having intreated the King in his behalf delivered him thence. For which charitable act he had a message sent him from God, of mercy and deliverance unto him. After this ^e *Zedekiah* sending for *Jeremiah* into the temple, there secretly enquired of him, but had no other answer than what had been afore given him, saving only that the prophet told him, That if he would go forthwith and deliver himself into the hands of the King of *Babylon's* princes, who commanded at the carying on of the siege, this was the only way whereby he might save both himself and the city; and he earnestly pressed him hereto. But *Zedekiah* would not hearken unto him herein, but sent him back again to prison, and after that no more consulted with him.

IN the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, in the beginning of the year, God declared by the prophet *Ezekiel* his judgments against *Tyre* for their insulting on the calamitous state of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, foreshewing that the same calamities should be also brought upon them by the same *Nebuchadnezzar*, into whose hands God would deliver them. And this is the subject of the xxvith, xxviith, and xxviiith chapters of his prophecies, in the last of which God particularly upbraideth *Itobal*, then King of *Tyre*, with the insolent and proud conceit he had of his own knowledge and understanding, having puffed up himself herewith, as ^f *if he were wiser than Daniel, and that there was no secret that could be hid from him*. Which sheweth to how great an height the fame of *Daniel's* wisdom was at that time grown, since it now became spoken of by way of proverb through all the east. And yet according to the account above given of his age, he could not at this time exceed six and thirty years. And in the conclusion of the xxviiith chapter the like judgments are denounced also against *Sidon*, and for the same reason.

An. 588.
Zedeki-
ah 11.

THE same year God declared by the same prophet his judgments against *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, that he would bring the King of *Babylon* against them, and deliver them into his hands, and that notwithstanding their greatness and pride they should no more escape his revenging hand than the *Assyrians* had done before them, who were higher and greater than they; and this is the subject of the xxxth and xxxith chapters of his prophecies.

IN the fourth month, on the ninth day of the month, of the same eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, ^g *Jerusalem* was taken by the *Chaldeans*, after the siege had lasted from their last setting down before it about a year. Hereon *Zedekiah* with his men of war fled away, and having broken through the camp of the enemy endeavoured to make his escape over *Jordan*, but being pursued after, he was overtaken in the plains of *Jericho*, whereon all his army being scattered from him, he was taken prisoner, and carried to the King of *Babylon* at *Riblah* in *Syria*, where he then resided, who having caused his sons, and all his princes that were taken with him, to be slain before his face, commanded his eyes to be put out, and then bound him in fetters of brass and sent him to *Babylon*, where he died in prison, and hereby was fulfilled the ^h prophecy of the prophet *Ezekiel* concerning

^d Jer. xxxviii. 7---13.

^e Jer. xxxviii. 14---23.

^f Ezek. xxviii. 3.

^g 2 Kings xxv. 4.

² Chron. xxxvi. 17. Jer. xxxix. 2---10. lli. 6---11.

^h Ezek. xii. 13.

him:

him: That he should be brought to *Babylon* in the land of the *Chaldeans*, yet should not see the place, tho' he should die there.

IN the fifth month, on the seventh day of the month, (*i. e.* towards the end of our *July*) came ⁱ *Nebuzaradan*, captain of the guards to the King of *Babylon*, to *Jerusalem*, and after having taken out all the vessels of the house of the Lord, and gathered together all the riches that could be found either in the King's house, or in any of the other houses of the city, he did on the tenth day of the same month, pursuant to the command of his master, set both the temple and city on fire, and absolutely consumed and destroyed them both, overthrowing all the walls, fortresses, and towers belonging thereto, and wholly rasing and levelling to the ground every building therein, till he had brought all to a thorough and perfect desolation, and so it continued for fifty two years after, till by the favour of *Cyrus* the *Jews* being released from their captivity, and restored again to their own land, repaired these ruins, and built again their holy City. In memory of this calamity they keep two fasts even to this day, the seventeenth of the fourth month (which falls in our *June*) for the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the ninth of the fifth month (which falls in our *July*) for the destruction of the temple; both which are made mention of ^k in the prophecies of the prophet *Zechary*, under the names of the fast of the fourth month and the fast of the fifth month, and are there spoken of as annually observed from the destruction of *Jerusalem* to his time, which was seventy years after. *Josephus* ^l remarks, that the burning of the temple by *Nebuchadnezzar* hapned on the very same day of the year on which it was afterwards again burned by *Titus*.

NEBUZARADAN having thus destroyed the city and the temple of *Jerusalem*, made all the people he found there captives. Of these ^m he took *Seraiah* the high-priest, and *Zephaniah* the second priest, and about seventy others of the principal persons he found in the place, and carried them to *Riblah* to *Nebuchadnezzar*, who caused them all there to be put to death. Of ⁿ the rest of the people he left the poorer sort to till the ground, and dress their vineyards, and made *Gedaliah* the son of *Ahikam* governor over them, and all the other he carried away to *Babylon*.

BUT concerning *Jeremiah*, ^o *Nebuchadnezzar* gave particular charge to *Nebuzaradan*, that he should offer him no hurt, but look well to him, and do for him in all things according as he should desire. And therefore as soon as he came to *Jerusalem* with commission to destroy the place, he and the princes that were with him sent and took him out of prison, where he had laid bound from the time that *Zedekiah* had put him there, and restored him to his liberty, and having carried him with him as far as *Ramah* on his return to *Nebuchadnezzar*, he then gave him his option, whether he would go with him to *Babylon*, where he should be well looked after and maintained at the King's charge, or else remain in the land; and he having chosen the latter, *Nebuzaradan* gave him victuals, and a reward, and sent him back to *Gedaliah* the son of *Ahikam*, with an especial charge to take care of him.

AFTER *Nebuchadnezzar* was returned to *Babylon*, ^p all those, who before for fear of the *Chaldeans* had taken refuge among the neighbouring

ⁱ 2 Kings xxv. 8---17. Jer. lii. 12---23. ^k Zechar. viii. 19. ^l De bello Judaico, lib. 7. c. 10.
^m 2 Kings xxv. 18---21. Jer. lii. 24---27. ⁿ 2 Kings xxv. 22---25. Jer. xxxix. 9, 10. and
 lii. 15, 16. ^o Jer. xxxix. 11---14. and xl. 1---6. ^p Jer. xl. 7---12.

nations, or had hid themselves in the fields and the deserts after their escape on the dispersion of *Zedekiah's* army in the plains of *Jericho*, hearing that *Gedaliah* was made governor of the land, resorted to him, and he having promised them protection, and sworn unto them that they should be safe under his government, they settled themselves again in the land, and gathered in the fruits of it. The chief among these were *Johanan* and *Jonathan* the sons of *Kereah*, *Seraiah* the son of *Tanhumeth*, *Azaria* the son of *Hoshaiah*, *Ishmael* the son of *Nethaniah*, and others.

BUT ^a *Ishmael* came to him only out of a treacherous design. For being of the seed royal, he reckoned to make himself King of the land, now the *Chaldeans* were gone, and for the accomplishing of it had formed a conspiracy to kill *Gedaliah*, and seize the government, and *Balis* the King of the *Ammonites* was confederated with him herein. But *Johanan* the son of *Kereah* having got notice of it, he and all the chief men of the rest of the people went to *Gedaliah*, and informed him of it, proposing to kill *Ishmael*, and thereby deliver him from the mischief that was intended against him. But *Gedaliah* being of a very benign disposition, and not easy to entertain jealousies of any one, would not believe this of *Ishmael*, but still carried on a friendly correspondence with him, of which *Ishmael* taking the advantage came to him in the seventh month, which answers to our *September*, when the people were most of them scattered abroad from him to gather in the fruits of the land, and while they were eating and drinking together at an entertainment, which *Gedaliah* had in a very friendly manner made for him and his men, they rose upon him, and slew him, and at the same time slew also a great number of the *Jews* and *Chaldeans*, whom they found with him in *Mizpah*, and took the rest captive. And the next day hearing of eighty men, who were going on a religious account with offerings and incense to the house of God, they craftily drew them into *Mizpah*, and there slew them all, excepting ten of them, who offered their stores for the redemption of their lives. And then taking with them all the captives, among whom were the daughters of King *Zedekiah*, they departed thence to go over to the *Ammonites*. But *Johanan* the son of *Kereah*, and the rest of the captains, hearing of this wicked fact, immediately armed as many of the people as they could get together, and pursued after *Ishmael*, and having overtaken him at *Gibeon* retook all the captives, but he and eight of his men escaped to the *Ammonites*. This Murder of *Gedaliah* hapned two months after the destruction of the city and temple of *Jerusalem*, in the said seventh month, and on the thirtieth day of the month. For that day the *Jews* have kept as a fast in commemoration of this calamity ever since, and ^c *Zechariah* also makes mention of it as observed in his time, calling it by the name of *the fast of the seventh month*, and they had reason to keep a fast for it, for it was the completion of their ruine.

AFTER this great misfortune ^d *Johanan* the son of *Kereah*, and the people that were left, fearing the King of *Babylon*, because of the murder of *Gedaliah*, whom he had made governor of the land, departed from *Mizpah* to flee into the land of *Egypt*, and came to *Bethlehem* in their way

^a Jer. xl. 13---16.

^b Jer. xli.

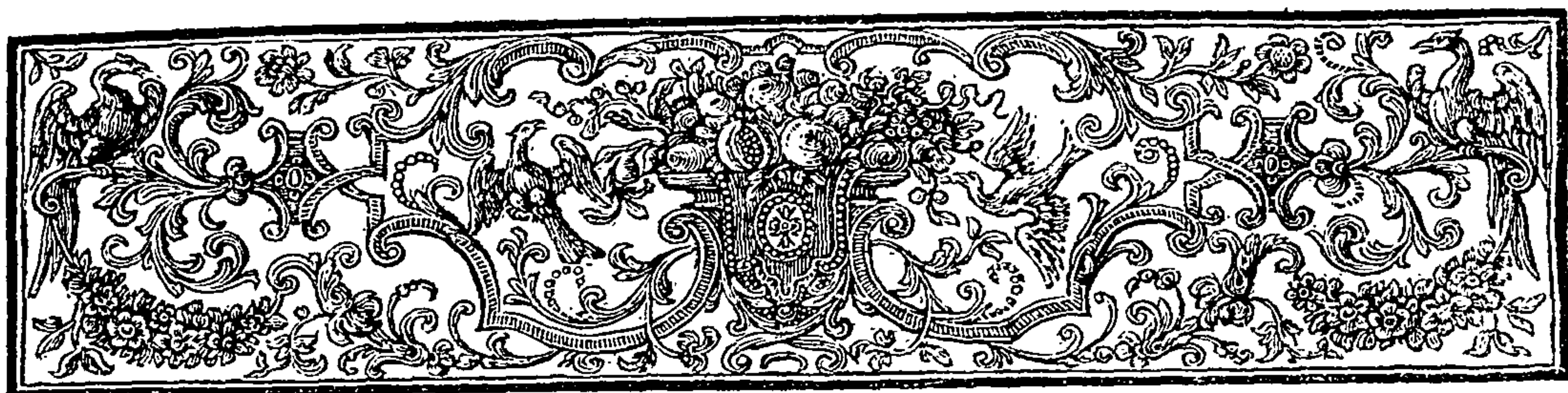
^c i. e. At Jerusalem; for though the temple were destroyed, yet the people that were left continued to offer sacrifices and worship there on the place where it stood, as long as they remained in the land.

^d Zech. viii. 19.

^e Jer. xlii.

thither. Where they stopping a while consulted the prophet *Jeremiah* (whom they had carried with them) about their intended journey, and desired him to enquire of God in their behalf, who after ten days having received an answer from God, called them together, and told them, That if they would tarry in the land all should go well with them, and God would shew mercy unto them, and incline the heart of the King of *Babylon* to be favourable unto them. But if they would not hearken unto the word of the Lord, but would notwithstanding his word now delivered to the contrary set their faces to go into the land of *Egypt*, that then the sword and famine should follow close after them thither, and they should be all there destroyed. But all this was of no effect with them. For their hearts being violently bent to go into *Egypt*, they would not hearken to the word of the Lord spoken to them by the mouth of his prophet, but told *Jeremiah*, That the answer which he gave them was not from God, but was suggested to him by *Baruch* the son of *Neriah*, for their hurt. And therefore *Johanan* the son of *Kereah*, and the rest of the captains of the forces, took all the remnant of *Judah* that were returned from all nations whither they had been driven, again to dwell in the land, and all the persons whom *Nebuzaradan* had left with *Gedaliah*, even men, women, and children, and the King's daughters, and also *Jeremiah* the prophet, and *Baruch* the son of *Neriah*, and went into *Egypt* and settled in that countrey, till the plagues and judgments which God had threatned them with for their disobedience to his word, there overtook them to their utter destruction. And thus ended this unfortunate year, in which the temple and city of *Jerusalem* were destroyed, and the whole land of *Judah* brought in a manner to utter desolation for the sins thereof.





T H E
Old and New TESTAMENT
 Connected in the
 H I S T O R Y
 O F T H E
 J E W S and Neighbouring Nations,
 F R O M T H E
 Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
 to the time of CHRIST.



B O O K I I.



IN the twelfth year of the captivity of *Jeboiachin*, one escaping from *Jerusalem*,^a came to *Ezekiel* in the land of the *Chaldeans*, and told him of the destruction of the city, whereon he prophesied desolation to the rest of the land of *Judah*, and utter destruction to the remainder of the *Jews* who were left therein.

An. 587.
Nebu-
chadnezzar 18.

THE same year *Ezekiel* prophesied against *Egypt*, and *Pharaoh Hophra* the King thereof, that God would bring against him *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*, who should lay the land desolate, and that he and all his armies should be brought to destruction, and perish, like as other nations whom God had cut off for their iniquities, which is the subject of the xxxii^d chapter of his prophecies.

^a Ezek. xxxiii. 21---29.

THE *Jews* which went into *Egypt* ^b having settled in *Migdol*, and *Tabpanes*, and *Noph*, and in the Countrey of *Pathros*, (i. e. at ^c *Magdalum* by the *Red-Sea*, at *Daphne* near *Pelusium*, at *Memphis*, and in the Countrey of *Thebais*) gave themselves there wholly up to idolatry, ^d worshipping the queen of heaven, and other false deities of the land, and burning incense unto them, without having any more regard to the Lord their God. Whereon the ^e prophet *Jeremiah* cried aloud against this impiety unto those among whom he lived; that is those who had settled in ^f the land of *Pathros* or *Thebais*. (For this being the farthest from *Judea* of all the places, where they had obtained settlements in that Countrey, they had carried him thither the better to take from him all opportunity of again returning from them.) But all his exhortations were of no other effect, than to draw from them a declaration, that ^g they would worship the Lord no more, but would go on in their idolatry; for they told him, that it had been best with them, when they practised it in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*; that it was since their leaving of it off, that all their calamities had hapned unto them; and that therefore they would no more hearken unto any thing, that he should deliver unto them in the name of the Lord. Whereon ^h the word of the Lord came unto the prophet denouncing utter destruction unto them by the sword, and by the famine, that thereby all of them, that is all the men of *Judah* then dwelling in *Egypt*, should be consumed, excepting only some few, who should make their escape into the land of *Judah*. And for a sign hereof it was foretold unto them by the same prophet, that *Pharaoh Hophra* King of *Egypt*, in whom they trusted, should be given into the hands of his enemies, who sought his life, in the same manner as *Zedekiah* was given into the hands of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that sought his life; that so when this should be brought to pass in their Eyes, they might be assured thereby, that all these words, which the Lord had spoken against them, should certainly be fulfilled upon them, as accordingly they were about eighteen years afterwards.

AFTER this there is no more mention of *Jeremiah*. It is most likely that he died in *Egypt* soon after, he being then much advanced in years, (for he had now prophesied one and forty years from the thirteenth of *Josiah*) and also much broken (as we may well suppose) by the calamities which hapned to himself and his countrey. *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius*, *Dorotheus*, *Jerom*, and *Zonaras* tell us, that he was stoned to death by the *Jews* for preaching against their idolatry, and of this some interpret St. *Paul's* ἐλ-
θὼσιν, (i. e. they were stoned) *Heb. xi. 37*. But others say, that he was put to death by *Pharaoh Hophra*, because of his prophesy against him. But these seem to be traditions founded rather on conjecture, than on any certain account of the matter.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR being returned to *Babylon* after the end of the *Jewish* war, and the full settling of his affairs in *Syria* and *Palestine*, did out of the spoils, which he had taken in that expedition, ⁱ make that

^b Jer. xlv. 1.

^c Vide Bocharti Phaleg. Part. 1. lib. 4. cap. 27.

^d Jer. xlv. 8. 15---19.

^e Jer. xlv. 1---15.

^f Jer. xlv. 15.

^g Jer. xlv. 16---19.

^h Jer. xlv. 26---30.

ⁱ In the Greek version of *Daniel*, c. iii. 1. this is said to have been done in the eighteenth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, but this is not in the original text, for in that no year at all is mentioned, and therefore it is most probable it crept into it from some marginal comment, for which I doubt not there was some very good authority. For it could in no year of that King's reign fall more likely, and therefore according hereto I have here placed it.

golden image to the honour of *Bel* his God, which he did set up, and dedicate to him in the plain of *Dura*. The History of which is at large related in the third chapter of *Daniel*. But how *Daniel* escaped the fiery furnace, which his three friends on that occasion were condemned unto, is made a matter of enquiry by some. That he did not fall down and worship the idol is most certain, it absolutely disagreeing with the character of that holy religious man to make himself guilty of so high an offence against God, as such a compliance would have amounted unto; either therefore he was absent, or else if present was not accused. The latter seems most probable. For *Nebuchadnezzar* having summoned all his princes, counsellors, governors, captains, and all other his officers and ministers, to be present and assisting at the solemnity of this dedication, it is not likely, that *Daniel*, who was one of the chiefest of them, should be allowed to be absent. That he was present therefore seems most probable; but his enemies thought it fittest not to begin with him, because of the great authority he had with the King, but rather to fall first on his three friends, and thereby pave the way for their more successful reaching of him after it. But what was in the interim miraculously done in their case, quashed all farther accusation about this matter, and for that reason it was that *Daniel* is not at all spoken of in it.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR in the twenty first year of his reign, according to the *Jewish* account, which was the nineteenth according to the *Babylonish* account, and the second from the destruction of *Jerusalem*, came again into *Syria*, and ^k laid siege to *Tyre*, *Ithobal* being then King of that city; which found him hard work for thirteen years together, it being so long before he could make himself master of the place. For it was a strong and wealthy city, which had never as yet submitted to any foreign empire; and was ^l of great fame in those days for its traffic and merchandise, whereby several of its inhabitants had made themselves as great ^m as princes in riches and splendor. It ⁿ was built by the *Zidonians* two hundred and forty years before the building of the temple of *Solomon* at *Jerusalem*, For *Zidon* ^o being then conquered and taken by the *Philistines* of *Askalon*, many of the inhabitants escaping thence in their ships, built *Tyre*, and therefore it was called by the prophet *Isaiah* ^p the daughter of *Zidon*, but it soon out-grew its mother in largeness, riches and power, and was thereby enabled to withstand for so many years the power of this mighty King, to whom all the *East* had then submitted.

An. 586.
Nebu-
chadnezzar 19.

WHILE *Nebuchadnezzar* lay at this siege, *Nebuzaradan*, the captain of his guards, being sent out by him with part of his army, invaded the land of *Israel* to take revenge, as it may be supposed, for the death of *Gedaliah*, there being no other reason why he should fall on the poor remains of those miserable people, whom he himself had left and settled there. In which expedition ^q *Nebuzaradan* seizing upon all of the race of *Israel*, that he could meet with in the land, made them all captives, and sent them to *Babylon*. But they all amounted to no more than seven hundred forty and five persons, the rest having been all fled into *Egypt*, as hath been before related.

An. 584.
Nebu-
chadnezzar 21.

^k Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. & contra Apionem lib. 1.

^l Ezekiel xxvi. & xxvii.

^m Isaiah xxiii. 8.

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. 8. c. 2.

^o Justin. lib. 18. c. 3.

^p Isaiah xlii. 12.

^q Jeremiah lii. 30.

By this last captivity was fully compleated the desolation of the land, no more of its former inhabitants being now left therein. And hereby were also compleated the prophecies of *Isaiab*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and other prophets relating hereto; and particularly ^r that of *Ezekiel*, wherein God's forbearance of the house of *Israel* is limited to three hundred and ninety days, and his forbearance of the house of *Judah* to forty days. For taking the days for years according to the prophetic style of Scripture, from the apostacy of *Jeroboam* to the time of this last captivity there will be just three hundred and ninety years, and so long God bore the idolatry of the house of *Israel*. And from the eighteenth year of *Josiah*, ^r when the house of *Judah* entered into covenant with God to walk wholly in his ways, to the same time will be just forty years, and so long God bore their walking contrary to that covenant. But now the stated time of his forbearance in respect of both being fully compleated, he compleated also the desolation of both in this last captivity, in which both had an equal share, part of them who were now carried away being of the house of *Judah*, and part of the house of *Israel*. There are others who end both the computations at the destruction of *Jerusalem*; and to make their hypothesis good, they begin the forty years of God's forbearance of the house of *Judah* from the mission of the prophet *Jeremiah* to preach repentance unto them, that is from the thirteenth of *Josiah*, ^r when he was first called to this office, from which time to the last year of *Zedekiah*, when *Jerusalem* was destroyed, were exactly forty years. And as to the three hundred and ninety years forbearance of the house of *Israel*, according as they compute the time from *Jeroboam's* apostacy, they make this period to fall exactly right also, that is to contain just three hundred and ninety years from that time to the destruction of *Jerusalem*. But this period relating purely to the house of *Israel*, as contradistinct from the house of *Judah* in this prophesy, it cannot be well interpreted to end in the destruction of *Jerusalem*, in which the house of *Israel* had no concern. For *Jerusalem* was not within the kingdom of *Israel*, but within the kingdom of *Judah*, of which it was the metropolis, and therefore the latter only and not the former had their punishment in it. But this last equally affected both, and therefore here may well be ended the reckoning which belong'd to both. As to the computing of the forty years of God's forbearance of the house of *Judah* from the mission of *Jeremiah* to preach repentance unto them, it must be acknowledged, that from thence to the destruction of *Jerusalem* the number of years falls exactly right; and therefore since ^r the hundred and twenty years of God's forbearance of the old world, is reckoned from the like mission of *Noah* to preach repentance unto them, I should be inclined to come into this opinion, and reckon the forty years of this forbearance of *Judah*, by the forty years of *Jeremiah's* like preaching of repentance unto them; but it cannot be conceived, why *Ezekiel* should reckon the time of his mission by an *era* from the eighteenth year of *Josiah*, (for the thirtieth year, on which he saith he was called to the prophetic office, is certainly to be reckoned from thence) unless it be with respect to the forty years of God's forbearance of the house of *Judah* in his own prophecies.

AFTER this *Nebuzaradan* ^w marched against the *Ammonites*, and having

^r Ezekiel iv. 1---8.

^r 2 Chron. xxxiv. 29---31.

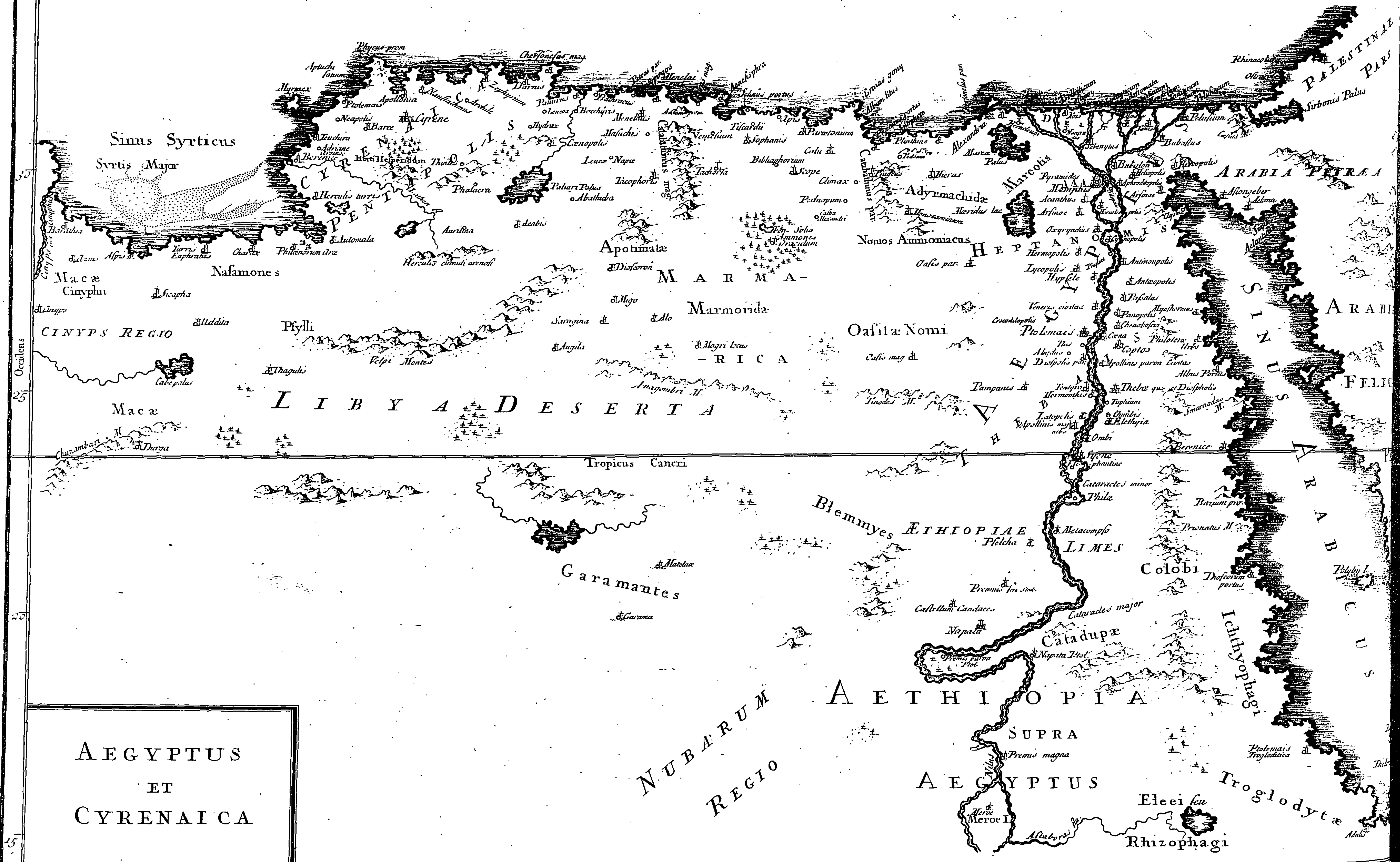
^r Jeremiah i. 2.

^v Gen. vi. 3.

^w Jeremiah xlix. 1---6. Ezek. xxv. 1---7. Amos i. 14, 15.

destroy-

M A R E M E D I T E R R A N E U M



AEGYPTUS
ET
CYRENAICA

NUBARUM
REGIO

destroyed *Rabbah* their royal city, and by fire and sword made great desolation in that countrey, he carried their King, and their Princes, and most of the chief of the land into captivity. And this was done by way of just revenge for the part which they had in the murder of *Gedaliah*, the King of *Babylon's* governor in the land of *Israel*.

AND during this siege of *Tyre* the other neighbouring nations, that is the *Philistines*, the *Moabites*, the *Edomites*, and the *Zidonians*, seem also to have been harassed and broken by the excursions of the *Babylonians*, and to have had all those judgments executed upon them, which we find in the prophecies of * *Jeremiah* and † *Ezekiel* to have been denounced against them.

IN the fourteenth year after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, which was the twenty fifth year of the captivity of *Jeboiachin*, were revealed unto the prophet *Ezekiel* all those visions and prophecies concerning the future state of the church of God, which we have from the xlth chapter of his prophecies to the end of that book.

An. 574.
Nebu-
chadne-
zar 31.

THIS same year the judgments, which God had denounced by the mouth of his prophets against *Pharaoh Hophra*, or *Apries*, King of *Egypt*, began to operate against him. For ‡ the *Cyrenians*, a colony of the *Greeks*, that had settled in *Africa*, having taken from the *Libyans* (a neighbouring nation lying between them and the *Egyptians*, and bordering upon both) a great part of their land, and divided it among themselves, the *Libyans* made a surrender both of themselves and their countrey into the hands of *Apries* to obtain his protection. Hereon *Apries* sent a great army into *Libya* to wage war against the *Cyrenians*, which having the misfortune to be beaten and overthrown in battel, were almost all cut off and destroyed, so that very few of them escaped the carnage, and returned again into *Egypt*, whereon the *Egyptians* entertaining an opinion, that this army was sent by *Apries* into *Libya* of purpose to be destroyed, that he might, when rid of them, with the more ease and security govern the rest, became so incensed against him, that a great many of them imbodying together revolted from him. *Apries* hearing of this, sent *Amasis* an officer of his court to appease them, and reduce them again to their duty. But while he was speaking to them, they put on his head the ensigns of royalty, and declared him their King, which he accepting of, stayed among them and encreased the revolt; at which *Apries* being much incensed sent *Paterbemis* another officer of his court, and one of the first rank among his followers, to arrest *Amasis*, and bring him unto him, which he not being able to effect in the midst of so great an army of conspirators as he found about him, was on his return very cruelly and unworthily treated by *Apries*. For out of anger for his not effecting that for which he sent him, tho' he had no power to accomplish it, he outrageously commanded his ears and his nose to be immediately cut off. Which wrong and indignity offered to a person of his character and worth, so incensed the rest of the *Egyptians*, that they almost all joyned with the conspirators in a general revolt from him. Whereon *Apries* being forced to flee, made his escape into the upper *Egypt* towards the borders of *Ethiopia*, where he maintained himself for some years, while *Amasis* held all the rest.

* Jeremiah xxvii, xxviii, xxix.
dorus Siculus lib. i. part. 2.

† Ezek. xxv.

‡ Herodotus lib. 2. & lib. 4. Dio-

An. 573.
Nebu-
chadnezzar 32.

BUT while this was a doing in *Egypt*, at length^a in the twenty sixth year of the captivity of *Jehoiachin*, which was the fifteenth after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, *Nebuchadnezzar* made himself master of *Tyre*, after a siege of^b thirteen years continuance, and utterly destroyed the place, that is the city, which was on the continent, the ruins of which were afterwards called *Pake-Tyrus*, or *old Tyre*. But before it came to this extremity, the inhabitants had removed most of their effects into an island about half a mile distant from the shore, and there built them a new city. And therefore when *Nebuchadnezzar* entered that, which he had so long besieged, he found little there wherewith to reward his soldiers in the spoil of the place, which they had so long laboured to take, and therefore wrecking his anger upon the buildings, and the few inhabitants who were left in them, he rased the whole town to the ground, and slew all he found therein. After this it never more recovered its former glory, but the city on the island became the *Tyre* that was afterwards so famous by that name; the other on the continent never rising any higher, than to become a village by the name of *old Tyre*, as was before said. That it was this *Tyre* only that *Nebuchadnezzar* besieged, and not the other on the island, appears from the description of the siege, which we have in *Ezekiel*. For thereby we find that *Nebuchadnezzar* made^c a fort against the place, and cast up a mount against it, and erected^d engines of battery to break down its walls, which could not be said of the *Tyre* on the island. For that was all surrounded by the sea. And that he also took and utterly destroy'd that city, appears likewise from the writings^e of the same prophet. But that the city on the island then escaped this fate is manifest from the *Phœnician* histories. For in them after the death of *Ithobal* (who was^f slain in the conclusion of this war) we are told,^g that *Baal* succeeded in the kingdom, and reigned ten years, and that after him succeeded several temporary magistrates one after another, who by the name of *Judges* had the government of the place. It is most probable that after *Nebuchadnezzar* had taken and destroyed the old town, those who had retired into the island came to terras and submitted to him, and that thereon *Baal* was deputed to be their King under him, and reigned ten years: That at the end of the said ten years, (which hapned in the very year that *Nebuchadnezzar* was again restored after his distraction) *Baal* being then dead or deposed, the government, to make it the more dependent on the *Babylonians*, was changed into that of temporary magistrates; who, instead of the name of Kings, had only that of *Suffetes* or *Judges* given unto them, which was a name well known among the *Carthaginians*, who were descended of the *Tyrians*, for so^h their chief magistrates were called. It had its derivation from the *Hebrew* word *Shophetim*, i. e. *Judges*, which was the very name, whereby the chief governors of *Israel* were called for several generations, before they had Kings. And under this sort of government the *Tyrians* seem to have continued for several years after, till they were restored to their former state by *Darius Hystaspis* seventy years after, as will in its proper place be hereafter related.

^a Ezekiel xxix. 17. ^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. & contra Apionem lib. 1. ^c Ezekiel xxvi. 8. ^d Ezekiel xxvi. 9. ^e Ezekiel xxvi. 4. & 9---12. ^f Ezekiel xxviii. 8---10. ^g Joseph. contra Apionem lib. 1. ^h Livius, lib. 28. *Suffetes eorum qui summus est Pœnis Magistratus*. Vide etiam ejusdem librum 30 & librum 34, ubi de Suffetibus ut de summo apud Carthaginenses Magistratu mentio fit.

AND here I cannot but observe, how exactly the chronology of the *Phœnician* annals agreeth with that of the holy Scriptures. *Ezekiel* placeth the taking of *Tyre* by *Nebuchadnezzar* in the twenty sixth year of the captivity of *Jehoiachin*. For in the first month, and in the first day of the month of the twenty seventh year, he speaketh (ch. xxix. 17, 18, &c.) of that city as newly taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*, and therefore the taking of it must have been in the year before, that is in the twenty sixth of the said captivity. This fell in the ⁱ thirty second year of the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Babylonish* account; from which year, according to *Ptolemy's* cannon, the first year of *Cyrus* at *Babylon* will be the thirty sixth, and so according to the *Phœnician* annals will it be exactly the same. For ^k according to them, after the taking of *Tyre* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Baal* had the government of it ten years, *Ecnibal* two months, *Chelbes* ten months, *Abbar* three months, *Mitgonus* and *Gerastratus* six years, *Balator* one year, *Merball* four years, and *Hirom* twenty years, in whose fourteenth year say the same annals *Cyrus* began his empire. And putting all these together, the fourteenth of *Hirom* will be exactly the thirty sixth year from the thirty second of *Nebuchadnezzar*, which was the twenty sixth of the captivity of *Jehoiachin*, the year according to *Ezekiel* in which *Tyre* was taken. And therefore it doth hereby appear, that the said *Phœnician* annals place the taking of *Tyre* in the very same year, that *Ezekiel* doth. For the twenty sixth year from the captivity of *Jehoiachin* computed downward, in which *Ezekiel* placeth it, and the thirty sixth year from the fourteenth of *Hirom* computed upward, in which the *Phœnician* annals place it, will be exactly the same year.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR and his army having served so long before *Tyre*, ^l till every head was bald, and every shoulder peeled, through the length and hardship of the war, and gotten little on the taking of the place to reward him and his army for their service, in executing the wrath of God upon the place, by reason that the *Tyrians* had saved the best of their effects in the island, God did by the prophet *Ezekiel* promise them the spoils of *Egypt*. And accordingly this very same year immediately after this siege was over, *Nebuchadnezzar* taking the advantage of the intestine divisions which were then in that countrey, by reason of the revolt of *Amasis*, marched with his army thither; and overrunning the whole land from ^m *Migdol* or *Magdolum*, (which is at the first entring into *Egypt*) even to *Syene*, (which is at the farthest end of it towards the borders of *Ethiopia*) he made ⁿ a miserable ravage and devastation therein, slaying multitudes of the inhabitants, and reducing a great part of the countrey to such a desolation, as it did not recover from in ^o forty years after. After this *Nebuchadnezzar* having loaded himself and his army with the rich spoils of this countrey, and brought it all in subjection to him, he came to

ⁱ For the 37th year of the captivity of *Jehoiachin* being the last (which was the 43rd) year of the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, (2 Kings xxv. 27. & Jer. lii. 31.) the 26th year of the said captivity must be in the 33^d of *Nebuchadnezzar*. ^k Joseph. contra Apionem, lib. 1. ^l Ezekiel xxix. 18---20. & xxx. 1---19.

^m Ezekiel xxx. 6. Where observe this passage [from the Tower of *Syene*] in the English translation of the Bible is wrong translated. For the Hebrew word *Migdol*, which is there translated Tower, is the name of the city *Magdolum*, which was at the entrance of *Egypt* from *Palestine*, i. e. at the hither end of *Egypt*, whereas *Syene* was at the other end upon the borders of *Ethiopia*, the translation ought to be thus, [from *Migdol* to *Syene*] that is, from one end of *Egypt* to the other. ⁿ Ezekiel xxix. 30, 31, 32. ^o Ezekiel xxix. 3.

terms with *Amasis*, and having confirmed him in the kingdom as his deputy, returned to *Babylon*.

DURING this ravage of the land of *Egypt* by the *Babylonians*, most of the *Jews*, who had fled thither after the murder of *Gedaliah*, fell into their hands. ^p Many of them they slew, others they carried captive with them to *Babylon*. The few that escaped saved themselves by fleeing out of *Egypt*, and afterwards settled again in their own land at the end of the captivity.

An. 570.
Nebu-
chadnezzar 35.

AFTER *Nebuchadnezzar* was gone out of *Egypt*, *Apries* creeping out of his hiding places got towards the sea-coasts, most likely into the parts of *Libya*, and there ^r hiring an army of *Carians*, *Ionians*, and other foreigners, marched against *Amasis*, and gave him battel near the city of *Memphis*, in which being vanquished and taken prisoner he was carried to the city of *Sais*, and there strangled in his own palace. And hereby were compleated all the prophecies of the prophets ^s *Jeremiah* and ^t *Ezekiel*, which they had foretold both concerning him and his people, especially that of *Jeremiah* relating to his death, whereby it was foreshewn, ^u *That God would give Pharaoh Hophra King of Egypt into the hands of his enemies, and into the hand of them that sought his life, as he gave Zedekiah King of Judah into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar his enemy that sought his life.* Which was exactly fulfilled on his being taken prisoner, and executed by *Amasis* in the manner as I have said. It is remarked of him ^v by *Herodotus*, that he was of that pride and high conceit of himself, as to vaunt, that it was not in the power of God himself to dispossess him of his kingdom, so surely he thought himself established in it; and agreeably hereto is it, that the prophet *Ezekiel* charged him with saying, ^w *The river is mine and I have made it.* For the first twenty years of his reign he had enjoyed as prosperous a fortune as most of his predecessors, having ^x had many successes against the *Cypriots*, the *Zidonians*, and *Philistines*, and other nations, but after he took on himself, *Caligula* like, to be thought as a God, he fell from his former state, and made that miserable exit which I have related. After his death ^y *Amasis* without any farther opposition became possessed of the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, and held it from the death of *Apries* forty four years. This hapned in the nineteenth year after the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

IN the same nineteenth year *Nebuchadnezzar* being returned from this *Egyptian* expedition to *Babylon* had there the dream of the wonderful great tree, and the cutting down thereof, of which, and the interpretation of it, there is a full account in the ivth chapter of *Daniel*.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR being now at rest from all his wars, and in full peace at home, applied himself to the finishing of his buildings at *Babylon*. ^z *Semiramis* is said by some, and ^a *Belus* by others, to have first founded this city. But by whomsoever it was first founded, it was *Nebuchadnezzar* that made it one of the wonders of the world. The ^b most famous works therein were, 1st, The walls of the city: 2^{dly}, The temple of *Belus*:

^p Jer. xlv. 27, 28.

^r Chap. xliii, xlv, xlv.

^s Ezek. xxix. 9.

^t Herodotus, lib. 2.

^u Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1.

^v Herodotus, lib. 2.

^w Herodotus, lib. 2.

^x Herodotus, lib. 2.

^y Herodotus, lib. 2.

^z Herodotus, lib. 2.

^a Herodotus, lib. 2.

^b Herodotus, lib. 2.

¹ Herodotus, lib. 2.

² Herodotus, lib. 2.

³ Herodotus, lib. 2.

⁴ Herodotus, lib. 2.

⁵ Herodotus, lib. 2.

⁶ Herodotus, lib. 2.

⁷ Herodotus, lib. 2.

⁸ Herodotus, lib. 2.

⁹ Herodotus, lib. 2.

¹⁰ Herodotus, lib. 2.

¹¹ Herodotus, lib. 2.

¹² Herodotus, lib. 2.

¹³ Herodotus, lib. 2.

¹⁴ Herodotus, lib. 2.

¹⁵ Herodotus, lib. 2.

¹⁶ Herodotus, lib. 2.

¹⁷ Herodotus, lib. 2.

¹⁸ Herodotus, lib. 2.

¹⁹ Herodotus, lib. 2.

²⁰ Herodotus, lib. 2.

²¹ Herodotus, lib. 2.

²² Herodotus, lib. 2.

²³ Herodotus, lib. 2.

²⁴ Herodotus, lib. 2.

²⁵ Herodotus, lib. 2.

²⁶ Herodotus, lib. 2.

²⁷ Herodotus, lib. 2.

²⁸ Herodotus, lib. 2.

²⁹ Herodotus, lib. 2.

³⁰ Herodotus, lib. 2.

³¹ Herodotus, lib. 2.

³² Herodotus, lib. 2.

³³ Herodotus, lib. 2.

³⁴ Herodotus, lib. 2.

³⁵ Herodotus, lib. 2.

³⁶ Herodotus, lib. 2.



3dly, His palace, and the hanging gardens in it: 4thly, The banks of the river: And 5thly, The artificial lake, and artificial canals made for the draining of that river. In the magnificence and expence of which works he much exceeded whatsoever had been done by any King before him. And excepting the walls of *China* nothing like it hath been since attempted, whereby any one else can be equall'd to him herein.

1st, THE walls were every way prodigious. For they ^c were in thickness eighty seven foot, in height three hundred and fifty foot, and in compass four hundred eighty furlongs, which make sixty of our Miles. This is *Herodotus's* account of them, who was himself at *Babylon*, and is the ancientest author that hath wrote of this matter. And altho' there are others that differ from him herein, yet the most, that agree in any measures of those walls, give us ^d the same, or very near the same that he doth. Those who lay the height of them at fifty cubits, speak of them only as they were after the time of *Darius Hystaspis*. For the *Babylonians* having revolted from him, and in confidence of their strong walls stood out against him in a long siege, after he had taken the place, to ^e prevent their rebellion for the future, he took away their gates, and beat down their walls to the height last mentioned, and beyond this they were never after raised. These walls were drawn round the city in the form of ^f an exact square, each side of which was an hundred and twenty furlongs, or fifteen miles in length, and ^g all built of large bricks cemented together with bitumen, a glutinous slime arising out of the earth in that countrey, which binds in building much stronger and firmer than lime, and soon grows much harder than the brick or stones themselves, which they cement together. These walls were surrounded on the outside with a vast ditch filled with water, and lined with bricks on both sides, after the manner of a scarpe or counter-scarpe, and the earth which was dug out of it made the bricks wherewith the walls were built; and therefore from the vast height and breadth of the walls may be inferred the greatness of the ditch. In every side of this great square were twenty five gates, that is an hundred in all, which were all made of solid brass; and hence it is, that when God promised to *Cyrus* the conquest of *Babylon*, he tells him, *That he would break in pieces before him the gates of brass.* (Isaiah xlv. 2.) Between every two of these gates were three towers, and four more at the four corners of this great square, and three between each of these corners and the next gate on either side, and every one of these towers was ten foot higher than the walls. But this is to be understood only ^h of those parts of the wall where there was need of towers. For some parts of them lying against morasses always full of water, where they could not be approached by an enemy, they had there no need of any towers at all for their defence, and therefore in them there were none built. For the whole number of them amounted to no more than two hundred and fifty, whereas had the same uniform order been observed in their disposition all round, there must have been many more. From the twenty five gates in each side of this great square went twenty five streets in straight lines to the gates, which were directly over against them in the other side opposite to it. So that the whole number of the

^c Herodotus, lib. 1.

^d Plinius, lib. 6. c. 26. Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 18.

^e Herodotus, lib. 3.

^f Herodotus, lib. 3.

^g Herodotus, lib. 1.

^h Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1.

Strabo, lib. 16. Diodo-

rus Sic. lib. 2. Arrian. de expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7.

^h Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2.

streets were fifty, each fifteen miles long, whereof twenty five went one way, and twenty five the other, ⁱ directly crossing each other at right Angles. And besides these there were also four half streets, which were built but of one side, as having the wall on the other. These went round the four sides of the city next the walls, and ^k were each of them two hundred foot broad, the rest were about an hundred and fifty. By these streets thus crossing each other the whole city was cut out into six hundred seventy six squares, each of which was four furlongs and an half on every side, that is two miles and a quarter in compass. Round these squares on every side towards the streets stood the houses all built three or four stories high, and beautified ^l with all manner of adornments towards the streets. The space within, in the middle of each square, was all void ground, employed for yards, gardens, and other such uses. A branch of the river *Euphrates* did run quite cross the city, entring in on the north side, and going out on the south, over which in the middle of the city was a bridge of ^m a furlong in length, and thirty foot in breadth, built with ⁿ wonderful art to supply the defect of a foundation in the bottom of the river, which was all sandy. At the two ends of the bridge were ^o two palaces, the old palace on the east side, and the new palace on the west side of the river; the former of these took up ^p four of the squares above-mentioned, and the other ^q nine of them. And the temple of *Belus*, which stood next the old palace, took up another of these squares. The whole city stood on a ^r large flat or plain, in a very fat and deep soil. That part of it ^s which was on the east side of the river was the old city, the other on the west side was added by *Nebuchadnezzar*. Both together were included within that vast square I have mentioned. The pattern hereof seemeth to have been taken from *Niniveh*, that having been exactly ^t four hundred and eighty furlongs round, as this was. For *Nebuchadnezzar* having in conjunction with his father destroyed that old royal seat of the *Assyrian* empire, resolved to make this, which he intended should succeed it in that dignity, altogether as large; only whereas *Niniveh* was ^v in the form of a parallelogram, he made *Babylon* in that of an exact square, which figure rendred it somewhat the larger of the two. To fill this great and large city with inhabitants, was the reason that *Nebuchadnezzar* out of *Judea*, and other conquered countries, carried so great a number of captives thither. And could he have made it as populous, as it was great, there was no countrey in all the east could, better than that in which it stood, have maintained so great a number of people as must then have been in it. For the fertility of this province was so great, that ^w it yielded to the *Persian* Kings, during their reign over *Asia*, half as much as did all that large empire besides, the common return of their tillage being between two and three hundred fold every crop. But it never hapned to have been ^x fully inhabited, it not ha-

ⁱ Herodotus, lib. 1. ^k Two plethra, saith Diodorus, that is, two hundred foot, for a plethrum contained one hundred foot. ^l Herodotus, lib. 1. ^m Strabo saith, that the river which passed thorough Babylon was a furlong broad. (lib. 16.) But Diodorus saith (lib. 2.) that the bridge was five furlongs long, if so, it must be much longer than the river was broad. ⁿ Diodorus Sic. lib. 2. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 18. Herodotus, lib. 1. ^o Berosus apud Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. Herodotus, lib. 1. Diodorus Sic. lib. 2. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 18. ^p It was thirty furlongs in compass, Diodorus Sic. lib. 2. ^q It was sixty furlongs in compass, Diodorus, Ibid. ^r Herodotus, lib. 1. ^s Diodorus Sic. lib. 2. ^t Diodorus, Ibid. ^v Two of its sides were each an hundred and fifty furlongs long, and the other but eighty each, Diodorus, Ibid. ^w Herodotus, lib. 1. ^x Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1.

ving had time enough to grow up thereto. For within twenty five years after the death of *Nebuchadnezzar* the royal seat of the empire was removed from thence to *Shushan* by *Cyrus*, which did put an end to the growing glory of *Babylon*, for after that it never more flourished. When *Alexander* came to *Babylon*, *Curtius* tells us, * no more than ninety furlongs of it was then built, which can no otherwise be understood than of so much in length, and if we allow the breadth to be as much as the length, (which is the utmost that can be allowed) it will follow, that no more than eight thousand one hundred square furlongs were then built upon, but the whole space within the walls contained fourteen thousand four hundred square furlongs, and therefore there must have been six thousand three hundred square furlongs that were unbuilt, which *Curtius* * tells us were plow'd and sown. And besides this the houses were not contiguous, but all built with a void space on each side, between house and house. And the same historian tells us, this was done because this way of building seemed to them the safest. His words are, *Ac ne totam quidem urbem tectis occupaverunt, per nonaginta stadia habitatur, nec omnia continua sunt, credo quia tutius visum est pluribus locis spargi*; i. e. Neither was the whole city built upon, for the space of ninety furlongs it was inhabited, but the houses were not contiguous, because they thought it safest to be dispersed in many places distant from each other. Which words [*they thought it safest*] are to be understood, not as if they did this for the better securing of their houses from fire, as some interpret them, but chiefly for the better preserving of health. For hereby in cities situated in such hot countries those suffocations and other inconveniencies are avoided, which must necessarily attend such as there dwell in houses closely built together. For which reason *Delhi* the capital of *India*, and several other cities in those warmer parts of the world, are thus built; the usage of those places being, that such a stated space of ground be left void between every house and house, that is built in them. And old *Rome* was built after the same manner. So that putting all this together it will appear, that *Babylon* was so large a city rather in scheme than in reality. For according to this account it must be by much the larger part that was never built, and therefore in this respect it must give place to *Niniveh*, which was as many furlongs in circuit as the other, and without any void ground in it that we are told of. And the number of its infants at the same time, which could not discern between their right hand and their left, which the Scriptures tell us were an hundred and twenty thousand in the time of *Jonah*, doth sufficiently prove it was fully inhabited. It was intended indeed, that *Babylon* should have exceeded it in every thing. But *Nebuchadnezzar* did not live long enough, nor the *Babylonish* empire last long enough to finish the scheme that was first drawn of it.

THE next great work of *Nebuchadnezzar* at *Babylon* was the temple of *Belus*. But that which was most remarkable in it was none of his work, but was built many ages before. It was a wonderful tower that stood in the middle of it. At the foundation * it was a square of a furlong on each side, that is an half of a mile in the whole compass, and consisted of eight towers one built above over the other. Some following a mistake of the

* Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1.

z Herodotus, lib. 1.

y Berosus apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

Latin version of *Herodotus*, wherein the lowest of these towers is said to be a furlong thick and a furlong high, will have each of these towers to have been a furlong high, which amounts to a mile in the whole. But the *Greek* of *Herodotus*, which is the authentic text of that author, saith no such thing, but only that it was a furlong long and a furlong broad, without mentioning any thing of its height at all. And *Strabo* in his description of it, calling it a pyramid, because of its decreasing or benching-in at every tower, ^a saith of the whole, that it was a furlong high, and a furlong on every side. To reckon every tower a furlong, and the whole a mile high, would shock any man's belief, were the authority of both these authors for it, much more when there is none at all. Taking it only as it is described by *Strabo* it is prodigious enough. For according to his dimensions only, without adding any thing farther, it was one of the wonderfulest works in the world, and much exceeding the greatest of the pyramids of *Egypt*, which hath been thought to excel all other works in the world besides. For ^b although it fell short of that pyramid at the basis, (where that was a square of seven hundred foot on every side, and this but of six hundred) yet it far exceeded it in the height, the perpendicular measure of the said pyramid being no more than four hundred eighty one foot, whereas that of the other was full six hundred, and therefore it was higher than that pyramid by one hundred and nineteen foot, which is one quarter of the whole. And therefore it was not without reason, that ^c *Bochartus* asserts it to have been the very same tower which was there built at the confusion of tongues. For it was prodigious enough to answer the Scriptures description of it; and it is particularly attested by several Authors, to have been all built ^d of bricks and bitumen, as the Scriptures tell us the tower of *Babel* was. *Herodotus* saith, that the going up to it was by stairs on the outside round it, from whence it seems most likely, that the whole ascent to it was by the benching-in drawn in a sloping line from the bottom to the top eight times round it; and that this made the appearance of eight towers one above another, in the same manner as we have the tower of *Babel* commonly described in pictures, saving only, that whereas that is usually pictur'd round, this was square. For such a benching-in drawn in a slope eight times round, in manner as aforesaid, would make the whole seem on every side as consisting of eight towers, and the upper tower to be so much less than that next below it, as the breadth of the benching-in amounted to. These eight towers being as so many stories one above another, were each of them seventy five foot high, and in them were many great rooms with arched roofs supported by pillars. All which were made parts of the temple after the tower became consecrated to that idolatrous use. The uppermost story of all was that which was most sacred, and where their chiefest devotions were performed. Over the whole on the top of the tower was ^e an observatory, by the benefit of which it was, that the *Babylonians* advanced their skill in astronomy beyond all other nations, and came to so early a perfection in it as is related. For when *Alexander* took *Babylon*, *Calisthenes* the philosopher, who accompanied him thither, found they had astro-

^a *Strabo*, lib. 16.

Part. I. lib. 1. c. 9.

Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7.

^b See *Mr. Greave's Description of the Pyramids*, p. 68, 69.

^d *Strabo*, lib. 16. *Herodotus*, lib. 1.

^e *Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 98.*

^c *Phaleg.*

Arrian. de

nomical observations for 1903 years backward from that time, which carrieth up the account as high as the one hundred and fifteenth year after the flood, which was within fifteen years after the tower of *Babel* was built. For the confusion of tongues, which followed immediately after the building of that tower, hapned in the year wherein *Peleg* was born, which was an hundred and one years after the flood, and fourteen years after that these observations began. This account *Calisthenes* sent from *Babylon* into *Greece* to his master *Aristotle*, as *Simplicius* from the authority of *Porphyrus* delivers it unto us in his second book *De Cælo*. Till the time of *Nebuchadnezzar* the temple of *Belus* contained no more than this tower only, and the rooms in it served all the occasions of that idolatrous worship. But ^e he enlarged it by vast buildings erected round it in ^f a square of two furlongs on every side, and a mile in circumference, which was one thousand eight hundred foot more than ^g the square of the temple of *Jerusalem*. For that was but three thousand foot round, whereas this was, according to this account, four thousand eight hundred. And on the outside of all these buildings there was a wall enclosing the whole, which may be supposed to have been of equal extent with the square in which it stood, that is, two miles and a half in compass, in which were several gates leading into the temple, all ^h of solid brass, and the brazen sea, the brazen pillars, and the other brazen vessels, which were carried to *Babylon* from the temple of *Jerusalem*, seem to have been employed to the making of them. For it is said, that *Nebuchadnezzar* did put all the sacred vessels which he carried from *Jerusalem* ⁱ into the house of his God at *Babylon*, that is, into this house or temple of *Bel*. For that was the name of the great God of the *Babylonians*. He is supposed to have been the same with *Nimrod*, and to have been called *Bel* from his dominion, and *Nimrod* from his rebellion. For *Bel*, or *Baal*, which is the same name, signifyeth *Lord*; and *Nimrod* a *Rebel* in the *Jewish* and *Chaldean* languages; the former was his *Babylonish* name by reason of his empire in that place, and the latter his Scripture name by reason of his rebellion, in revolting from God to follow his own wicked designs. This temple stood till the time of *Xerxes*, but he, on his return from his *Grecian* expedition, ^k demolished the whole of it, and laid it all in rubbish, having first plundered it of all its immense riches, among which were several images or statues of massy gold, and one of them is said by ^l *Diodorus Siculus* to have been forty foot high, which might perchance have been that, which *Nebuchadnezzar* consecrated in the plains of *Dura*. *Nebuchadnezzar*'s golden image is said indeed in Scripture to have been sixty cubits, *i. e.* ninety foot high, but that must be understood of the image and pedestal both together. For that image being said to have been but six cubits broad or thick, it is impossible that the image could have been sixty cubits high. For that makes its height to be ten times its breadth or thickness, which exceeds all the proportions of a man, no man's height being above six times his thickness, measuring the slenderest man living at his waist. But where the breadth of this image was mea-

^e Berosus apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. ^f Herodotus, lib. 1. ^h For it was a square of 500 Cubits on every side, and 2000 in the whole, *i. e.* 3000 foot. See Lightfoot's description of the Temple of Jerusalem. ^g Herodotus, lib. 1. ^k Daniel i. 2. ^l 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7. ⁱ Strabo, lib. 16. p. 738. Herodotus, lib. 1. Arrianus de Expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7.]
^m Lib. 2.

fured is not said, perchance it was from shoulder to shoulder, and then the proportion of six cubits breadth will bring down the height exactly to the measure which *Diodorus* hath mentioned. For the usual height of a man being four and a half of his breadth between the shoulders, if the image were six cubits broad between the shoulders, it must according to this proportion have been twenty seven cubits high, which is forty foot and an half. Besides *Diodorus* tells us, that this image of forty foot high contained a thousand *Babylonish* talents of gold, which according to *Pollux* (who in his *Onomasticon* reckons a *Babylonish* talent to contain seven thousand *Attic* drachma's, *i. e.* eight hundred seventy five ounces) amounts to three millions and a half of our money. But if we advance the height of the statue to ninety foot without the pedestal, it will encrease the value to a sum incredible, and therefore it is necessary to take the pedestal also into the height mentioned by *Daniel*. Other images and sacred utensils were also in that temple, all of solid gold. Those that are particularly mentioned by *Diodorus* contain five thousand and thirty talents, which with the thousand talents in the image above-mentioned, amount to above one and twenty millions of our money. And besides this we may well suppose the value of as much more in treasure and utensils not mentioned, which was a vast sum. But it was the collection of near two thousand years. For so long that temple had stood. All this *Xerxes* took away, when he destroyed it. And perchance to recruit himself with the plunder, after the vast expence which he had been at in his *Grecian* expedition, was that which chiefly excited him to the destruction of it, what other reason soever might be pretended for it. *Alexander* on his return to *Babylon* from his *Indian* expedition *purposed again to have rebuilt it, and in order hereto he did set ten thousand men on work to rid the place of its rubbish, but after they had laboured herein two months *Alexander* died, before they had perfected much of the undertaking. And this did put an end to all farther proceedings in that design. Had he lived, and made that city the seat of his empire, as it was ^p supposed he would, the glory of *Babylon* would no doubt have been advanced by him to the utmost height that ever *Nebuchadnezzar* intended to have brought it to, and would again have been the Queen of the east.

NEXT this temple ⁹ on the same east side of the river stood the old palace of the Kings of *Babylon*, being four miles in compass. Exactly over against it on the other side of the river ⁹ stood the new palace, and this was that which *Nebuchadnezzar* built. It was four times as big as the former, as being ^f eight miles in compass. It was surrounded with three walls, one within another, and strongly fortified according to the way of those times. But what was most wonderful in it were the hanging gardens, which were of so celebrated a name among the *Greeks*. They contained a square of four plethra (that is of four hundred foot) on every side, and were carried up aloft into the air in the manner of several large terrasses one above another, till the highest equalled the height of the walls of the city. The

* Lib. 2. ^o This is according to the lowest computation, valuing an *Attic* drachm at no more than seven pence half penny, whereas Dr. Bernard reckons it to be eight pence farthing, which would mount the sum much higher.

* Strabo, lib. 16. Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 1. Arrianus de expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7. ^p Strabo, lib. 15. p. 731. ⁹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 18. ^r Berosus apud Josephum, lib. 10. c. 11. ^r Diodor, lib. 2.

Herodot. lib. 1. ^r Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. Strabo, lib. 16. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1.

ascent was from terrafs to terrafs by ftairs ten foot wide. The whole pile was fufained by vaft arches built upon arches one above another, and ftrengthened by a wall furrounding it on every fide of twenty two foot thicknefs. The floors of every one of thefe terraffes were laid in the fame manner, which was thus: On the top of the arches were firft laid large flat ftones fixteen foot long and four broad, and over them was a layer of reed mix'd with a great quantity of bitumen; over which were two rows of bricks clofely cemented together by plaifter, and then over all were laid thick fheets of lead, and laftly upon the lead was laid the mould of the garden. And all this floorage was contrived to keep the moiſture of the mould from running away down through the arches. The mould or earth laid hereon was of that depth, as to have room enough for the greateſt trees to take rooting in it, and fuch were planted all over it in every terrafs, as were alfo all other trees, plants, and flowers, that were proper for a garden of pleaſure. In the upper terrafs there was an aquæduct or engine, whereby water was drawn up out of the river, which from thence watered the whole garden. *Amyitis* the wife of *Nebuchadnezzar* having been bred in *Media*, (for ſhe was the daughter of *Aſtyages*, the King of that countrey, as hath been before related) had been much taken with the mountainous and woody parts of that countrey, and therefore deſired to have ſomething like it at *Babylon*, and to gratify her herein was the reaſon of erecting this monſtrous work of vanity.

THE other works attributed to him by ^v *Beroſus* and ^w *Abydenus* were the banks of the river, and the artificial canals, and artificial lake, which were made for dreining of it in the times of the overflows. For ^x on the coming on of the ſummer the ſun melting the ſnow on the mountains of *Armenia*, from thence there is always a great overflow of water during the months of *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, which running into the *Euphrates*, makes it overflow all its banks during that ſeaſon, in the ſame manner as doth the river *Nile* in *Egypt*, whereby the city and countrey of *Babylon* ſuffering great damage, for ^y the preventing hereof he did a great way up the ſtream cut out of it on the eaſt ſide two artificial canals, thereby to drain off theſe overflowings into the *Tigris* before they ſhould reach *Babylon*. The ^z fartheſt of theſe was the current which did run into the *Tigris* near *Seleucia*, and the other that which taking its courſe between the laſt mentioned and *Babylon*, diſcharged it ſelf into the ſame river over againſt *Apamia*; which being very large and navigable for great Veſſels ^a was from thence called *Naharmalcha*, that is in the *Chaldean* language, the *Royal River*. This is ſaid to have been made by ^b *Gobaris* or *Gobrias*, who being the governor of the province had the overſeeing of the work committed to his care, and ſeemeth to have been the ſame, who afterwards on a great wrong done him revolted from the *Babylonians* to *Cyrus*, as will be hereafter related. And for the farther ſecuring of the countrey *Nebuchadnezzar* built ^c alſo prodigious banks of brick and bitumen on each ſide of the river to keep it within its channel, which ^d were carried along

^v Apud Joſephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. & contra Apionem, lib. 1. ^w Apud Eufebium Præpar. Evang. lib. 9.
^z Strabo, lib. 16. Plin. 5. c. 26. Arrianus de expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. ^y Abydenus apud Eufeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9.
^a Ptol. lib. 5. c. 18. Plin. lib. 5. c. 26. ^a Abydenus, ibid. Ptol. ibid. Plin. lib. 6. c. 26.
Polybius, lib. 5. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 24. Strab. lib. 16. p. 747. Iſidorus Characenus de Stathmis Parthicis. ^c Abydenus, ibid. ^d Herodotus, lib. 1.
^b Plin. lib. 6. c. 26.

from the head of the said canals down to the city, and some way below it. But the most wonderful part of the work was within the city it self. For there^c on each side of the river he built from the bottom of it a great wall for its bank of brick and bitumen, which was of the same thickness with the walls of the city, and over against every street that crossed the said river he made on each side a brazen gate in the said wall, and stairs leading down from it to the river, from whence the citizens used to pass by boat from one side to the other, which was the only passage they had over the river, till the bridge was built, which I have above mentioned. The gates were open by day, but always shut by night. And this prodigious work^e was carried on on both sides of the river to the length of an hundred and sixty furlongs, which is twenty miles of our measure, and therefore must have been begun two miles and an half above the city, and continued down two miles and an half below it. For thorough the city was no more than fifteen miles. While these banks were a building the river was turn'd another way. For which purpose to the west of *Babylon*^f was made a prodigious artificial lake, which was^h according to the lowest computation forty miles square and an hundred and sixty in compass, and in depth thirty five foot, saith *Herodotus*, seventy five, saith *Megasthenes*. The former seems to measure from the surface of the sides, and the other from the top of the banks that were cast up upon them. And into this lake was the whole river turned by an artificial canal cut from the west side of it, till all the said work was finished, and then it was returned again into its own former channel. But that the said river in the time of its increase might not through the gates above mentioned overflow the city, this lake with the canal leading thereto was still preserved, and proved the best, and the most effectual means to prevent it. For whenever the river rose to such an height, as to endanger this overflowing, it always discharged it self by this canal into the lake, through a passage in the bank of the river at the head of the said canal, made there of a pitch fit for this purpose, whereby it was prevented from ever rising any higher below that place. And the water received into the lake at the time of these overflowsings was there kept all the year, as in a common reservatory for the benefit of the countrey, to be let out by sluices at all convenient times for the watering of the lands below it. So it equally served the convenience of *Babylon*, and also the convenience of that part of the province, in improving their lands, and making them the more fertile and beneficial to them, though at last it became the cause of great mischief to both. For it afforded to *Cyrus* the means of taking the city, and in the effecting thereof became the cause of drowning a great part of that countrey, which was never after again recovered; of both which an account will be hereafter given in its proper place. *Berosus*, *Megasthenes*, and *Abydenus*, attribute all these works to *Nebuchadnezzar*, but *Herodotus* tells us, that the bridge, the river-banks, and the lake, were the work of *Nitocris* his daughter-in-law. Perchance *Nitocris* finished what *Nebuchadnezzar* had left unperfected at his death, and this procured her with that historian the honour of the whole.

^c Berosus apud Josephum Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11. ^f Diodor. lib. 2. p. 96. ^g Abydenus, ibid. Herodotus, lib. 1. Diodorus, ibid. ^h According to Herodotus, this Lake was four hundred and twenty furlongs square, i. e. fifty two miles and an half on every side, and then the whole compass must be two hundred and ten miles. But according to Megasthenes the whole compass was but forty parasangæ, i. e. an hundred and sixty miles, for each parasanga contained four of our miles.

ALL the flat, whereon *Babylon* stood, being by reason of so many rivers and canals running thorough it made in many places marshy, especially near the said rivers and canals, this caused it to abound much in willows, and therefore it is called in Scripture, *The valley of willows*. (For so the words *Isaiah* xv. 7. which we translate the *brook of willows*, ought to be rendred.) And for the same reason the *Jews* (*Psalms* cxxxvii. 1, 2.) are said, when they were by the rivers of *Babylon* in the land of their captivity, to have hung their harps upon the willows, that, is, because of the abundance of them which grew by those rivers.

AT the end ⁱ of twelve months after *Nebuchadnezzar's* last dream, while he was walking in his palace at *Babylon*, most likely in his hanging gardens, and in the uppermost terrafs of them, from whence he might have a full prospect of the whole city, he proudly boasting of his great works done therein said, ^k *Is not this great Babylon, which I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?* But while the words were yet in his mouth, there came a voice to him from heaven to rebuke his pride, which told him that his kingdom was departed from him, and that he should be driven from the society of men, and thenceforth for seven years have his dwelling with the wild beasts of the field, there to live like them in a brutal manner. And immediately hereon his senses being taken from him he fell into a distracted condition, and continuing so for seven years, he lived abroad in the fields, eating grafs like the oxen, and taking his lodgings on the ground in the open air, as they did, till his hair was grown like eagles feathers, and his nails like birds claws. But at the end of seven years his understanding returning unto him, he was restored again to his kingdom, and his former majesty and honour re-established on him. And hereon being made fully sensible of the almighty power of the God of heaven and earth, and that it is he only that doth all things according to his will, both in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, and by his everlasting dominion disposeth of all things at his good pleasure, he did by a publick decree make acknowledgment hereof through all the *Babylonish* empire, praising his almighty power, and magnifying his mercy in his late restoration shewn unto him.

AFTER this he lived only one year, and died, having reigned according to the *Babylonish* account from the death of his father forty three years, and according to the *Jewish* account from his first coming with an army into *Syria* forty five years. His death hapned about the end of the year, a little before the conclusion of the thirty seventh year of the captivity of *Jehoiachin*. He was one of the greatest princes that had reigned in the east for many ages before him, *Megasthenes* ^l prefers him for his valour to *Hercules*. But his greatness, riches and power, did in nothing more appear, than in his prodigious works at *Babylon* above described, which for many ages after were spoken of as the wonders of the world. He is ^m said at his death to have prophesied of the coming of the *Persians*, and their bringing of the *Babylonians* in subjection to them. But in this he spake no more than what he had been informed of by *Daniel* the pro-

An. 569.
Nebu-
chadnezzar 36.

An. 563.
Nebu-
chadnezzar 42.

An. 562.
Nebu-
chadnezzar 43.

ⁱ Daniel iv.
Strabo, lib. 15. p. 687.

^k Daniel iv. 30.

^m Abydenus, ibid.

^l Abydenus, ibid. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

phet, and in the interpretation of his dreams been assured by him should speedily come to pass, as accordingly it did within twenty three years after.

An. 561.
Evilmerodach 1.

ON the death of this great Prince ⁿ *Evilmerodach* his son succeeded him in the *Babylonish* empire; and as soon as he was settled in the throne, he released *Jehoiachin* King of *Judah* out of prison, after he had lain there near thirty seven years, and promoted him to great honour in his palace, admitting him to eat bread continually at his table, and placing him there before all the other kings, and great men of his empire, that came to him to *Babylon*, and also made him a daily allowance to support him with an equipage in all things else suitable hereto. *Jerom* ^o tells us from an ancient tradition of the *Jews*, that *Evilmerodach* having had the government of the *Babylonish* empire during his father's distraction administered it so ill, that as soon as the old King came again to himself, he put him in prison for it; and that the place of his imprisonment hapning to be the same, where *Jehoiachin* had long lain, he there entered into a particular acquaintance and friendship with him, and that this was the cause of the great kindness which he afterwards shewed him. And since the old historical traditions of the *Jews* ^p are often quoted in the new Testament, if this were such, it is not wholly to be disregarded, and that especially since the male administrations which *Evilmerodach* was guilty of after his father's death, give reason enough to believe, that he could not govern without them before. For he ^q proved a very profligate and vicious Prince, and for that reason was called *Evilmerodach*, that is, *Foolish Merodach*. For his proper name was only *Merodach*. But whatsoever was the inducing reason, this favour he shewed to the captive Prince, as soon as his father was dead. So that the last year of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s reign was the last of the thirty seven years of *Jehoiachin*'s captivity, and this shews us when it begun, and serves to the connecting of the chronology of the *Babylonish* and *Jewish* history in all other particulars. For which reason it may be useful to have a particular state of this matter, which I take to have been as followeth. In the seventh year of the reign of *Nebuchadnezzar*, according to the *Babylonish* account, ^{*} in the beginning of the *Jewish* year, that is, in the month of *April* according to our year, *Jehoiachin* was carried captive to *Babylon*. And therefore the first year of his captivity beginning in the month of *April* in the seventh year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the thirty seventh year of it must begin in the same month of *April* in the forty third year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, towards the end whereof that great King dying, with the beginning of the next year began the first year of the reign of *Evilmerodach*, and the *March* following, ^r that is, on the twenty seventh day of the twelfth, or last month of the *Jewish* year, *Jehoiachin* was by the great favour of the new King released from his captivity in the manner as is above expressed, about a month before he had fully compleated thirty seven years in it.

An. 561.
Evilmerodach 1.

IN the same year, which was the first of *Evilmerodach* at *Babylon*, ^s *Cræsus* succeeded *Alyattes* his father in the kingdom of *Lydia*, and reigned

ⁿ 2 Kings xxv. 27. Jeremiah lii. 31. Berosus apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1. Et Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. ^o Comment. in Esaiam xiv. 19. ^p By St. Stephen, Acts vii. By St. Paul to the Hebrews, xi. 35, 36, 37. and to Timothy, Ep. ii. 3, 8. and by St. Jude, 9, 14, 15.

^q Berosus, ibid. ^{*} 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10. for there it is said, that it was at the return of the year. ^r 2 Kings xxv. 27. Jer. lii. 31. ^s Herodotus, lib. 1.

there

there fourteen years. This was the twenty eighth year after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the forty sixth of the seventy years captivity of *Judah*.

WHEN *Evilmerodach* had reigned two years at *Babylon*, his lusts and his other wickedness made him so intolerable, ^f that at length even his own relations conspired against him and put him to death, and ^g *Neriglissar* his sister's husband, who was the head of the conspiracy against him, reigned in his stead. And since it is said, that *Jeboiachin* was ^h fed by him until the day of his death, it is inferred from hence that he did not outlive him, but that he either died a little before him, or else as a favourite was slain with him. The last seemeth most probable, as best agreeing with the prophesy of *Jeremiah* concerning him. For it is therein denounced against him, ^w that he should not prosper in his days, which could not be so well verified of him, if he died in full possession of all that prosperity, which *Evilmerodach* advanced him unto. An. 559.
Neriglissar I.

ON the death of *Jeboiachin*, *Salathiel* his son ^x became the nominal Prince of the *Jews* after him. For after the loss of the authority they still kept up the title; and for a great many ages after in the parts about *Babylon*, there was always one of the house of *David*, which by the name of ^y *The Head of the Captivity*, was acknowledged and honoured as a Prince among that people, and had some sort of jurisdiction, as far as it was consistent with the government they were under, always invested in him, and sometimes a ratification was obtained of it from the Princes that reigned in that Countrey. And it is said, ^z this pageantry is still kept up among them; and chiefly, it seems, that they may be furnished from hence with an answer to give the christians, when they urge the prophesy of *Jacob* against them. For whensoever from that prophesy it is pressed upon them that the *Messiah* must be come, because the scepter is now departed from *Judah*, and there is no more a lawgiver among them from between his feet, we are commonly told of *this head of the captivity*, their usual answer being, that the scepter is still preserved among them in *the head of the captivity*; and that they have also in their ^a *Nasi*, or *Prince of the Sanhedrim*, (another pageantry officer of theirs) a lawgiver from between the feet of *Judah* (that is of his seed) still remaining in *Israel*. But if these officers are now ceased from among them, as some of them will acknowledge, then this answer must cease also, and the prophesy returns in its full force upon them, and why do they then any longer resist the power of it?

THE same year that *Evilmerodach* was slain, died ^b *Astyages* King of *Media*, and after him succeeded *Cyaxares* the second, his son, in the civil government of the kingdom, and *Cyrus* his grandson by his daughter *Mandana* in the military. *Cyrus* at this time was ^c forty years old, and *Cyaxares* ^d forty one. And from this year those who reckon to *Cyrus* a reign

^f Berosus, ibid. Megasthenes apud Eusebium Præp. Evang. lib. 9. ^g Berosus, ibid. Ptolem. in Canone. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 12. Megasthenes, ibid. ^h Jer. lii. 33. ^w Jer. xxii. 30.

^x 2 Ezdras v. 16. ^y De eo vide Notas Constantini L'empereur ad Benjaminini Itinerarium, p. 192, 193, &c. ^z Vide Jacobi Altingi Librum *Shilo*, lib. 1. c. 3. 13, 14, 15, &c. Et Seldenum de Synedriis, lib. 2. c. 7. §. 5.

^a Vide Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbincum, p. 1399. & Seldenum de Synedriis, lib. 2. c. 6. ^b Cyropædia, lib. 1. ^c Cicero, lib. 1. De Divinatione dicit de Cyro--- *Ad Septuagesimum pervenit cum quadraginta annos natus regnare cepisset.*

^d For he was sixty two when he began to reign in Babylon after the death of Belshazzar. Dan. v. 31. which being nine years before Cyrus's death, (who lived seventy years) it must follow that Cyrus was then sixty one, and therefore when he was forty Cyaxares must have been forty one.

of thirty years begin that computation. For *Neriglissar*, on his coming to the crown, ^c making great preparations for a war against the *Medes*, *Cyaxares* called *Cyrus* out of *Persia* to his assistance, and on his arrival with an army of thirty thousand *Persians*, *Cyaxares* made him general of the *Medes* also, and sent him with the joynt forces of both nations to make war against the *Babylonians*. And from this time he was reckoned by all foreigners as King over both these nations, altho' in reality the regal power was solely in *Cyaxares*, and *Cyrus* was no more than general of the confederated army under him. But after his death he succeeded him in the kingdom of the *Medes*, as he did his father a little before in that of *Persia*, which with the countries he had conquer'd made up the *Persian* empire, of which he was the founder, and first monarch.

HE was a very extraordinary person in the age in which he lived, for wisdom, valour, and virtue, and of a name famous in holy writ, not only for being ^f the restorer of the state of *Israel*, but especially in being there appointed for it ^g by name many years before he was born. Which is an honour therein given to none, save only to him and ^h *Josiah* King of *Judah*. He was born (as hath been already taken notice of) on the same year in which *Jehoiakim* died. It is on all hands agreed, that his mother was *Mandana* the daughter of *Astyages* King of the *Medes*, and his father *Cambyfes* a *Persian*. But whether this *Cambyfes* was King of that countrey, or only a private person, is not agreed. *Herodotus*, and those who follow him, allow him to have been no more than a private nobleman of the family of *Achæmenes*, one of the ancientest in that countrey. But *Xenophon*'s account makes him King of the *Persians*, but subject to the *Medes*. And not only in this particular, but also in most things else concerning this great prince, the relations of these two historians are very much different. But *Herodotus*'s account of him containing narratives which are much more strange and surprizing, and consequently more diverting and acceptable to the reader, most have chosen rather to follow him than *Xenophon*, that have written after their times of this matter. Which humour was much forwarded by *Plato* in his ⁱ giving a character of *Xenophon*'s history of *Cyrus*, (in which he was also followed by ^k *Tully*) as if therein under the name of *Cyrus* he rather drew a description of what a worthy and just Prince ought to be, than gave us a true history of what that Prince really was. It must be acknowledged, that *Xenophon* being a great commander as well as a great philosopher, did graft many of his maxims of war and policy into that history, and to make it a vehicle for this perchance was his whole design in writing that book. But it doth not follow from hence, but that still the whole foundation and ground-plot of the work may all be true history. That he intended it for such, is plain; and that it was so, its agreeableness with the holy writ doth abundantly verify. And the true reason why he chose the life of *Cyrus* before all others for the purpose above-mentioned, seemeth to be no other, but that he found the true history of that excellent and gallant Prince to be above all others the fittest for those maxims of right policy and true princely virtue to correspond with, which he grafted upon it. And therefore, bating the military and political reflections, the descants, discourses, and speeches interspers'd in

^c *Cyropædia*, lib. 1.ⁱ *De Legibus*, lib. 3.^f *Ezra* i.^k *Ep.* 1. ad Quintum fratrem.^g *Isaiah* xlv. 28. & xlv. 1.^h *1 Kings* xiii. 2.

that work, which must be acknowledged to have been all of *Xenophon's* addition, the remaining bare matters of fact I take to have been related by that author, as the true history of *Cyrus*. And thus far I think him to have been an historian of much better credit in this matter than *Herodotus*. For *Herodotus* having travelled through *Egypt*, *Syria*, and several other countries, in order to the writing of his history, did as travellers use to do, that is, put down all relations upon trust, as he met with them, and no doubt he was imposed on in many of them. But *Xenophon* was a man of another character, ¹ who wrote all things with great judgment and due consideration; and having lived in the court of *Cyrus the younger*, a descendent of the *Cyrus* whom we now speak of, had opportunities of being better informed of what he wrote of this great Prince than *Herodotus* was; and confining himself to this argument only, no doubt he examined all matters relating to it more thoroughly, and gave a more accurate and exact account of them, than could be expected from the other, who wrote of all things at large as they came in his way. And for these reasons in all things relating to this Prince I have chosen to follow *Xenophon*, rather than any of those who differ from him.

FOR the first ^m twelve years of his life *Cyrus* lived in *Persia* with his father, and was there educated after the *Persian* manner, in hardship and toil, and all such exercises as would best tend to fit him for the fatigues of war, in which he exceeded all his contemporaries. But here it must be taken notice of, that the name of *Persia* did then extend only to one province of that large countrey which hath been since so called. For then the whole nation of the *Persians* could number no more than ⁿ one hundred and twenty thousand men. But afterwards, when by the wisdom and valour of *Cyrus* they had obtained the empire of the east, the name of *Persia* became enlarged with their fortunes, and it thenceforth took in all that vast tract, which is extended east and west from the river *Indus* to the *Tigris*, and north and south from the *Caspian* sea to the ocean. And so much that name comprehends even to this day. After *Cyrus* was twelve years old he was sent for into *Media* by *Astyages* his grandfather, with whom he continued five years. And there by the sweetness of his temper, his generous behaviour, and his constant endeavour to do good offices with his grandfather for all he could, he did so win the hearts of the *Medes* to him, and gain'd such an interest among them, as did afterwards turn very much to his advantage for the winning of that empire which he erected. In the sixteenth year of his age *Evilmerodach*, the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon* and *Assyria*, being abroad on an hunting expedition a little before his marriage, for a shew of his bravery made an inroad into the territories of the *Medes*, which drew out ^o *Astyages* with his forces to oppose him. On which occasion *Cyrus* accompanying his grandfather, then first entered the school of war, in which he behaved himself so well, that the victory, which was at that time gained over the *Assyrians*, was chiefly owing to his valour. The next year after he went home to his father into *Persia*, and there continued till the fortieth year of his

¹ Diogenes Laertius in vita Xenophontis.

^m Cyropæd. lib. 1.

ⁿ Cyropæd. lib. 1.

^o From hence it may be inferred, that *Evilmerodach* was not the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* by *Amyitis* the daughter of *Astyages*, but by some other wife, it not being likely that the grandfather and grandson would thus engage in war against each other.

life. At which time he was called forth to the assistance of his unkle *Cyaxares* on the occasion which I have mentioned. Hereon he marched out of *Persia* with his army, and behaved himself so wisely, that from this small beginning in twenty years time he made himself master of the greatest empire that had ever been erected in the east to that time, and established it with such wisdom, that upon the strength of this foundation only it stood above two hundred years, notwithstanding what was done by his successors (the worst race of men that ever governed an empire) thro' all that time to overthrow it.

An. 558.
Neriglissar 2.

NERIGLISSAR, upon intelligence that *Cyrus* was come with so great an army to the assistance of the *Medes*, farther to strengthen himself against them^p sent ambassadors to the *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Carians*, *Capadocians*, *Cilicians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other neighbouring nations to call them to his aid, and by representing to them the strength of the enemy, and the necessity of maintaining the ballance of power against them for the common good of *Asia*, drew them all into confederacy with him for the ensuing war. Whereon the King of *Armenia*, who had hitherto lived in subjection to the *Medes*, looking on them as ready to be swallowed up by so formidable a confederacy against them, thought this a fit time for the recovering of his liberty, and therefore^q refused any longer to pay his tribute, or send his quota of auxiliaries for the war on their being required of him; which being a matter that might be of dangerous consequence to the *Medes*, in the example it might give to other dependent states to do the same, *Cyrus* thought it necessary to crush this revolt with the utmost expedition, and therefore marching immediately with the best of his horse, and covering his design under the pretence of an hunting-match, ^r entred *Armenia* before there was any intelligence of his coming, and having surprized the revolted King took him and all his family prisoners; and after this having seized the hills towards *Chaldea*, and planted good forts and garrisons on them for the securing of the countrey against the enemy on that side, he came to new terms with the captive King, and having received from him the tribute and the auxiliaries which he demanded, he restored him again to his kingdom, and returned to the rest of his army in *Media*. This hapned about the third year of the reign of *Neriglissar*, and the thirty second after the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

An. 557.
Neriglissar 3.

An. 556.
Neriglissar 4.

AFTER both parties had now been for three years together forming their alliances, and making their preparations for the war, in the fourth year of *Neriglissar* the confederates on both sides being all drawn together, both armies took the field, ^s and it came to a fierce battle between them, in which *Neriglissar* being slain, the rest of the *Assyrian* army was put to the rout, and *Cyrus* had the victory. *Cræsus* King of *Lydia* after the death of *Neriglissar*, as being in dignity next to him, took upon him the command of the vanquished army, and made as good a retreat with it as he could. But the next day following *Cyrus* pursuing after them overtook them at a disadvantage, and put them to an absolute rout, taking their camp, and dispossessing them of all their baggage, which he effected chiefly by the assistance of the *Hyrceanians*, who had the night before revolted to him.

^p Cyropædia, lib. 1.
lib. 3 & 4.

^q Cyropædia, lib. 2.

^r Cyropædia, lib. 3.

^s Cyropædia,

Hereon

Hereon *Cræsus* taking his flight out of *Affyria* made the best of his way into his own countrey. He being aware of what might happen, had the night before sent away his women, and the best of his baggage, and therefore in this respect escaped much better than the rest of the confederates.

THE death of *Neriglissar* was a great loss to the *Babylonians*. For he was [†] a very brave and excellent prince. The preparations, which he made for the war, shewed his wisdom, and his dying in it his valour. And there was nothing else wanting in him for his obtaining of better success in it; and therefore, that he had it not, was owing to nothing else, but that he had to deal with the predominant fortune of *Cyrus*, whom God had designed for the empire of the east, and therefore nothing was to withstand him. But nothing made the loss of *Neriglissar* more appear, than the succeeding of *Laborsoarchod* his son in the kingdom after him. For he was [†] in every thing the reverse of his father, being given to all manner of wickedness, cruelty, and injustice, to which on his advancement to the throne he did let himself loose in the utmost excess, without any manner of restraint whatsoever, as if the regal office which he was now advanced to were for nothing else, but to give him a privilege of doing without controul all the vile and flagitious things that he pleased. Two acts of his tyrannical violence towards two of his principal nobility, *Gobrias* and *Gadates*, are particularly mentioned. The only son of the former he slew at an hunting to which he had invited him, for no other reason, but that he had thrown his dart with success at a wild beast when he himself had missed it. And the other he caused to be castrated, only because one of his concubines had commended him for an handsome man. These wrongs done those two noblemen, drove them, with the provinces which they governed, into a revolt to *Cyrus*, and the whole state of the *Babylonish* empire suffered by it. For *Cyrus* encouraged hereby [‡] penetrated into the very heart of the enemies countrey, first taking possession of the province, and garrisoning the castles of *Gobrias*, and afterwards doing the same in the province and castles of *Gadates*. The *Affyrian* King was before him in the latter, to be revenged on *Gadates* for his revolt. But *Cyrus* on his coming having put him to the rout, and slain a great number of his men, forced him again to retreat to *Babylon*. After *Cyrus* had thus spent the summer in ravaging the whole countrey, and twice shewn himself before the walls of *Babylon* to provoke the enemy to battle, at the end of the year he led back his army again towards *Media*, and ending the campaign with the taking of three fortresses on the frontiers, there entred into winter quarters, and sent for *Cyaxares* to come thither to him, that they might consult together about the future operations of the war.

As soon as *Cyrus* was retreated, *Laborsoarchod* being now freed from the fear of the enemy gave himself a thorough loose to all the flagitious inclinations that were predominant in him, which carried him into so many wicked and unjust actions, like those which *Gobrias* and *Gadates* had suffered from him, that being no longer tolerable, his ^{*} own people conspired against him and slew him, after he had reigned only nine months. He is not named in the canon of *Ptolemy*, for it is the method of that canon to

[†] *Cyropædia*, lib. 4.

[‡] *Cyropædia*, lib. 4. & 5.

[‡] *Cyropædia*, lib. 5.

^{*} *Berosus* apud *Josephum* contra *Apionem*, lib. 1. *Megasthenes* apud *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* lib. 9. *Josephus Antiq.* lib. 10. c. 12.

ascribe all the year to him that was King in the beginning of it, how soon soever he died after, and not to reckon the reign of the successor but from the first day of the year ensuing; and therefore if any King reigned in the interim, and did not live to the beginning of the next year, his name was not put into the canon at all. And this was the case of *Laborsoarchod*. For *Neriglissar* his father being slain in battel in the beginning of the spring, the nine months of his son's reign ended before the next year began, and therefore the whole of that year is reckoned to the last of *Neriglissar*, and the beginning of the next belonged to his successor, and this was the reason that he is not at all mentioned in that canon.

An. 555.
Belshazzar 1.

AFTER him succeeded ^y *Nabonadius*, and reigned seventeen years. ^z *Berosus* calls him *Nabonnedus*, *Megasthenes* ^a *Nabonnidochus*, *Herodotus* ^b *Labyntetus*, and *Josephus* ^c *Naboandelus*, who he saith is the same with *Belshazzar*. And there is as great a difference among writers, what he was, as well as what he was called. Some ^d will have him to be of the royal blood of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and ^e others no way at all related to him. And some say ^f he was a *Babylonian*, and others ^g that he was of the seed of the *Medes*. And of those who allow him to have been of the royal family of *Nebuchadnezzar*, some will have it that he was his son, and others, that he was his grandson. For the clearing of this matter these following particulars are to be taken notice of, 1st, That he is on all hands agreed to have been the last of the *Babylonish* Kings. 2^{dly}, That therefore he must have been the same who in Scripture is called *Belshazzar*. For immediately after the death of *Belshazzar* the kingdom was given to the *Medes* and *Persians*, [*Dan.* v. 28, 30, 31.] 3^{dly}, That he was of the seed of *Nebuchadnezzar*, for he is called his son, and *Nebuchadnezzar* is said to be his father in several places of the same vth chapter of *Daniel*, and in the 2^d book of *Chronicles* [*chap.* xxxvi. 20.] it is said that *Nebuchadnezzar* and his children, or offspring, reigned at *Babylon* till the kingdom of *Persia*. 4^{thly}, That the nations of the east were to serve *Nebuchadnezzar* and his son, and his son's son, according to the prophecy of *Jeremiah*, [*chap.* xxvii. 7.] and therefore he must have had a son, and a son's son, successors to him in the throne of *Babylon*. 5^{thly}, That as *Evilmerodach* was his son, so none but *Belshazzar*, of all the Kings that reigned after him at *Babylon*, could be his son's son. For *Neriglissar* was only his daughter's husband, and *Laborsoarchod* was the son of *Neriglissar*, and therefore neither of them was either son, or son's son to *Nebuchadnezzar*. 6^{thly}, That this last King of *Babylon* is said by ^h *Herodotus* to be son to the great Queen *Nitocris*, and therefore she must have been the wife of a King of *Babylon* to make her so, and he could have been none other than *Evilmerodach*. For by that King of *Babylon* only could she have a son, that was son's son to *Nebuchadnezzar*. And therefore putting all this together, it appears, that this *Nabonadius* the last King of *Babylon* was the same with him that in Scripture is called *Belshazzar*, and that he was the son of *Evilmerodach* by *Nitocris* his Queen, and so son's son to *Nebuchadnezzar*. And that whereas he is

^y Can. Ptol.
Evang. lib. 9.

^z Apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1.

^b Herodot. lib. 1.

^c Antiq. lib. 10. c. 11.

Apud Euseb. Præp.
^d Josephus, Ibid.

^e Megasthenes, Ibid.

^f Berosus Ibid.

^g Scaliger in notis ad fragmenta veterum

Græcorum selecta, & de emendatione temporum, lib. 6. cap. De Regibus Babylonis.

^h Herodotus, lib. 1.

called

called the son of *Nebuchadnezzar* in the vth chapter of *Daniel*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* is there called his father; this is to be understood in the large sense, wherein any ancestor upward is often called father, and any descendent downward son, according to the usual style of Scripture.

THIS new King came young to the crown, and had he been wholly left to himself, the *Babylonians* would have gotten but little by the change. For he hath in *Xenophon* the characterⁱ of an impious prince, and it sufficiently appears, by what is said of him in *Daniel*, that he was so. But his mother, who was a woman^k of great understanding and a masculine spirit, came in to their relief. For while her son followed his pleasures she took the main burden of the government upon her, and did all that could be done by human wisdom to preserve it. But God's appointed time for its fall approaching, it was beyond the power of any wisdom to prevent it.

ON the coming of *Cyaxares* to *Cyrus's* camp, and^l consultation thereon had between them concerning the future carrying on of the war, it was found, that by ravaging and plundering the countries of the *Babylonish* empire, they did not at all enlarge their own, and therefore it was resolved to alter the method of the war for the future, and to apply themselves to the besieging of the fortresses, and the taking of their Towns, that so they might make themselves masters of the countrey, and in this sort of war they employed themselves for the next seven years.

IN the mean time^m *Nitocris* did all that she could to fortify the countrey against them, and especially the city of *Babylon*, and therefore did set her self diligently to perfect all the works that *Nebuchadnezzar* had left unfinished there, especially the walls of the city, and the banks of the river within it. By this last she fortified the city as much against the river by walls and gates, as it was against the land, and had it been in both places equally guarded, it could never have been taken. And moreover while the river was turned for the finishing of these banks and walls, sheⁿ caused a wonderful vault or gallery to be made under the river, leading cross it from the old palace to the new, twelve foot high and fifteen foot wide, and having covered it over with a strong arch, and over that with a layer of bitumen six foot thick, she turned the river again over it. For it is the nature of that bitumen to petrify when water comes over it, and grow as hard as stone, and thereby the vault or gallery under was preserved from having any of the water of the river pierce through into it. The use this was intended for was to preserve a communication between the two palaces, whereof one stood on the one side of the river, and the other on the other side, that in case one of them were distressed (for they were both fortresses strongly fortified) it might be relieved from the other; or in case either were taken, there might be a way to retreat from it to the other. But all these cautions and provisions served in no stead, when the city was taken by surprize, because in that hurry and confusion, which men were then in, none of them were made use of.

IN the first year of this King's reign, which was the thirty fourth after the destruction of *Jerusalem*, *Daniel* had revealed unto him the vision of the four monarchies, and of the kingdom of the *Messiah*, that was to succeed after them, which is at full related in the viith chapter of *Daniel*.

An. 555.
Belshazzar I.

ⁱ Cyropædia, lib. 7.

^k Herodotus, lib. 1.

^l Cyropædia, lib. 6.

^m Herodotus, lib. 1.

ⁿ Herodotus, lib. 1.

Diodorus Sic. lib. 2.

Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 18.

An. 553.
Belshaz-
zar 3.

IN the third year of King *Belshazzar*, *Daniel* saw the vision of the ram and the he-goat, whereby were signified the overthrow of the *Persian* empire by *Alexander the Great*, and the persecution that was to be raised against the *Jews* by *Antiochus Epiphanes* King of *Syria*. This vision is at full related in the viiith chapter of *Daniel*, and it is there said, that it was revealed unto him at *Shushan* in the palace of the King of *Babylon*, while he attended there as a counsellor, and minister of state about the King's business, which shews, that *Shushan* with the province of *Elam*, of which it was the metropolis, was then in the hands of the *Babylonians*. But about three years after *Abradates*, Viceroy or Prince of *Shushan*, revolting to *Cyrus*, it was thenceforth joyned to the empire of the *Medes* and *Persians*, and the *Elamites* came up with the *Medes* to besiege *Babylon*, according to the prophecy of *Isaiab*, (chap. xxi. 2.) and *Elam* was again restored, according to the prophecy of *Jeremiah*, (ch. xlix. 39.) For it recovered its liberty again under the *Persians*, which it had been deprived of under the *Babylonians*.

An. 551.
Belshaz-
zar 5.

THE *Medes* and *Persians* growing still upon the *Babylonians*, and *Cyrus* making great progress in his conquests by taking fortresses, towns and provinces from them, to put a stop to this prevailing power the King of *Babylon* about the fifth year of his reign, taking a great part of his treasure with him, goes into *Lydia* to King *Cræsus* his confederate, and there, by his assistance, framed a very formidable confederacy against the *Medes* and *Persians*; and with his money hiring a very numerous army of *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, *Thracians*, and all the nations of lesser *Asia*, he appointed *Cræsus* to be their general, and sent him with them to invade *Media*, and then returned again to *Babylon*.

An. 548.
Belshaz-
zar 8.

CYRUS having full intelligence of all these proceedings from one of his confidants, who by his order, under the pretence of a deserter, had gone over to the enemy, made suitable preparations to withstand the storm, and when all was ready, marched against the enemy. By this time *Cræsus* had passed over the river *Halys*, taken the city of *Pteria*, and in a manner destroyed all the country thereabout. But before he could pass any farther *Cyrus* came up with him, and having engaged him in battle put all his numerous army to flight, whereon *Cræsus* returning to *Sardis* the chief city of his kingdom, dismissed all his auxiliaries to their respective homes, ordering them to be again with him by the beginning of the ensuing spring, and sent to all his allies for the raising of more forces, to be ready against the same time for the carrying on of the next year's war, not thinking that in the interim, now winter being approaching, he should have any need of them. But *Cyrus* pursuing the advantage of his victory followed close after him into *Lydia*, and there came upon him just as he had dismissed his auxiliaries. However, *Cræsus* getting together all his own forces stood battle against him. But the *Lydians* being most horse, *Cyrus* brought his camels against them, whose smell the horses not being able to bear, they were all put into disorder by it, whereon the *Lydians* dismounting fought on foot, but being soon over-powered were forced to make their retreat to *Sardis*, where *Cyrus* immediately shut them up in a close siege.

WHILE he lay there, he celebrated the funeral of *Abradates* and *Panthea* his wife. He was prince of *Shushan* under the *Babylonians*, and had

° Cyropædia, lib. 6.

p Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropædia, lib. 6.

q Cyropædia, lib. 7.

revolted

revolted to *Cyrus* about two years before, as hath been already mentioned. His wife, a very beautiful woman, had been taken prisoner by *Cyrus* in his first battle against the *Babylonians*. *Cyrus* having treated her kindly, and kept her chafly for her husband, the sense of this generosity drew over this Prince to him, and he hapning to be slain in this war, as he was fighting valiantly in his servive, his wife out of grief for his death flew herself upon his dead body, and *Cyrus* took care to have them both honourably buried together, and a stately monument was erected over them near the river *Pactolus*, where it remained many ages after.

CROESUS being shut up in *Sardis* sent to all his allies for succours, but *Cyrus* pressed the siege so vigorously, that he took the city before any of them could arrive to its relief, and *Cræsus* in it, whom he condemned to be burnt to death; and accordingly a great pile of wood was laid together, and he was placed on the top of it for the execution, in which extremity calling to mind the conference he formerly had with *Solon*, cried out with a great sigh three times, *Solon, Solon, Solon*. This *Solon* was a wise *Athenian*, and the greatest philosopher of his time, who coming to *Sardis* on some occasion, *Cræsus*, out of the vanity and pride of his mind, caused all his riches, treasures and stores to be shewn unto him, expecting that on his having seen them he should have applauded his felicity, and pronounced him of all men the most happy herein. But on his discourse with him *Solon* plainly told him, that he could pronounce no man happy as long as he lived, because no one could foresee what might happen unto him before his death. Of the truth of which *Cræsus* being now thoroughly convinced by his present calamity, this made him call upon the name of *Solon*, whereon *Cyrus* sending to know what he meant by it, had the whole story related to him, which excited in him such a sense of the uncertainty of all human felicity, and such a compassion for *Cræsus*, that he caused him to be taken down from the pile, just as fire had been put to it; and not only spared his life, but allowed him a very honourable subsistence, and made use of him, as one of his chief counsellors all his life after, and at his death recommended him to his son *Cambyses*, as the person whose advice he would have him chiefly to follow. The taking of this city happened in the first year of the fifty eighth olympiad, which was the eighth year of *Belshazzar*, and the forty first after the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

CROESUS being a very religious Prince according to the idolatrous superstition of those time, entered not on this war without having first consulted all his gods, and taken their advice about it; and he had two oracular answers given him from them, which chiefly conduced to lead him into this unfortunate undertaking, that cost him the loss of his kingdom. The one of them was, That *Cræsus* should the only think himself in danger, when a mule should reign over the *Medes*; and the other, That when he should pass over *Halys* to make war upon the *Medes*, he should overthrow a great empire. The first

^r Cyropædia, lib. 5.

^r Cyropædia, lib. 6.

^r Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropædia, lib. 7.

^v Plutarchus in vitâ Solonis. Herodotus, lib. 1.

^w Solinus, cap. 7. Eusebius in Chronico.

^x Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropædia, lib. 7.

^y Nebuchadnezzar prophesied of the coming of Cyrus under the same appellation, telling the Babylonians at the time of his death, that a Persian mule should come and reduce them into servitude. So saith Magasthenes in Eusebius de Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

from the impossibility of the thing, that ever a mule should be a King, made him argue, that he was for ever safe. The second made him believe, that the empire that he should overthrow on his passing over the river *Halys*, should be the empire of the *Medes*. And this chiefly encouraged him in this expedition, contrary to the advice of one of the wisest of his friends, who earnestly dissuaded him from it. But now all things having hapned otherwise, than these oracles had made him expect, he obtained leave of *Cyrus* to send messengers to the temples of those gods, who had thus mis-led him, to expostulate with them about it. The answers which he had hereto were, That *Cyrus* was the mule intended by the oracle, for that he was born of two different kinds of people, of the *Persians* by his father, and of the *Medes* by his mother, and was of the more noble kind by his mother. And the empire which he was to overthrow by his passing over the *Halys*, was his own. By such false and fallacious oracles did those evil spirits, from whom they proceeded, delude mankind in those days, rendring their answers, when consulted, in such dubious and ambiguous terms, that whatsoever the event were, they might admit of an interpretation to agree with it.

An. 540.
Belshaz-
zar 16.

AFTER this *Cyrus* continued some time in lesser *Asia*, till he had brought all the several nations which inhabited in it, from the *Egean* sea to the *Euphrates*, into thorough subjection to him. From hence he went into *Syria* and *Arabia*, and there did the same thing, and then marched into the upper countries of *Asia*, and having there also settled all things in a thorough obedience under his dominion, he again entred *Assyria*, and marched on towards *Babylon*, that being the only place of all the east which now held out against him. And having overthrown *Belshazzar* in battel he shut him up in *Babylon*, and there besieged him. This hapned in the ninth year after the taking of *Sardis*, and in the beginning of the sixteenth year of *Belshazzar*. But this siege proved a very difficult work. For the walls were high and impregnable, the number of men within to defend them very great, and they were fully furnished with all sorts of provisions for twenty years, and the void ground within the walls was able both by tillage and pasturage to furnish them with much more. And therefore the inhabitants thinking themselves secure in their walls and their stores, looked on the taking of the city by a siege as an impracticable thing, and therefore from the top of their walls scoffed at *Cyrus*, and derided him for every thing he did towards it. However he went on with the attempt, and first he drew a line of circumvallation round the city, making the ditch broad and deep, and by the help of palm-trees, which usually grow in that countrey to the height of an hundred foot, he erected towers higher than the walls, thinking at first to have been able to take the place by assault, but finding little success this way, he applied himself wholly to the starving of it into a surrender, reckoning that the more people there were within, the sooner the work would be done. But that he might not over-fatigue his army by detaining them all at this work, he divided all the forces of the empire into twelve parts, and appointed each its month to guard the trenches. But after near two years had been wasted this way, and nothing effected, he at length lighted on a stratagem, which with little

^a Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropædia, lib. 7.
pædia, lib. 7.

^a Vide Q. Curtium, lib. 5. c. 1.

^b Cyro-

difficulty made him master of the place. For^a understanding, that a great annual festival was to be kept at *Babylon* on a day approaching, and that it was usual for the *Babylonians* on that solemnity, to spend the whole night in revelling, drunkenness, and all manner of disorders, he thought this a proper time to surprize them, and for the effecting of it he had this device. He sent up a party of his men to the head of the canal leading to the great lake above-described, with orders at a time set to break down the great bank or dam, which was between the river and that canal, and to turn the whole current that way into the lake. In the interim, getting all his forces together, he posted one part of them at the place where the river ran into the city, and other where it came out, with orders to enter the city that night by the chanel of the river, as soon as they should find it fordable. And then toward the evening he opened the head of the trenches on both sides the river above the city, to let the water of it run into them. And by this means, and the opening of the great dam, the river was so drained, that by the middle of the night, it being then in a manner empty, both parties according to their orders enter'd the chanel, the one having *Gobrias*, and the other *Gadates*, for their guides, and finding the gates leading down to the river, which used on all other nights to be shut, then all left open, through the neglect and disorder of that time of looseness, they ascended through them into the city; and both parties being met at the palace, as had been concerted between them, they there surprized the guards, and slew them all; and when, on the noise, some that were within opened the gates to know what it meant, they rushed in upon them and took the palace. Where finding the King with his sword drawn, at the head of those who were at hand to assist him, they slew him, valiantly fighting for his life, and all those that were with him. After this, proclamation being made of life and safety to all such as should bring in their arms, and of death to all that should refuse so to do, all quietly yielded to the conquerors, and *Cyrus* without any farther resistance became master of the place, and this concluded all his conquests after a war of one and twenty years. For so long was it from his coming out of *Persia* with his army for the assistance of *Cyaxares* to his taking of *Babylon*, during all which time he lay abroad in the field, carrying on his conquests from place to place, till he at length had subdued all the east, from the *Egean* sea to the river *Indus*, and thereby erected the greatest empire that had ever been in *Asia* to that time, which work was owing as much to his wisdom as his valour, for he equally excelled in both. And he was also a person of that great candour and humanity to all men, that he made greater conquests by his courtesy, and his kind treatment of all he had to do with, than by his sword, whereby he did knit the hearts of all men to him, and in this foundation lay the greatest strength of his empire, when he first erected it.

THIS account *Herodotus* and *Xenophon* both give of the taking of *Babylon* by *Cyrus*, and herein they exactly agree with the Scripture. For *Daniel*^d tells us, that *Belshazzar* made a great feast for a thousand of his lords, and for his wives, and for his concubines, and that in that very night he was slain, and *Darius the Mede*, that is, *Cyaxares* the uncle of *Cyrus*, took the kingdom. For *Cyrus* allowed him the title of all his con-

An. 539.
Belshaz-
zar 17.

^a Herodotus, lib. 1. Cyropædia, lib. 7.

^d Daniel v.

quests as long as he lived. In this feast *Belshazzar* having impiously prophaned the gold and silver vessels which were taken out of the temple of *Jerusalem*, in causing them to be brought into the banqueting-house, and there drinking out of them, he and his lords, and his wives, and his concubines, God did in a very extraordinary and wonderful manner express his wrath against him for the wickedness hereof. For he caused an hand to appear on the wall, and there write a sentence of immediate destruction against him for it. The King saw the appearance of the hand that wrote it, for it was exactly over against the place where he sat. And therefore being exceedingly affrighted and troubled at it, he commanded all his wise men, magicians, and astrologers to be immediately called for, that they might read the writing, and make known unto him the meaning of it. But ^c none of them being able to do it, the Queen-mother on her hearing of this wonderful thing came into the banqueting-house, and acquainted the King of the great skill and ability of *Daniel* in such matters, whereon he being sent for did read to the King the writing, and boldly telling him of his many iniquities and transgressions against the great God of heaven and earth, and particularly in prophaning at that banquet the holy vessels which had been consecrated to his service in his temple at *Jerusalem*, made him understand that this hand-writing was a sentence from heaven against him for it, the interpretation of it being, That his kingdom was taken from him, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*. And it seemeth to have been immediately upon it that the palace was taken, and *Belshazzar* slain. For ^e candles were lighted before the hand-writing appear'd, some time after this must be required for the calling of the wise men, the magicians, and astrologers, and some time must be wasted in their trying in vain to read the writing. After that, the Queen-mother came from her apartment into the banqueting-house to direct the King to send for *Daniel*, and then he was called for, perchance from some distant place. And by this time many hours of the night must have been spent, and therefore we may well suppose that by the time *Daniel* had interpreted the writing, the *Persians* were got within the palace, and immediately executed the contents of it by slaying *Belshazzar*, and all his lords that were with him. The Queen that entred the banqueting-house, to direct the King to call for *Daniel*, could not be his wife; for all his wives and concubines, the text tells us, sat with him at the feast. And therefore it must have been *Nitocris* the Queen-mother. And she seemeth to have been there called the Queen by way of eminency, because she had the regency of the kingdom under her son, which her great wisdom eminently qualified her for. And *Belshazzar* seemeth to have left this entirely to her management. For when *Daniel* was called in before him, he did ^e not know him, though he was one of the chief ministers of state that ^h did the King's business in his palace, but asked of him whether he were *Daniel*. But *Nitocris*, who constantly employed him in the publick affairs of the kingdom, knew him well, and therefore advised that he should be sent for on this occasion. This shews *Belshazzar* to have been a prince that wholly minded his pleasures, leaving all things else to others to be managed for him, which is a

^c The reason why they could not read it was because it was written in the old Hebrew letters, now called the Samaritan character, which the Babylonians knew nothing of. ^f Dan. v. 5.

^e Dan. v. 13.

^h Dan. viii. 13.

conduct too often followed by such princes, who think kingdoms made for nothing else but to serve their pleasures and gratify their lusts. And therefore that he held the crown seventeen years, and against so potent an enemy as *Cyrus*, was wholly owing to the conduct of his mother, into whose hands the management of his affairs fell. For she was a lady of the greatest wisdom of her time, and did the utmost that could be done to save the state of *Babylon* from ruine. And therefore her name was long after of that fame in those parts, that *Herodotus* speaks of her as if she had been sovereign of the kingdom, in the same manner as *Semiramis* is said to have been, and attributes to her all those works about *Babylon* which other authors ascribe to her son. For although they were done in his reign, it was she that did them, and therefore she had the best title to the honour that was due for them; tho', as hath been above hinted, the great lake, and the canal leading to it, (which, tho' reckoned among the works of *Nebuchadnezzar*, must at least have been finished by her according to *Herodotus*) how wisely soever they were contrived for the benefit both of the city and countrey, turned to the great damage of both. For *Cyrus* draining the river by this lake and canal, by that means took the city. And when by the breaking down of the banks at the head of the canal the river was turned that way, no care being taken afterwards again to reduce it to its former channel by repairing the breach, * all the countrey on that side was overflowed and drowned by it. And the current by long running this way, at length making the breach so wide as to become irreparable, unless by an expence as great, as that whereby the bank was first built, a whole province was lost by it. And the current which went to *Babylon* afterwards grew so shallow, as to be scarce fit for the smallest navigation, which was a farther damage to that place. *Alexander*, who intended to have made *Babylon* the seat of his empire, endeavoured to remedy this mischief, and did accordingly set himself to build the bank anew, which was on the west side of it, but when he had carried it on the length of four miles, he was stopp'd by some difficulties that he met with in the work from the nature of the soil, which possibly would have been overcome had he lived, but his death, which hapned a little after, put an end to this, as well as to all other his designs. And a while after *Babylon* falling into decay on the building of *Seleucia* in the neighbourhood, this work was never more thought of, but that countrey hath remained all bog and marsh ever since. And no doubt this was one main reason which helped forward the desertion of that place, especially when they found a new city built in the neighbourhood, in a much better situation.

IN the taking of *Babylon* ended the *Babylonish* empire, after it had continued from the beginning of the reign of *Nabonassar* (who first founded it) two hundred and nine years. And here ended the power and pride of this great city, just fifty years after it had destroyed the city and temple of *Jerusalem*, and hereby were in a great measure accomplished the many prophecies which were by the prophets *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Habakkuk*, and *Daniel*, delivered against it. And here it is to be observed, that in reference to the present besieging and taking of the place, it was particularly foretold by them, That it should be shut up, and besieged by the *Medes*,

ⁱ Berosus apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. i. ^k Arrianus de expeditione Alexandri, lib. 7.

^l Isaiah xiii. 17. and xxi. 2. Jer. li. 11, 27, 28, 29, 30.

Elamites, and Armenians; That the river ^m should be dried up; That the city should be taken in the time ⁿ of a feast, while her princes and her wife men, her captains and her rulers, and her mighty men were drunken, and that they should be thereon made to sleep a perpetual sleep, from which they should not awake. And so accordingly all this came to pass, *Belshazzar*, and all his thousand princes who were drunk with him at the feast, having ^o been all slain by *Cyrus's* soldiers when they took the palace. And so also was it particularly foretold by the prophet *Isaiah* (*chap. xiv.*) that God would make the countrey of *Babylon* a possession for the bittern, and pools of water, (*ver. 23.*) which was accordingly fulfilled by the overflowing and drowning of it, on the breaking down of the great dam in order to take the city, which I have above given an account of. And so also that God would cut off from that city the son and the grandson, (*ver. 22.*) that is, the son and grandson of their great King *Nebuchadnezzar*; and they were accordingly both cut off by violent deaths in the flower of their age, *Evilmerodach* the son before this time in the manner as hath been above related, and *Belshazzar* the grandson in the present taking of *Babylon*, and hereby the scepter of *Babylon* was broken, as was foretold by the same prophecy: (*ver. 5.*) For it did never after any more bear rule. Where I read the son and the grandson, (*ver. 22.*) it is, I confess, in the *English* translation the son and nephew. But in the *xxith* chapter of *Genesis*, (*ver. 23.*) the same *Hebrew* word *Neked* is translated son's son, and so it ought to have been translated here; for this is the proper signification of the word, which appears from the use of the same word, (*Job xviii. 19.*) For *Bildad* there speaking of the wicked, and the curse of God which shall be upon him in the want of a posterity, expresseth it thus, *Lo nin lo velo Neked*, i. e. he shall have neither son nor grandson. For nephew, in the *English* signification of the word, whether brother's son or sister's son, cannot be within the meaning of the text, the context not admitting it.

An. 538.
Darius
the Mede
I.

AFTER the death of *Belshazzar*, *Darius the Mede*^p is said in Scripture to have taken the kingdom. For *Cyrus*, as long as his unkle lived, allowed him a joint title with him in the empire, altho' it was all gained by his own valour, and out of deference to him yielded him the first place of honour in it. But the whole power of the army, and the chief conduct of all affairs being still in his hands, he only was looked on as the supreme governor of the empire which he had erected, and therefore there is no notice at all taken of *Darius* in the canon of *Ptolemy*, but immediately after the death of *Belshazzar* (who is there called *Nabonadius*) *Cyrus* is placed as the next successor, as in truth and reality he was, the other having no more than the name and the shadow of the sovereignty, excepting only in *Media*, which was his own proper dominion.

THERE are ^q some that will have *Darius the Median* to have been *Nabonadius*, the last *Babylonish* King in the canon of *Ptolemy*. And their scheme is, that after the death of *Evilmerodach* *Neriglissar* succeeded only as guardian to *Laborsoarchod* his son, who was next heir in right of his mother, she having been daughter to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and that *Laborsoarchod* was the *Belshazzar* of the Scriptures, who was slain in the night of the impious festival, not by *Cyrus* (say they) but by a conspiracy

^m Jer. i. 38. and li. 36.

ⁿ Jer. li. 39, 57.

^o Cyropædia, lib. 7.

^p Dan. v. 31.

^q Scaliger, Calvisius, and others.

of his own people ; That the Scriptures attribute to him the whole four years of *Belshazzar*, which the canon of *Ptolemy* doth to *Neriglissar* (or *Nericassolassar*, as he is there called) because *Neriglissar* reigned only as guardian for him ; And that hence it is that we hear of the first and the third year of *Belshazzar* in *Daniel*, tho' *Laborosarchod* reigned alone after his father's death only nine months ; That after his death the *Babylonians* made choice of *Nabonadius*, who was no way of kin to the family of *Nebuchadnezzar*, but a *Median* by descent, and that for this reason only is he called *Darius the Median* in Scripture. As to what they say of *Nabonadius's* not being of kin to the family of *Nebuchadnezzar*, it must be confessed, that the fragments of *Megasthenes* may give them some authority for it. But as for all the rest, it hath no other foundation but the imagination of them that say it. And the whole is contrary to Scripture. For 1st, The hand-writing on the wall told *Belshazzar*, that his kingdom should be divided, or rent from him, and be given to the *Medes* and *Persians*, and immediately after the sacred text tells us, that *Belshazzar* was slain that night, and *Darius the Median* took the kingdom, who could be none other than *Cyaxares* King of *Media*, who in conjunction with *Cyrus* the *Persian* conquered *Babylon*. 2^{dly}, Therefore *Belshazzar* must have been the last *Babylonish* King, and consequently the *Nabonadius* of *Ptolemy*. 3^{dly}, This last King was not a stranger to the family of *Nebuchadnezzar*, for the sacred text makes him his descendent. 4^{thly}, *Darius* is said to have governed the kingdom by the laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, which cannot be supposed till after the *Medes* and *Persians* had conquered that kingdom. Had this *Darius* been *Nabonadius* the *Babylonish* King, he would certainly have governed by the *Babylonish* laws, and not by the laws of his enemies, the *Medes* and *Persians*, who were in hostility against him all his reign, and sought his ruine. 5^{thly}, *Darius* is said to have divided his empire into an hundred and twenty provinces, which could not have been true of the *Babylonish* empire, that never having been large enough for it. But it must be understood of the *Persian* empire only, which was vastly larger. And afterwards on the conquest of *Egypt* by *Cambyses*, and of *Thrace* and *India* by *Darius Hystaspis*, it had seven other provinces added to its former number. And therefore in the time of *Esther* it consisted of an hundred twenty and seven provinces. And this having been the division of the *Persian* empire at that time, it sufficiently proves the former to have been of the same empire also. For if the *Persian* empire from *India* to *Ethiopia* contained but an hundred and twenty seven provinces, the empire of *Babylon* alone, which was not the seventh part of the other, could not contain an hundred and twenty. The testimony which *Scaliger* brings to prove *Nabonadius* to have been a *Mede* by descent, and by election made King of *Babylon*, is very absurd. In the prophesy of *Nebuchadnezzar*, delivered to the *Babylonians* a little before his death, concerning their future subjection to the *Persians*, which is preserved in the fragments of *Megasthenes*, there are these words, ' *A Persian mule shall come, who by the help of your own Gods fighting for him shall bring slavery upon you, whose assistant, or fellow-causer herein, shall be the Mede.* By

* Dan. vii. 1. viii. 1.

† Apud Eusebium Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

• Dan. v. 28.

• Dan. v. 30, 31.

• Dan. v. 11, 13, 18, 22.

• Dan. vi. 8, 15.

• Dan. vi. 1.

• Apud Eusebium Præp. Evang. lib. 9.

which *Mede* is plainly meant *Cyaxares* King of *Media*, who was confederate with *Cyrus* in the war, wherein *Babylon* was conquered. But *Scaliger* saith, it was *Nabonadius*, and hence proves that he was a *Mede*, and quotes this place in *Megasthenes* for it. If you ask him why he saith this, his answer is, that the person, who is in that prophesy said to be the assistant of *Cyrus*, and fellow causer with him in bringing servitude upon *Babylon*, must be *Nabonadius*, because he was an assistant and fellow causer with him herein in being beaten, and conquered by him. This argument needs no answer, it is sufficiently refuted by being related. And therefore *Isaac Vossius* well observes, that the arguments which *Scaliger* brings for this are *indigna Scaligero*, i. e. *unworthy of Scaliger*. *Chronologia Sacra*, p. 144.

AFTER *Cyrus* had settled his affairs at *Babylon*, * he went into *Persia* to make a visit to his father and mother, they being both yet living, and on his return through *Media*, he there married the daughter of *Cyaxares*, having with her for her dower the kingdom of *Media* in reversion after her father's death, for she was his only child; and then with his new wife he went back to *Babylon*. And *Cyaxares* being earnestly invited by him thither accompanied him in the journey. On their arrival at *Babylon*, they there took counsel in concert together for the settling of the whole empire; and * having divided it into one hundred and twenty provinces, which I have before spoken of, they † distributed the government of them among those, that had born with *Cyrus* the chief burden of the war, and best merited from him in it. Over these were appointed † three presidents, who constantly residing at court, were to receive from them from time to time an account of all particulars relating to their respective government, and again remit to them the King's orders concerning them. And therefore in these three, as the chief ministers of the King, was entrusted the superintendency and main government of the whole empire. And of them *Daniel* was made the first. To which preference, not only his great wisdom, (which was of eminent fame all over the east) but also his seniority, and long experience in affairs, gave him the justest title. For he had now from the second year of *Nebuchadnezzar* been employed full sixty five years as a prime minister of state under the Kings of *Babylon*. However this station advancing him to be the next person to the King in the whole empire, it stirred up so great an envy against him among the other courtiers, that they laid that snare for him which cast him into the lion's den. But he being there delivered by a miracle from all harm, this malicious contrivance ended in the destruction of its authors, and *Daniel* being thenceforth immoveably settled in the favour of *Darius* and *Cyrus*, † he prospered greatly in their time as long as he lived.

IN the first year of *Darius*, *Daniel* computing that the seventy years of *Judah's* captivity, which were prophesied of by the prophet *Jeremiah*, were now drawing to an end, * earnestly prayed unto God, that he would remember his people, and grant restoration to *Jerusalem*, and make his face again to shine upon the holy city and his sanctuary, which he had placed there. Whereon in a vision he had assurance given him by the angel *Gabriel*, not only of the deliverance of *Judah* from their temporal

* Cyropædia, lib. 8.

* Dan. vi. 1.

* Cyropædia, lib. 8.

* Dan. vi. 2.

† Dan. vi. 28.

* Dan. ix.

captivity under the *Babylonians*, but also of a much greater redemption, which God would give his church in his deliverance of them from their spiritual captivity under sin and Satan, to be accomplished at the end of seventy weeks after the going forth of the commandment to rebuild *Jerusalem*, that is, at the end of four hundred and ninety years. For taking each day for a year, according as is usual in the prophetic style of Scripture, so many years seventy weeks of years will amount to, which is the clearest prophecy of the coming of the *Messiah*, that we have in the *Old Testament*. For it determines it to the very time on which he accordingly came, and by his death and passion, and resurrection from the dead, completed for us the great work of our salvation.

CYRUS immediately on his return to *Babylon* had issued out his orders^f for all his forces to come thither to him, which at a general muster he found to be an hundred and twenty thousand horse, two thousand six hundred chariots, and six hundred thousand foot. Of these, having distributed into garrisons as many as were necessary for the defence of the several parts of the empire, he marched with the rest in an expedition into *Syria*, where he settled all those parts of the empire, reducing all under him as far as the *Red Sea*, and the confines of *Ethiopia*. In the interim^g *Cyaxares* (whom the Scriptures call *Darius the Median*) staid at *Babylon*, and there governed the affairs of the empire, and during that time hapned what hath been above related concerning *Daniel's* being cast into the lion's den, and his miraculous deliverance from it.

AND about the same time seem to have been coined those famous pieces of gold called *Daric's*,^h which by reason of their fineness, were for several ages preferred before all other coin throughout all the east. For we are told that the author of this coin wasⁱ not *Darius Hystaspis*, as some have imagined, but an ancients *Darius*. But there is no ancients *Darius* mentioned to have reigned in the east, excepting only this *Darius*, whom the Scripture calls *Darius the Median*. And therefore it is most likely that he was the author of this coin; and that during the two years that he reigned at *Babylon*, while *Cyrus* was absent from thence on his *Syrian*, *Egyptian*, and other expeditions, he caused it to be made there out of the vast quantity of gold, which had been brought thither into the treasury, as the spoils of the war which he and *Cyrus* had been so long engaged in, from whence it became dispersed all over the east, and also into *Greece*, where it was of great reputation. According^k to *Dr. Bernard* it weighed two grains more than one of our guineas, but the fineness added much more to its value. For it was in a manner all of pure gold, having none, or at least very little alloy in it, and therefore may well be reckon'd, as the proportion of gold and silver now stands with us in respect to each other, to be worth twenty five shillings of our money. In those^l parts of Scripture, which were written after the *Babylonish* captivity, these pieces are mentioned by the name of *Adarkonim*, and in the *Talmudists* by the name of^m *Darkonoth*, both from the *Greek* *Δαρεικοί*, i. e. *Darics*. And it is to be observed, that all those pieces of gold, which were afterwards

^f *Cyropædia*, lib. 8.

^g *Dan.* v. 31.

^h *Herodotus*, lib. 4. *Plutarchus* in *Artaxerxe*.

ⁱ *Harpocraton*. *Scholias* Aristophanis ad *Eccles.* p. 741, 742. *Suidas* sub voce *Δαρεικός*.

^k *De ponderibus & mensuris antiquis*, p. 171.

^l *1 Chron.* xxix. 7. & *Ezra* viii. 27.

^m *Vide Buxtorffii Lexicon Rabbinicum*, p. 577.

coined,

coined of the same weight and value by the succeeding Kings, not only of the *Persian*, but also of the *Macedonian* race, were all called *Darics* from the *Darius*, that was the first author of them. And these were either whole *Darics* or half *Darics*, as with us there are guineas and half guineas.

BUT about two years after *Cyaxares* dying, and *Cambyfes* being also dead in *Persia*, ⁿ *Cyrus* returned and took on him the whole government of the empire, over which he reigned seven years. His reign is reckoned, from his first coming out of *Persia* with an army for the assistance of *Cyaxares*, to his death, to have been thirty years, from the taking of *Babylon* nine years, and from his being sole monarch of the whole empire after the death of *Cyaxares* and *Cambyfes* seven years. ^p *Tully* reckons by the first account, ^r *Ptolemy* by the second, and ^s *Xenophon* by the third. And the first of these seven years is that first year of *Cyrus* mentioned in the first verse of the book of *Ezra*, wherein an end was put to the captivity of *Judah*, and a license given them by a publick decree of the King's, again to return into their own countrey. The seventy years which *Jeremiah* had prophesied should be the continuance of this captivity were now just expired. For it began a year and two months before the death of *Nabopollassar*, after that *Nebuchadnezzar* reigned forty three years, *Evilmerodach* two years, *Neriglissar* four years, *Belshazzar* seventeen years, and *Darius the Median* two years, which being all put together make just sixty nine years and two months, and if you add hereto ten months more to compleat the said seventy years, it will carry down the end of them exactly into the same month in the first year of *Cyrus*, in which it began in the last save one of *Nabopollassar*, *i. e.* in the ninth month of the *Jewish* year, which is the *November* of ours. For in that month *Nebuchadnezzar* first took *Jerusalem*, and carried great numbers of the people into captivity, as hath been before related. And that their release from it hapned also in the same month may be thus inferr'd from Scripture. The first time the *Jews* are found at *Jerusalem* after their return was in their *Nisan*, *i. e.* in our *April*, as will hereafter be shewn. If you allow them four months for their march thither from *Babylon*, (which was the time in which *Ezra* performed the like march) the beginning of that march will fall in the middle of the *December* preceding. And if you allow a month's time after the decree of release for their preparing for that journey, it will fix the end of the said captivity, which they were then released from, exactly in the middle of the month of *November* in the first year of *Cyrus*, which was the very time, on which it began just seventy years before. And that this first of *Cyrus* is not to be reckoned with *Ptolemy* from the taking of *Babylon*, and the death of *Belshazzar*; but with *Xenophon* from the death of *Darius the Mede*, and the succession of *Cyrus* into the government of the whole empire, appears from hence, that this last is plainly the Scripture reckoning. For therein after the taking of *Babylon*, and the death of *Belshazzar*, *Darius the Mede* is named in the succession before *Cyrus the Persian*, and the years of the reign of *Cyrus* are not there reckoned, till the years of the reign of *Darius* had ceased, and therefore

ⁿ *Cyropædia*, lib. 8.

^o *De Divinatione*, lib. 1.

^p *In Ganone*.

^q *Cyropædia*,

lib. 8. *Where Xenophon saith, that Cyrus reigned after the death of Cyaxares seven years.*

^r *Ezra*. vii. 9.

^s *Dan*. vi. 28.

^t Compare *Daniel* ix. 1. with the xth chap. ver. 1.

according

according to Scripture, the first of *Cyrus* cannot be till after the death of *Darius*.

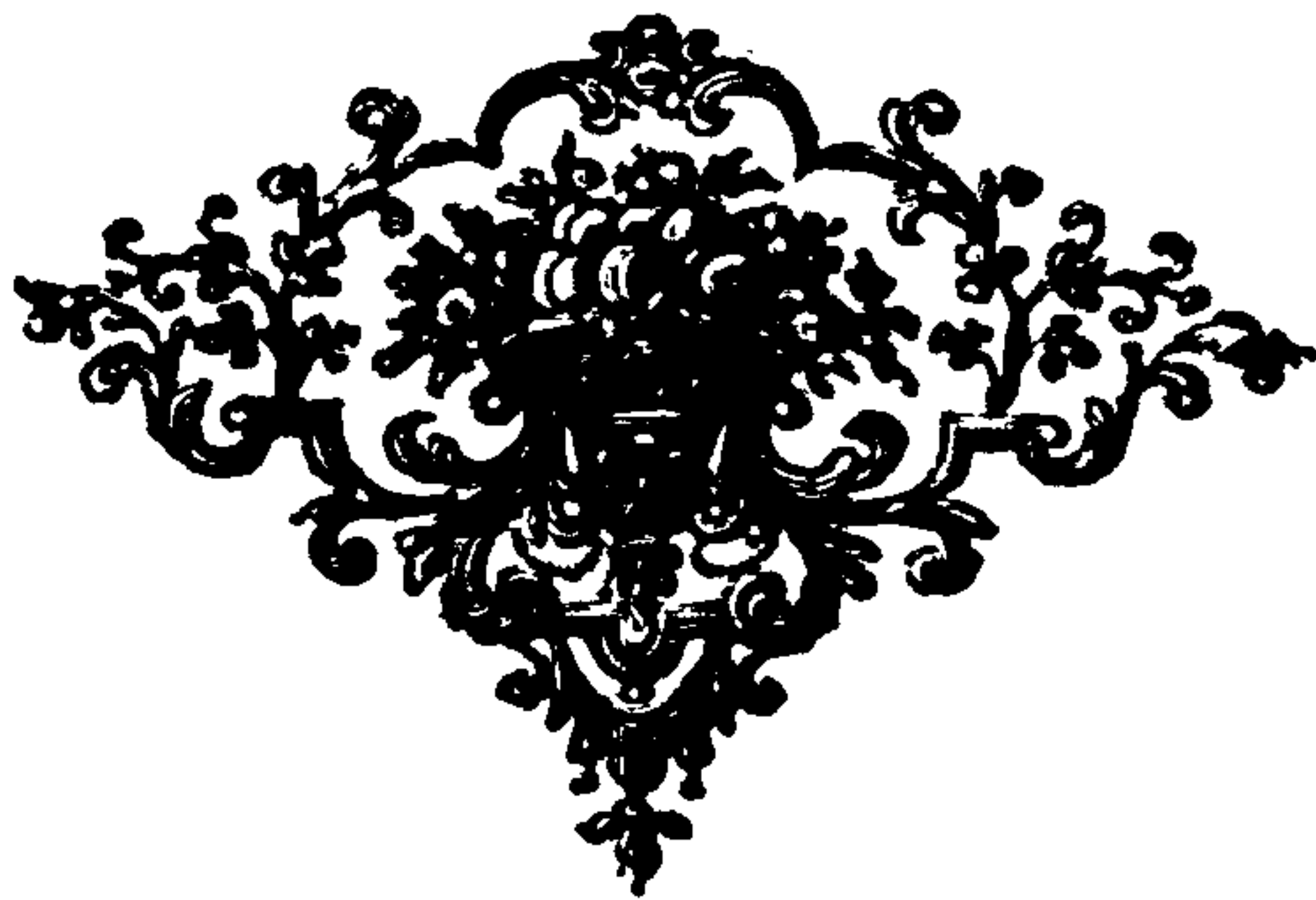
THERE can be no doubt, but that this decree in favour of the *Jews* was obtained by *Daniel*. When *Cyrus* first came into *Babylon* on his taking the city, he found him there an old minister of state, famed for his great wisdom all over the east, and long experienced in the management of the publick affairs of the government, and such counsellors wise Kings always seek for; and moreover his late reading of the wonderful handwriting on the wall, which had puzzled all the wise-men of *Babylon* besides, and the event which hapned immediately after exactly agreeable to his interpretation, had made a very great and fresh addition to his reputation. And therefore on *Cyrus*'s having made himself master of the city, he was soon called for, as a person that was best able to advise and direct about the settling of the government on this revolution, and was consulted with in all the measures taken herein. On which occasion he so well approved himself, that afterwards on the settling of the government of the whole empire, he was made first superintendent, or prime minister of state over all the provinces of it, as hath been already shewn. And when *Cyrus* returned from his *Syrian* expedition again to *Babylon*, he found a new addition to his fame from his miraculous deliverance from the lion's den. All which put together, gave sufficient reason for that wise and excellent prince to have him in the highest esteem, and therefore it is said, that ^v he prospered under him, as he did under *Darius* the *Median*, with whom it appears he was in the highest favour and esteem. And since he had been so earnest with God in prayer for the restoration of his people, as we find in the ninth chapter of *Daniel*, it is not to be thought that he was backward in his intercessions for it with the King, especially when he was in so great favour, and of so great authority with him. And to induce him the readier to grant his request, he shewed him the prophecies of the prophet *Isaiab*, ^w which spake of him by name one hundred and fifty years before he was born, as one whom God had designed to be a great conqueror, and King over many nations, and the restorer of his people, in causing the temple to be built, and the land of *Judea*, and the city of *Jerusalem* to be again dwelt in by its former inhabitants. That *Cyrus* had seen and read these prophecies, ^x *Josephus* tells us, and it is plain from Scripture that he did so. For they are recited ^y in his decree in *Ezra*, for the rebuilding of the temple. And who was there that should shew them unto him but *Daniel*; who in the station that he was in had constant access unto him, and of all men living had it most at heart to see these prophecies fulfilled in the restoration of *Sion*? Besides, *Cyrus* in his late expedition into *Syria* and *Palestine*, having seen so large and good a countrey as that of *Judea* lie wholly desolate, might justly be moved with a desire of having it again inhabited. For the strength and riches of every empire being chiefly in the number of its subjects, no wise prince would ever desire, that any part of his dominions should lye unpeopled. And who could be more proper again to plant the desolated countrey of *Judea* than its former inhabitants? They were first carried out

^v Daniel i. 21. & vi. 28.
^y Ezra i. 2.

^w *Isaiab* xlv. 28. & xlv. 1.

^x *Lib. xi. c. 1.*

of *Judea* by *Nebuchadnezzar* to people and strengthen *Babylon*, and perchance under this government of the *Persians*, to which the *Babylonians* were never well affected, the weakning and dispeopling of *Babylon* might be as strong a reason for their being sent back again into their own countrey. But whatsoever second causes worked to it, God's over-ruling power, which turneth the hearts of Princes which way he pleaseth, brought it to pass, that in the first year of *Cyrus's* monarchy over the east, he issued out his royal decree for the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem*, and the return of the *Jews* again into their own countrey. And hereon the state of *Judah* and *Jerusalem* began to be restored, of which an account will be given in the next book.





THE
Old and New TESTAMENT
 Connected in the
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 JEWS and Neighbouring Nations,
 FROM THE
 Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
 to the time of CHRIST.



BOOK III.



AN. 536.
CYRUS X.
 CYRUS^a having issued out his decree for the restoring of
 the *Jews* unto their own land, and the rebuilding of
 the temple at *Jerusalem*, they gathered together out
 of the several parts of the Kingdom of *Babylon* to the
 number of forty two thousand three hundred and
 sixty persons, with their servants, which amounted to
 seven thousand three hundred thirty and seven more.

THEIR chief leaders were ^b *Zerubbabel* the son of *Salathiel* the son of
Jehoiachin or *Jeconias* King of *Judah*, and *Jeshua* the son of *Jozadack*

the high-priest. *Zerubbabel* (whose *Babylonish* name was *Shezbazzar*) was made ^a governor of the land under the title of *Tirshatha*, by commission from *Cyrus*. But *Jeshua* was high-priest by lineal descent from the pontifical family. For ^a he was the son of *Jozadack*, who was the son of *Seraiah*, that was high-priest when *Jerusalem* was destroyed, and the temple burnt by the *Chaldeans*. *Seraiah* being then taken prisoner by *Nebuzaradan*, and carried to *Nebuchadnezzar* to *Riblah* in *Syria*, was ^a then put to death by him. But *Jozadack* his son being spared as to his life, ^a was only with the rest led captive to *Babylon*, where he died before the decree of restoration came forth, and therefore the office of high-priest was then in *Jeshua* his son, and under ^a that title he is named next *Zerubbabel*, among the first of those that returned. The rest were ^a *Nehemiah*, *Seraiah*, *Reelaiah*, *Mordecai*, *Bilsham*, *Mispar*, *Bigvai*, *Rehum*, and *Baanah*, who were the prime leaders of the people, and the chief assistants to *Zerubbabel* in the resettling of them again in their own land, and are by the *Jewish* writers reckoned the chief men of the great synagogue. So they call the convention of elders, which, they say, sat at *Jerusalem* after the return of the *Jews*, and did there again re-establish all their affairs both as to church and state, of which they speak great things, as shall hereafter be shewn. But it is to be observed, that the *Nehemiah* and *Mordecai* above mentioned were not the *Nehemiah* and *Mordecai*, of whom there is so much said in the books of *Nehemiah* and *Esther*, but quite different persons who bore the same name.

At the same time that *Cyrus* issued out his decree for the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem*, he ^a ordered all the vessels to be restored which had been taken from thence. *Nebuchadnezzar*, on the burning of the former temple, had brought them to *Babylon*, and placed them there in the temple of *Bel* his God. From thence they were according to *Cyrus's* order, by *Mithredath* the King's treasurer, delivered to *Zerubbabel*, who carried them back again to *Jerusalem*. All the vessels of gold and silver that were at this time restored were five thousand four hundred, the remainder was brought back by *Ezra* in the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* many years after.

And not only those of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, but several also of the other tribes, took the benefit of this decree to return again into their own land. For ^a some of them, who were carried away by *Tiglath-Pileser*, *Salmaneser*, and *Esharhaddon*, still retained the true worship of God in a strange land, and did not go into the idolatrous usages and impieties of the heathens, among whom they were dispersed, but joined themselves to the *Jews*, when by a like captivity they were brought into the same parts. And some after all the *Assyrian* captivities were still left in the land. For we find some of them still there in the time ^a of *Josiah*, and they suffered the *Babylonish* captivity as well as the *Jews*, till at length they were wholly carried away in the last of them by *Nebuzaradan*, in the ^a twenty third year of *Nebuchadnezzar*. And many of them had long before ^a left their tribes for their religion, and incorporating themselves with their brethren of *Judah* and *Benjamin* dwelt in their cities, and there fell into the same cala-

^a Ezra i. 8, 11.^a Ezra v. 14.^a 1 Chron. vi. 14, 15.^a 2 Kings xxv. 18.^a 1 Chron. vi. 15.^a Ezra ii. 2. iii. 2. Haggai i. 12. and ii. 2.^a Ezra ii. 2. Nehem. vii. 7.^a Ezra i. 7---11.^a Tobit i. 11, 12. xiv. 9.^a 2 Chron. xxiv. 9. and xxiv. 18.^a Jer. lii. 30.^a 2 Chron. xi. 16. xv. 9. and xxi. 6.

mity with them in their captivity under the *Babylonians*. And of all these a great number took the advantage of this decree again to return and dwell in their own cities. For both *Cyrus's* decree, as well as that of *Artaxerxes*, extended to all the house of *Israel*. The decree of *Artaxerxes* is by name to all the people of *Israel*, and that of *Cyrus* is to all the people of the God of *Israel*, that is, (as appears by the text) to all those that worshipped God at *Jerusalem*, which must be understood of the people of *Israel* as well as of *Judah*. For that temple was built for both, and both had an equal right to worship God there. And therefore *Ezra*, when he returned in the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, sent a copy of the King's decree, whereby that favour was granted him through all *Media*, where the ten tribes were in captivity, as well as through all *Chaldea* and *Assyria*, where the *Jews* were in captivity, which plainly implies, that both of them were included in that decree, and that being a renewal of the decree of *Cyrus*, both must be understood of the same extent. And we are told in Scripture, that after the captivity some of the children of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* dwelt in *Jerusalem*, as well as those of *Judah* and *Benjamin*. And it appears from several places in the New Testament, that some of all the tribes were still in being among the *Jews*, even to the time of their last dispersion on the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*, tho' then all were comprehended under the name of *Jews*, which after the *Babylonish* captivity became the general name of the whole nation, as that of *Israelites* was before. And this being premised, it solves the difficulty which ariseth from the difference that is between the general number, and the particulars, of those that returned upon *Cyrus's* decree. For the general number both in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* is said to be forty two thousand three hundred and sixty; but the particulars, as reckoned up in their several families in *Ezra*, amount only to twenty nine thousand eight hundred and eighteen, and in *Nehemiah* to thirty one thousand thirty and one. The meaning of which is, they are only the tribes of *Judah*, *Benjamin*, and *Levi*, that are reckoned by their families in both these places, the rest being of the other tribes of *Israel* are number'd only in the gross sum, and this is that which makes the gross sum so much exceed the particulars in both the computations. But how it comes to pass, that the particulars in *Ezra* differ from the particulars in *Nehemiah*, since there are several ways how this may be accounted for, and we can only conjecture which of them may be the right, I shall not take upon me to determine.

OF the twenty four courses of the priests, that were carried away to *Babylon*, only four returned, and they were the courses of *Jedaiah*, *Immer*, *Pashur*, and *Harim*, which made up the number of four thousand two hundred eighty and nine persons; the rest either tarried behind or were extinct. However, the old number of the courses, as established by King *David*, were still kept up. For of the four courses that returned, each subdivided themselves into six, and the new courses taking the names of those that were wanting, still kept up the old titles; and hence it is, that after this *Mattathias* is said to have been of the course of *Joarib*, and *Zacharias* of the course of *Abias*, tho' neither of these courses were of

° Ezra vii. 13.

° Ezra i. 3.

° Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5.

° 1 Chron. ix. 3.

° Luke ii. 36. James i. 1. Acts xxvi. 7.

° Seder Olam Rabba, c. 29.

° Ezra ii. 36---39.

° Talmud Hierosol. in Taanith.

° 1 Mac. ii. 1.

° Luke i. 5.

the number of those that returned. For the new courses took the names of the old ones tho' they were not descended from them, and so they were continued by the same names under the second temple as they had been under the first; only the fifth course, tho' of the number of these that returned, changed its name, and for that of *Malchijah*, under which it was first established, took the name of *Pashur*, that is, the name of the son instead of that of the father. For ^y *Pashur* was the son of *Malchijah*. It is a common saying among the *Jews*, that they were ^z only the bran, that is, the dregs of the people, that returned to *Jerusalem* after the end of the captivity, and that all the fine flower staid behind at *Babylon*. It is most certain, that notwithstanding the several decrees that had been granted by the Kings of *Persia*, for the return of the *Jews* into their own land, there were a great many that waved taking the advantage of them, and continued still in *Chaldea*, *Affyria*, and other eastern provinces, where they had been carried, and it is most likely that they were of the best and richest of the nation that did so. For when they had gotten houses and lands in those parts, it cannot be supposed that such would be very forward to leave good settlements, to new plant a countrey that had lain many years desolate. But of what sort soever they were, it's certain a great many staid behind, and never returned again into their own countrey. And if we may guess at their number by the family of *Aaron*, they must have been many more than those who settled again in *Judea*. For of the twenty four courses of the sons of *Aaron* which were carried away, we find only four among those that returned, as hath been already taken notice of. And hereby it came to pass, that during all the time of the second temple, and for a great many ages after, the number of the *Jews* in *Chaldea*, *Affyria*, and *Persia*, grew to be so very great, that they were all along thought to exceed the number of the *Jews* of *Palestine*, even in those times when that countrey was best inhabited by them.

An. 535.
Cyrus 2.

THOSE who made this first return into *Judea* arrived there in *Nisan*, the first month of the *Jewish* year (which answers to part of *March* and part of *April* in our calendar,) for the ^a second month of the next year is said to be in the second year after their return, and therefore they must then have been a whole year in the land. As soon as they came thither, ^b they dispersed themselves according to their tribes, and the families of their fathers, into their several cities, and there betook themselves to rebuild their houses, and again manure their lands, after they had now from the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the flight of the remainder of the people into *Egypt* on the death of *Gedaliah*, lain desolate and uncultivated fifty two years, according to the number of the sabbatical years, which they had neglected to observe. For according to the *Mosaical* law they ought to have left their lands fallow every seventh year. But among other commandments of God this also they had neglected, and therefore ^d God made the land lie desolate without inhabitants or cultivation, till it had enjoyed the full number of its sabbaths that it had been deprived of. And this tells us how long the *Jews* had neglected this Law of the sabbatical year. For it's certain the land was desolated only fifty two years,

^y 1 Chron. ix. 12.
and ii. 70 and iii. 1.
2 Chron. xxxvi. 21.

^z Talmud Bab. in Kiddushim.
^a Levit. xxv. 2-4.

^b Ezra iii. 8. ^c Ezra ii. 1.
^d Levit. xxvi. 34, 35, 43.

that

that is, from the death of *Gedaliah* till the end of the seventy years captivity in the first year of the empire of *Cyrus*. And fifty two sabbatical years make fifty two weeks of years; which amount to three hundred sixty four years, which carries up the computation to the beginning of the reign of *Asa*, and therefore from that time the *Jews* having neglected to observe the sabbatical years, till they had deprived the land of fifty two of them, God made that land lie desolate without cultivation or inhabitants just so many years, till he had restored to it that full rest, which the wickedness of its inhabitants had, contrary to the law of their God, denied unto it. If we reckon the whole seventy years of the captivity into those years of desolation, which were to make amends for the sabbatical years that the land had been deprived of, then we must reckon the observation of them to have been laid aside for seventy weeks of years, that is, four hundred and ninety years. But this will carry back the omission higher up than the days of *David* and *Samuel*, in whose time it is not likely, that such a breach of the law of God would have been permitted in the land.

ON the seventh month, which is called the month *Tisri*, all the people which had returned to their several cities gathered together at *Jerusalem*, and there, on the first ^e day of that month celebrated the feast of trumpets. This month began about the time of the autumnal equinox, and was formerly ^e the first month of the year, till it was ^h changed at the time of the coming up of the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*. For that hapning in the month of *Abib*, afterwards called *Nisan*, that month for this reason had the honour given it as thenceforth to be reckoned among the *Israelites* for the first month of the year, that is in all ecclesiastical matters. Before this time ⁱ *Tisri* was reckoned every where to begin the year, because from thence did commence (it was thought) ^k the beginning of all things, it being the general opinion among the ancients, that the world was created and first began at the time of the autumnal equinox. And for this reason the *Jews* do still in their *Aera* of the creation of the world, as well as in their *Aera* of contracts, compute the beginning of the year from the first of *Tisri*, and all their bills and bonds, and all other civil acts and contracts are still dated among them according to the same computation. And from this month also they ^l begun all their jubilees, and sabbatical years. And therefore altho' their ecclesiastical year began from *Nisan*, and all their festivals were reckoned according to it, yet their civil year was still reckoned from *Tisri*, and the first day of that month was their new-years day; and for the more solemn celebration of it, this feast of trumpets seems to have been appointed.

ON the ^m tenth day of the same month was the great day of expiation, when the high-priest made atonement for all the people of *Israel*, and on the ⁿ fifteenth day began the feast of tabernacles, and lasted till the twenty second inclusively. During all which solemnities the people staid at *Jerusalem*, and employed all that time to the best of their power, to set forward the restoration of God's worship again in that place, toward which,

^e Ezra iii. 1. ^f Ezra iii. 6. ^g Levit. xxiii. 24. ^h Num. xxix. 1. ⁱ Exod. xxiii. 16. and xxxiv. 22. ^j Exod. xii. 2. ^k Chaldee Paraphrast on Exodus xii. 2. ^l Vide Scaligerum de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 5. c. De Conditu Mundi, p. 366, &c. ^m Levit. xxv. 9. ⁿ Levit. xvi. 29, 30. and xxiii. 27. ^o Num. xxix. 7. ^p Levit. xxiii. 34. ^q Num. xxix. 12, &c.

all that had riches contributed according to their abilities. And the ° free-will offerings which were made on this occasion, besides an hundred vestments for the priests, amounted to sixty one thousand drams of gold, and five thousand minas of silver, which in all, comes to about seventy five thousand five hundred pound of our money. For every dram of gold is worth ten shillings of our money, and every mina of silver nine pound, for ^p it contained sixty shekels, and every ^a shekel of silver is worth of our money three shillings. And upon this fund they began the work. And a great sum it was to be raised by so small a number of people, and on their first return from their captivity, especially if they were only of the poorer sort, as the *Rabbins* say. It must be supposed that these offerings were made by the whole nation of the *Jews*, that is, by those who staid behind, as well as by those who returned, otherwise it is scarce possible to solve the matter. For all having an equal interest in that temple; and the daily sacrifices there offered up having been in the behalf of all, it is very reasonable to suppose, that all did contribute to the building of it, and that especially seeing that as long as that temple stood, ^r every *Jew* annually paid an half shekel, *i. e.* about eighteen pence of our money, towards its repair, and the support of the daily service in it, into what parts soever they were dispersed through the whole world.

THE first thing they did, was ^r to restore the altar of the Lord for burnt offerings. This stood ^r in the middle of the inner court of the temple, exactly before the porch leading into the holy place, and hereon were made the daily offerings of the morning and evening service, and all other offerings ordinary and extraordinary, which were offered up to God by fire. It had been beaten down and destroyed by the *Babylonians* at the burning of the temple, and in the same place was it now again restored. That it ^r was built, and stood in another place with a tabernacle round it, till the rebuilding of the temple was fully finished and compleated, is a fancy without a foundation. It was certainly built in its proper place, ^r that is in the same place where it before stood; and there they daily offered sacrifices upon it, even before any thing else of the temple was built about it. It was ^u a large pile built all of unhewn stones, thirty two cubits (*i. e.* forty eight foot) square at the bottom. From thence it rising one cubit benched in one cubit: And from thence, being thirty cubits square, it did rise five cubits, and benched in one cubit. And from thence being twenty eight cubits square, it did rise three cubits, and benched in two cubits. From whence it did rise one cubit, which was the hearth, upon which the offerings were burned, and the benching in of two cubits breadth was the passage round it, on which the priests stood, when they tended the fire, and placed the sacrifices on it. So this hearth was a square of twenty four cubits, or thirty six foot on every side, and one cubit high, which was all made of solid brass, and from hence it was called the ^w brazen altar. For it is not to be

° Ezra ii. 69.

^p Ezek. xlv. 12.

^a Vide Bernardum de Mensuris & Ponderibus anti-

quis, p. 129.

^r Exod. xxx. 13---15.

Maimonides in Shekalim, cap. 1, 2, 4.

^r Ezra iii. 3.

^s See Lightfoot of the Temple, ch. xxxiv.

^t Bishop Patrick in his Comment on the first of

Chronicles, ch. ix.

^v Ezra iii. 3.

For there it is said, that they did set the altar upon its bases or foundations, *i. e.* upon the same bases or foundations, on which it before had stood.

^u Misnaioth

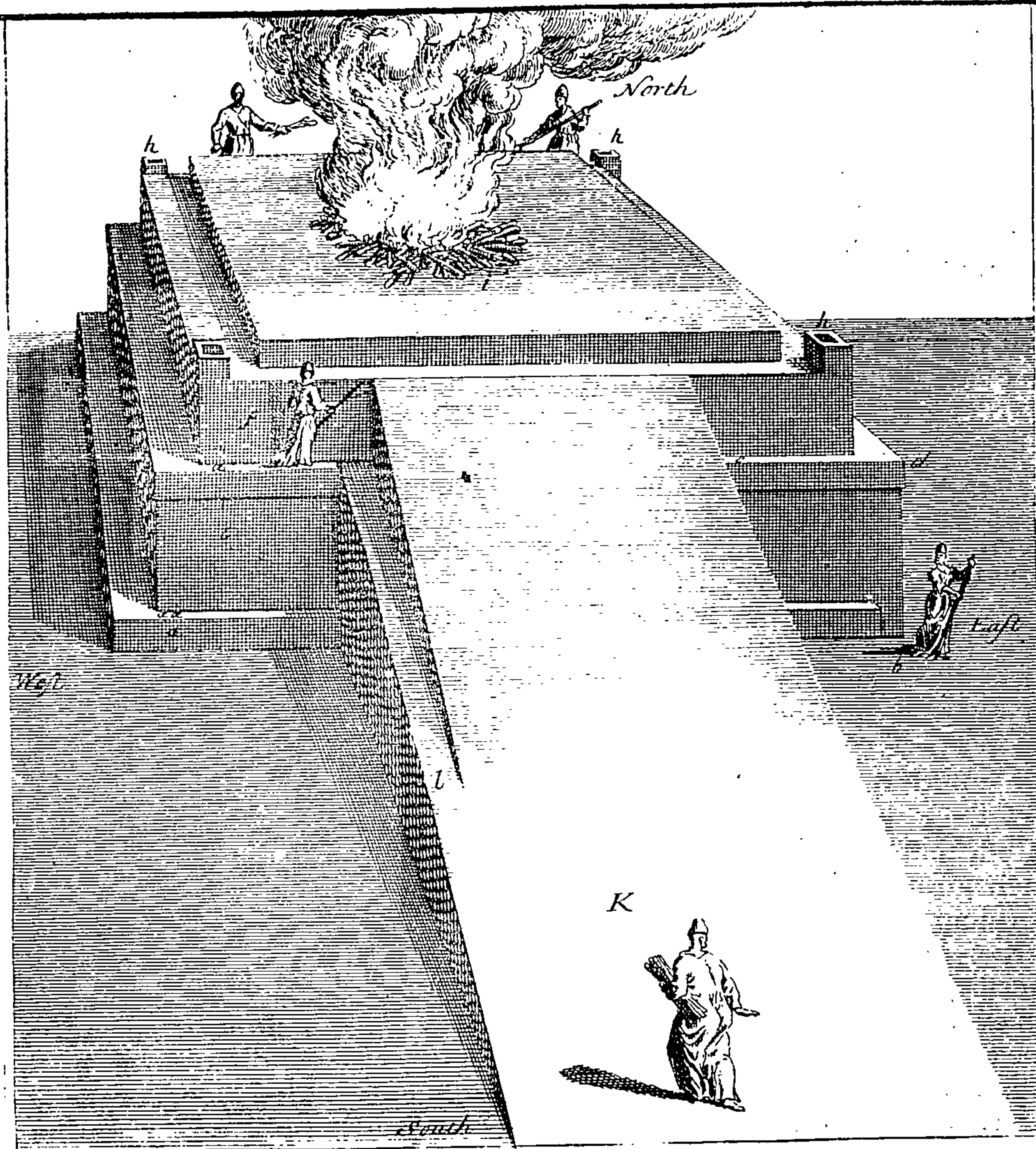
in Middoth. Maimonides in Beth-Habbechira, cap. i. ii.

^w 1 Kings viii. 64.

imagined,

imagined, that it was all made of solid brass. For to make up so big a pile all of that metal would cost a vast sum of money. And besides if it were so made, it would not only be against the law, but also impracticable for the use intended. It would be against the law, because thereby they are commanded, that wheresoever they should make an altar, other than the portable altar of the tabernacle, they should make it * of earth, or else of unhewn stone. And it would be impracticable for the use intended, because if it were all of brass, the fire continually burning upon the top of it, would so heat the whole, and especially that part of it next the hearth, that it would be impossible for the priests to stand on it, when they were to come thither to officiate in tending the altar, and offering the sacrifices thereon; and that especially since they were always to officiate barefooted, without any thing at all upon their feet to fence them from the heat of it. It is not indeed any where commanded, that the priests should officiate bare-footed, but among the garments assigned for the priests (*Exod. xxviii.*) shoes not being named, they were supposed therefore to be forbid, and the text saying, (verse the 4th) *These are the garments which they shall make*, this (they say) excludes all that are not there named. And *Moses* being commanded at the burning bush † to put off his shoes, for that the ground on which he stood was holy, because of the extraordinary presence of God then in that Place; this they make a further argument for it. For, say they, the temple was all holy for the same reason, that is, because of the extraordinary presence of God there residing in the *Shecinah* over the mercy seat. And for these reasons it was most strictly exacted, that the priests should be always bare footed in the temple, although their going there with their bare feet upon the marble pavement was very pernicious to the health of many of them. On the four corners of the altar, on the last benching-in, where the priests stood when they offered the sacrifices, there were fixed four small pillars of a cubit height, and a cubit on every side, in the form of an exact cube. And these were the horns of the altar so often mentioned in Scripture. The middle of each of them was hollow, because therein was to be put some of the blood of the sacrifices. The ascent up to the altar was by a gentle rising on the south side, called the *Kibbesh*, which was thirty two cubits in length, and sixteen in breadth, and landed upon the upper benching-in next the hearth, or the top of the altar. For ‡ to go up to the altar by steps was forbid by the law. The form of the whole will be best understood by the annexed Draught.

* *Exod. xx. 24, 25.*† *Exod. iii. 5. Acts vii. 33.*‡ *Exod. xx. 26.*



(a) The foundation of the altar thirty two cubits square, and one cubit high.

(aa) The first inbenching one cubit broad.

(b) A square space of one cubit square, cut out of the foundation at the south-east corner of the altar, at the bottom of which were two holes, through which the blood of the altar did run down into a sink underneath the pavement.

(c) The rising of the altar from the first inbenching, thirty cubits square and five cubits high.

(d) A red line, which went round the altar to distinguish the holy part, *i. e.* that above it from the prophane, *i. e.* that which was below it, was exactly in the middle of the altar, five cubits above the floor or pavement of the court, and five cubits below the top of the hearth.

(e) The second inbenching, being a cubit broad.

(f) The rising of the altar from the se-

cond inbenching, being twenty eight cubits square and three cubits high.

(g) The last inbenching, being two cubits broad, which was the passage round the altar where the priests stood when they offered the sacrifices and tended the altar.

(h) The four horns of the altar placed at the four corners of the last inbenching, each of which was a cube of one cubit every way, and hollow in the middle, where some of the blood of the sacrifices were always put.

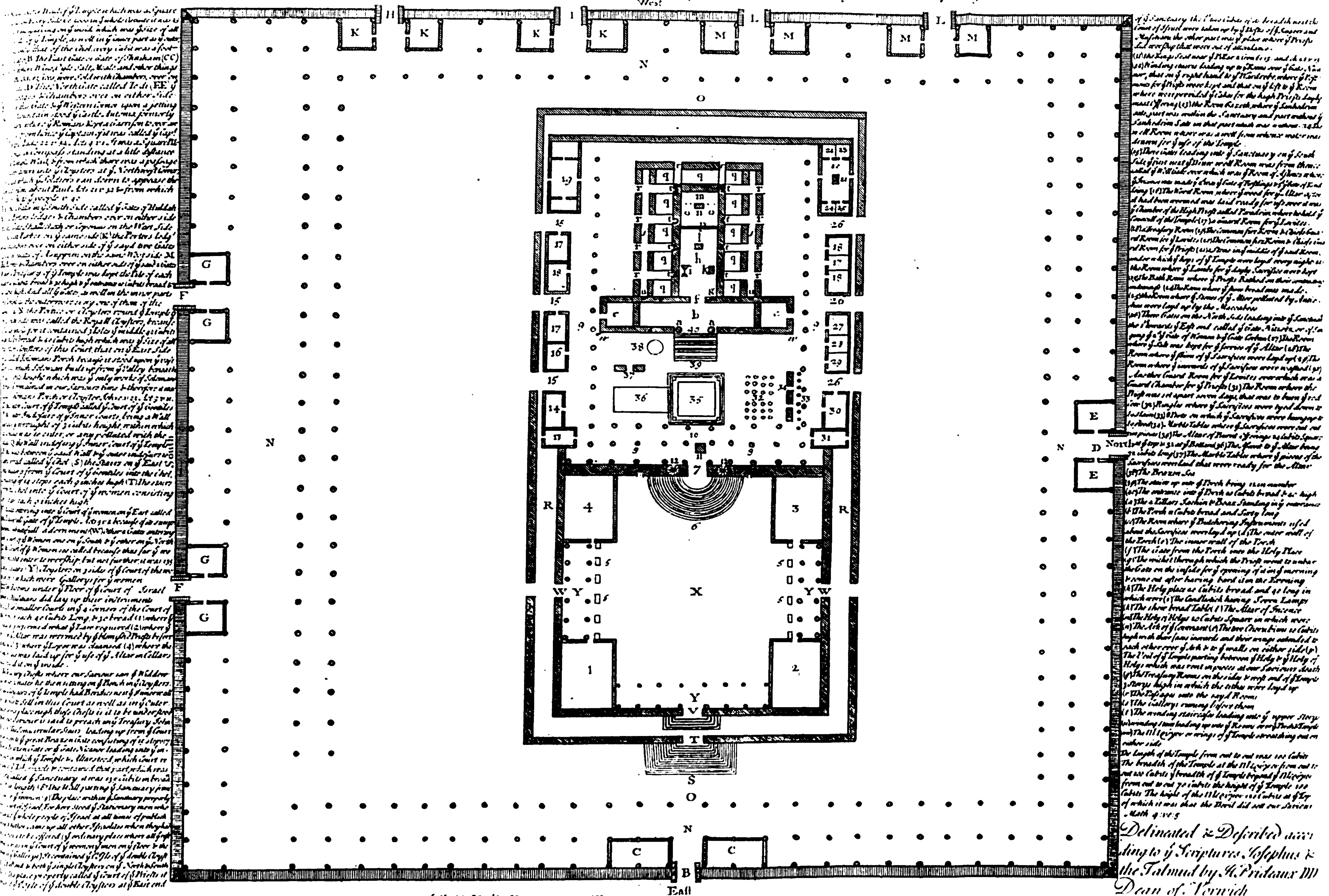
(i) The brazen hearth on which all the sacrifices were burnt, it was twenty four cubits square, and one cubit high from the last inbenching.

(k) The kibbesh, or sloping ascent to the top of the altar, being sixteen cubits broad and thirty two long.

(l) A passage from the kibbesh to the second inbenching, one cubit broad.

BUT

The Ichthyography of the Temple of Jerusalem with a Description of the same.



*Delinated & Described according to y^e Scriptures, Josephus & the Talmud by H. Pringle M.D.
Dean of Norwich*

[illegible]

if one is in the bush and the other is in the bush and the other is in the bush

BUT their zeal for the temple being that, which had brought most of them back again into *Judea*, the rebuilding of this was what they had their hearts most intent upon. And therefore having employed the first year ² in preparing materials, and contracting with carpenters and masons for the work, ^a in the second month of the second year they laid the foundation of the house, which was done with great solemnity. For *Zerubabel* the governor, and *Jeshua* the high-priest, being present with all the congregation, the trumpeters blew their trumpets, and the musicians sounded their instruments, and singers sung, all in praise to the Lord their God, and all the rest of the people shouted for joy, while the first stones were laid; only the old men, who had seen the glory of the first temple, and had no expectation that this, which was now a building by a few poor exiles lately returned into their country, could ever equal that which had all the riches of *David* and *Solomon*, two of the wealthiest princes of the east, expended in the erecting of it, wept at the remembrance of the old temple, while others rejoiced at the laying the foundations of the new. And indeed the difference between the former temple, and this which was now a building, was so great, that God himself tells the prophet ^b *Haggai*, that the latter in comparison with the former was as nothing, so much did it come short of it; but this is not to be understood of its bigness. For the second temple was of the same dimensions with the first, it being built upon the very same foundations, and therefore it was exactly of the same length and breadth. *Cyrus's* commission may seem to make it broader. For that allows ^c sixty cubits to its breadth, whereas *Solomon's* temple is said to have been but ^d twenty cubits in breadth. But these different measures are to be understood in respect of the different distances, between which the said measures were taken. The twenty cubits breadth said of *Solomon's* temple was only the breadth of the temple it self, measuring from the inside of the wall on the one side to the inside of the wall on the other side. But the sixty cubits breadth in *Cyrus's* commission was the breadth of the whole building, measuring from the inside of the outer wall of it on the one side, to the inside of the outer wall on the other side. For ^e besides the temple it self, which contained the holy place, and the holy of holies, each twenty cubits broad, there were thick walls inclosing it on each side, and without them chambers on each side, then another wall, then a gallery, and then the outer walls of all enclosing the whole building, being five cubits thick; which all together made up the whole breadth to be seventy cubits from out to out; from which deducting the five cubits breadth of the outer wall on each side, you have remaining the breadth of *Cyrus's* commission, that is, sixty cubits, which was the breadth of the whole building, from the inside of one outer wall to the inside of the other. So that the difference of the said twenty cubits breadth, and of the said sixty cubits breadth, is no more than this, that one of them was measured from the inside to the inside of the inner walls, and the other from the inside to the inside of the outer walls of the said temple.

BUT the glory of *Solomon's* temple was not in the temple it self, much less in the bigness of it. For that alone was but a small pile of building, ^f as containing no more than an hundred and fifty foot in length, and an

² Ezra iii. 7.

^a Ezra iii. 8, 9, 10, &c.

^b Haggai ii. 3.

^c Ezra vi. 3.

^d 1 Kings vi. 2. ² Chron. iii. 3.

^e See Lightfoot of the temple.

^f See my map

of the temple.

hundred and five in breadth, taking the whole of it together from out to out, which is exceeded by many of our parish churches. The main grandeur and excellency of it consisted ^{1st}, In its ornaments, its workmanship being every where exceeding curious, and its overlayings vast and prodigious. For the overlayings of the holy of holies only, which was a room but thirty foot square and thirty foot high, amounted ² to six hundred talents of gold, which comes to four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pound of our sterling money. ^{2dly}, In its materials. For *Solomon's* temple was all built of new large stones, hewn out in the most curious and artful manner, whereas the second temple was mostly built of such stones only as they dug up out of the ruins of the former. ^{3dly}, In its out-buildings. For the court in which the temple stood, and that without it, called the court of the women, were built round with stately buildings and cloysters, and the gates entring thereinto were very beautiful and sumptuous. And the outer court, which was a large square encompassing all the rest, of seven hundred and fifty foot on every side, was surrounded with a most stately and magnificent cloyster, sustained by three rows of pillars on three sides of it, and by four on the fourth. And all the out-buildings then lay in their rubbish, without any prospect of a speedy reparation. And there could then be no such ornaments or materials in this new temple, as there were in the former. In process of time indeed all the out-buildings were restored, and such ornaments and materials were added on *Herod's* repairing of it, that the second temple after that came little short herein of the former. And there are ^h some who will say that it exceeded it. But still what was the main glory of the first temple, those extraordinary marks of the divine favour, with which it was honoured, were wholly wanting in the second. The *Jews* reckon them up in these ⁱ five particulars; ^{1st}, The ark of the covenant, and the mercy seat which was upon it: ^{2dly}, The *Shecinah*, or divine presence: ^{3dly}, The *Urim* and *Thummim*: ^{4thly}, The holy fire upon the altar: And ^{5thly}, The spirit of prophecy.

I. THE ark of the covenant was ^k a small chest, or coffer, three foot nine inches in length, and two foot three inches in breadth, and two foot three inches in height: In which were put the two tables of the law, as well the broken ones (say ^l the *Rabbins*) as the whole; and that there was nothing else in it, when it was brought into *Solomon's* temple, is said in ^m two places of Scripture. But the *Rabbins* raise a controversy concerning *Aaron's* rod, and the pot of manna, and the original volume of the law written by *Moses's* own hand, whether they were not also in the ark. It is said of ⁿ *Aaron's* rod, and the ^o pot of manna, that they were laid up before the testimony, and it being agreed on all hands, that by the testimony are meant the two tables, those who interpret these words [*before the testimony*] in the strictest sense, will have the said rod and pot of manna to

² 2 Chron. iii. 8.

^h R. Azarias in Meor Enaim, part 3. c. 51.

ⁱ Talmud Bab. in

Yoma, c. 1. f. 21. & Talmud Hierosol. in Taanith, c. 2. f. 65.

^k Exod. xxv. 10---22.

^l For the proof of this they bring the 2^d verse of the xth chapter of Deuteronomy, which they read thus: And I will write on the tables the words that were on the first tables, which thou brakest, and hast put in the ark; and it is true the word is *Veshamata*, i. e. thou hast put, in the prater tense, but it being with a *Vau* before it, that turns the prater tense into the future, and therefore it must be read thou shalt put them, as in our translation, and not thou hast put them, as the fauters of this opinion would have it.

^m 1 Kings viii. 9. 2 Chron. v. 10.

ⁿ Num. xvii. 10.

^o Exod. xvi. 33. where to lay up before the Lord, is by the Jewish commentators interpreted as the same with before the testimony of the Lord.

have been laid up immediately before the tables within the ark. For otherwise (say they) they would not have been laid up before the testimony, but before the ark. But others, who do not understand the word in so strict a sense, say they were laid up in the holy of holies without the ark, in a place just before it, thinking that in this position without the ark, they may be as well said to be laid up before the testimony or tables of the law, as if they had been placed immediately before them within the ark. But the holy apostle St. Paul decides this controversy. For he positively tells us, *That^p within the ark were the golden pot that had manna, and Aaron's rod, and the tables of the covenant.* As to the book or volume of the law, it being commanded to be put^q *Mitzzad*, i. e. *on the side* of the ark, those who interpret that word of the inside, place it within the ark; and those who interpret it of the outside, place it on the outside of it, in a case or coffer made of purpose for it, and laid on the right side, meaning by the right side that end of it which was on the right hand. And the last seem to be in the right as to this matter. For, 1st, The same word^r *Mitzzad* is made use of, where it is said, that the *Philistines* sent back the ark, with an offering of jewels of gold put in a coffer *by the side of it*. And there it is certain, that word must be understood of the outside, and not of the inside. 2^{dly}, The ark was not of capacity enough to hold the volume of the whole law of *Moses* with the other things placed therein. 3^{dly}, The end of laying up the original volume of the law in the temple was, that it might be reserved there as the authentick copy, by which all others were to be corrected and set right, and therefore to answer this end it must have been placed so, as that access might be had thereto on all occasions requiring it, which could not have been done, if it had been put within the ark, and shut up there by the cover of the mercy seat over it, which was not to be removed. And 4^{thly}, When^s *Hilkiab* the high-priest in the time of *Josiah* found the copy of the law in the temple, there is nothing said of the ark, neither is it there spoken of as taken from thence, but as found elsewhere in the temple. And therefore putting all this together it seems plain, that the volume of the law was not laid within the ark, but had a particular coffer or repository of its own, in which it was placed on the side of it. And the word *Mitzzad*, which answers to the *Latin à latere*, cannot truly bear any other meaning in the *Hebrew* language. And therefore the *Chaldee* paraphrase, which goes under the name of *Jonathan Ben Uzziel*, in paraphrasing on these words of *Deuteronomy*,^t *Take this book of the law, and put it in the side of the ark of the covenant*, renders it thus, *Take the book of the law, and place it in a case or coffer on the right side of the ark of the covenant of the Lord your God.* Over^v the ark was the mercy seat, and it was the covering of it. It was all made of solid gold, and of the thickness (say the *Rabbins*) of an hand's breadth. At the two ends of it were two cherubins looking inward towards each other with wings expanded, which embracing the whole circumference of the mercy seat, did meet on each side in the middle. All which (say^w the *Rabbins*) was made out of the same mass, without joyning any of the parts by solder.^x Here it was where the *Shecinah* or divine presence rested both in

^p Hebrews ix. 4. and hereto agree Abarbanel on 1 Kings viii. 9. & R. Levi Ben Gersom.

^q Deuteron. xxxi. 26.

^r 1 Sam. vi. 8.

^s 2 Kings xxii. 8.

^t Deut. xxxi. 26.

^v Exod. xxv. 17--22.

^w R. Levi Ben Gerson, R. Solomon, Abarbanel, and others.

^x Lev. xvi. 2.

the tabernacle and temple, and was visibly seen in the appearance of a cloud over it. And from hence ^y the divine oracles were given out by an audible voice, as often as God was consulted in the behalf of his people. And hence it is, that God is so often said Scripture ^z to dwell between the cherubins, that is, between the cherubins on the mercy seat, because there was the seat or throne of the visible appearance of his glory among them. And ^a for this reason the high-priest appeared before this mercy seat once every year, on the great day of expiation, when he was to make his nearest approach to the divine presence, to mediate and make atonement for the whole people of *Israel*. And all else of that nation, who served God according to the *Levitical* law, made it the centre of their worship. And not only in the temple, when they came up thither to worship, but every where else in their dispersion through the whole world, when ever they prayed ^b they turned their faces towards the place where the ark stood, and directed all their devotions that way. And therefore the author of the book ^c *Cozri* justly saith, that the ark, with the mercy seat and cherubins, were the foundation, root, heart and marrow of the whole temple, and all the *Levitical* worship therein performed. And therefore had there nothing else of the first temple been wanting in the second but the ark only, this alone would have been reason enough for the old men to have wept, when they remembered the first temple, in which it was, and also for the saying of *Haggai*, That ^d the second temple was as nothing in comparison of the first; so great a part had it in the glory of this temple, as long as it remained in it. However the defect was supplied, as to the outward form. For in ^e the second temple there was also an ark made of the same shape and dimensions with the first, and put in the same place. But tho' it was there substituted in its stead, (as there was need, that such an one should, for the service, that was annually performed before it on the great day of expiation) yet it had none of its prerogatives or honours conferred upon it. For there were no tables of the law, no *Aaron's* rod, no pot of manna in it, no appearance of the divine glory over it, no oracles given from it. The first ark was made and consecrated by God's appointment, and had all these prerogatives and honours given unto it by him. But the second being appointed and substituted by man only, to be in the stead and place of the other, could have none of them. And the only use that was made of it, was to be a representative of the former on the great day of expiation, and to be a repository of the holy Scriptures, that is, of the original copy of that collection, which was made of them after the captivity by *Ezra*, and the men of the great synagogue as will be hereafter related. For when this copy was perfected, it was there laid up in it. And in imitation hereof the *Jews* in all their synagogues have a like ^e ark or coffer of the same size or form, in which they keep the scriptures belonging to the synagogue, and from whence they take it out with great solemnity whenever they use it, and return it with the like when they have done with it. That there was any ark at all in the second temple,

^y Exod. xxv. 22. Numb. vii. 89.

^z 1 Sam. iv. 4. 2 Sam. vi. 2. 2 Kings xix. 15.

^a Levit. xvi. 29---34. Numb. xxix. 7.

^b 1 Kings viii. 48. Dan. vi. 10.

^c Part II. §. 28.

^d Chap. ii. 3.

^e Vide Buxtorfii Syn-

* Lightfoot of the Temple, c. 15. §. 4.

gogam, c. 14.

many of the *Jewish* writers do deny, and say that the whole service of the great day of expiation was performed in the second temple, not before any ark, but before ^f the stone on which the ark stood in the first temple. But since on their building of the second temple they found it necessary for the carrying on of their worship in it to make a new altar of incense, a new shew-bread table, and a new candlestick, instead of those which the *Babylonians* had destroyed, though none of them could be consecrated, as in the first temple, there is no reason to believe, but that they made a new ark also, there being as much need of it for the carrying on of their worship, as there was of the others. And since the holy of holies, and the veil that was drawn before it, were wholly for the sake of the ark, what need had there been of these in the second temple, if there had not been the other also? Were it clear that it is the figure of the ark, that is on the triumphal arch of *Titus*, still remaining at *Rome*, this would be an undeniable demonstration for what I here say. For therein his triumph for the taking of *Jerusalem* being set forth in sculpture, there is to be seen even to this day carried before him in that triumph the golden candlestick, and another figure, which *Adrichomius* and some others, say, is the ark; but *Villalpandus*, *Cornelius a Lapide*, *Ribera*, and the generality of learned men, who have viewed that triumphal arch, tell us, that it is the table of shew-bread. The obscurity of the figures, now almost worn out by length of time, makes the difficulty; but by the exactest draughts which I have seen of it, it plainly appears to have been the shew-bread table, especially from the two cups on the top of it. For two such cups filled with frankincense were always put upon the shew-bread table, but never upon the ark. *Josephus*, who was present at the triumph of *Titus*, and saw the whole of it, ^g tells us of three things therein carryed before him, 1st, *The shew-bread table*; 2^{dly}, *The golden candlestick*; (which he mentions in the same order as they are on the arch) and, 3^{dly}, *The law*; which is not on the arch: Most likely it was omitted there only for want of room to engrave it. For as there is the figure of a table carried aloft before the *shew-bread table*, and another before the *golden candlestick*, to express by the writings on them, what the things were which they were carried before, so after the golden candlestick there is on the said arch a third table without any thing after it, the arch there ending without affording room for any other sculpture; where the thing omitted, no doubt, was what *Josephus* saith, was carried in the third place, that is, *The law*; which is not to be understood of any common volume, (of which there were hundreds every where in common use, both in their synagogues and in private hands) but of that which was found in the temple, (as the other two particulars were) and laid up there, as the authentick and most sacred copy of it. And it cannot be imagined it should be carried otherwise, than in that repository in which it was laid, that is, in the ark, which was made for it under the second temple. But to return to the ark under the first temple, which was that I was describing. It was made ^h of wood, excepting only the mercy seat, but over-laid with gold all over both in the inside and the outside, and it had a ledge of gold surrounding it on the top in form of

^f *This the Rabbins call the stone of foundation, and give us a great deal of trash about it. See the Mishnah in Yoma, and Buxtorf de Arcâ, c. 22.* ^g *Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 7. c. 17.*

^h *Exod. xxv. 10---22.*

a crown, into which, as into a socket, the cover was let in. The place where it stood ⁱ was the innermost and most sacred part of the temple, called, *The holy of holies*, and sometimes, *The most holy place*, which was ordained and made of purpose for its reception. The whole end and reason of that most sacred place being none other, but to be a tabernacle for it. This place or room was ^k of an exact cubic form, as being thirty foot square, and thirty foot high. In the centre of it the ark was placed, upon a stone (say ^l the *Rabbins*) rising there three fingers breadth above the floor, to be, as it were, a pedestal for it. On the two sides of it stood ^m two cherubins fifteen foot high, one on the one side, and the other on the other side, at equal distance between the centre of the ark and each side wall; where having their wings expanded, with two of them they touched the said side walls, and with the other two they did meet, and touch each other exactly over the middle of the ark; so that the ark stood exactly in the middle between these two cherubins. But it is not in respect of these, that God is so often said in Scripture to dwell between the cherubins, but in respect of the cherubins only, which were on the mercy seat, as hath been observed. For most of those places of Scripture, wherein this phrase is found, were written before *Solomon's* temple was built, and till then there were no such cherubins in the most holy place. For they were put there in the temple only, and not in the tabernacle. These cherubins stood not with their faces outward, as they are commonly represented, but with their faces ⁿ inward, and therefore were in the posture of figures worshipping, and not in the posture of figures to be worshipped, as some fautors of idolatry do assert. The ark, while it was ambulatory with the tabernacle, was carried ^o by staves on the shoulders of the *Levites*. These staves were overlaid with gold, and put thorough golden rings made for them, not on the sides of the ark, as all hitherto have asserted, but on the two ends of it: which plainly appears from this, that when it was carried into the temple of *Solomon*, and fixed there in the most holy place, which was ordained and prepared of purpose for it, the Scriptures tell us, ^p that the staves being drawn out reached downward towards the holy place, which was without the most holy place, or holy of holies. For had they been on the sides of the ark length-way, they would on their being drawn out have reached towards the side wall, and not downward, unless you suppose the ark to have been there put sideway with one of its ends downward, and the other upward, which no one will say. And it is a plain argument against it, that the high-priest, when he appeared before the ark on the great day of expiation, is said to have gone up to it ^q between the staves; but if these staves had been drawn out from the sides, there would then have been but two foot three inches between them, which would not have afforded the high-priest room enough, with all his vestments on, to have passed up between them towards the ark for the performance of that duty. Neither could the bearers, in so near a position of the staves to each other, go with any convenience in the carrying of the ark from place to place on their shoulders, but they must necessarily have incommoded each

ⁱ 1 Kings viii. 16.^k 1 Kings vi. 20.^l Yoma, c. v. §. 2.^m 1 Kings vi. 23.² Chron. iii. 10.ⁿ 2 Chron. iii. 13.^o Exod. xxv. 13, 14, &c. and xxvii. 5. Numb.

iv. 4, 5, 6. 1 Chron. xv. 15.

^p 1 Kings vii. 8.² Chron. v. 9.^q Mishnah in Yoma,

c. v. Maimonides in Avodhath. Yom. Haccipurim.

other both before and behind, in going so near together. What became of the old ark, on the destruction of the temple by *Nebuchadnezzar*, is a dispute among the *Rabbins*. Had it been carried to *Babylon*, with the other vessels of the temple, it would again have been brought back with them at the end of the captivity. But that it was not so, is agreed on all hands, and therefore it must follow that it was destroyed with the temple; as were also the altar of incense, the shew-bread table, and the golden candlestick. For all these in the second temple were made anew after the rebuilding of it. However, the *Jews* contend that it was hid and preserved; by *Jeremiah*; say some, out of the second book of *Maccabees*. But most of them will have it, that King *Josiah* being foretold by *Huldah* the prophetess, that the temple would speedily after his death be destroyed, caused the ark to be put in a vault under ground, which *Solomon* foreseeing this destruction had caused of purpose to be built for the preserving of it. And for the proof hereof they produce the text, where *Josiah* commands the *Levites* to put the holy ark in the house, *which Solomon the Son of David King of Israel did build*; interpreting it of his putting of the ark into the said vault, where they say it hath lain hid ever since, even to this day; and from thence shall be manifested, and brought out again in the days of the *Messiah*; whereas the words import no more, than that *Manasseh* or *Ammon* having removed the ark from whence it ought to have stood, *Josiah* commanded it again to be restored into its proper place. Other dotages of the *Rabbins*, concerning this ark, I forbear troubling the reader with.

II. THE second thing wanting in the second temple, which was in the first, was the *Shecinah*, or the divine presence, manifested by a visible cloud resting over the mercy-seat, as hath been already shewn. This cloud did there first appear when *Moses* consecrated the tabernacle, and was afterwards on the consecrating of the temple by *Solomon* translated thither. And there it did continue in the same visible manner till that temple was destroyed, but after that it never appeared more. Its constant place was directly over the mercy-seat, but it rested there only when the ark was in its proper place in the tabernacle first, and afterwards in the temple, and not while it was in movement from place to place, as it often was during the time of the tabernacle.

III. THE third thing wanting in the second temple, which was in the first, was the *Urim and Thummim*. Concerning this many have written very much, but by offering their various opinions have helped rather to perplex than explain the matter. The points to be enquired into concerning it are these two: 1. What it was; and 2. What was the use of it.

1. As to what it was, the Scripture hath no where explained it any farther, than to say that it was something which *Moses* did put into the breast-plate of the high-priest. This breast-plate was a piece of cloth doubled, of a span square, in which were set in sockets of gold twelve precious stones bearing the names of the twelve tribes of *Israel* engraven on them, which being fixed to the *Ephod*, or upper vestment of the high-priest's robes, was worn by him on his breast on all solemn occasions. In this breast-plate the *Urim and Thummim*, say the Scriptures, were put. They who

* Vide Buxtorfium de Arca, c. 21, 22.

* 2 Chron. xxxv. 3. * Levit. xvi. 2.

w Exod. xxviii. 15---30. and xxix. 8---21.

f 2 Macc. ii.

* Vide Buxtorfium, Ibid.

v Exod. xxviii. 30. Levit. viii. 8.

x Exod. xxviii. 30. Levit. viii. 8.

hold them to have been some corporeal things there placed, besides the stones, will have them to be enclosed within the folding or doubling of the breast-plate, which they say was doubled for this very purpose, that it might be made fit as in a purse to contain them in it. ^y *Christophorus à Castro*; and from him ^z *Dr. Spencer* tell us, that they were two images, which being thus shut up in the doubling of the breast-plate, did from thence give the oracular answer by a voice. But this is a conceit which ^a a late very learned man hath sufficiently shewn to be both absurd and impious, as favouring more of heathenism and idolatry, than of the pure institution of a divine law. Some will have them to be the ^b *Tetragrammaton*, or the ineffable name of God, which being written or engraven, say they, in a mysterious manner, and done in two parts, and in two different ways, were the things signified by the *Urim and Thummim*, which *Moses* is said to have put into the breast-plate, and that these did give the oracular power to it. And ^c many of the *Rabbins* go this way. For they have all of them a great opinion of the miraculous power of this name. And therefore not being able to gainsay the evidence which there is for the miracles of *Jesus Christ*, their usual answer is, ^{*} that he stole this name out of the temple from the stone of foundation, on which it was there written, (that is, the stone on which the ark formerly stood) and keeping it hid always about him, by virtue of that did all his wondrous works. Others, who hold in general for the addition of some things corporeal, denoted by the names of *Urim and Thummim*, ^d think not fit to enquire what they were as to the particular, but are of opinion that they were things of a mysterious nature, hid and closed up in the doubling of the breast-plate, which *Moses* only knew of, who did put them there, and no one else was to pry into; and that these were the things that gave the oracular power to the high-priest when he had the breast-plate on. But this looking too much like a telesme, or a spell, which were of those abominations that God abhorred, it will be safest to hold that the words *Urim and Thummim* meant no such things, but only the divine virtue and power, given to the Breast-plate in its consecration, of obtaining an oracular answer from God, whenever counsel was asked of him by the high-priest with it on, in such manner as his word did direct; and that the names of *Urim and Thummim* were given hereto only to denote the clearness and perfection which these oracular answers always carried with them. For *Urim* signifieth *light*, and *Thummim* *perfection*. For these answers were not, like the heathen oracles, enigmatical and ambiguous, but always clear and manifest, not such as did ever fall short of perfection, either of fulness in the answer, or certainty in the truth of it. And hence it is that the *Septuagint* translate *Urim and Thummim* by the words *Δήλωση* ἢ *Ἀλήθειαν*, i. e. *Manifestation and Truth*, because all these oracular answers given by *Urim and Thummim* were always clear and manifest, and their truth ever certain and infallible.

2. As to the use which was made of the *Urim and Thummim*, it was to ask counsel of God in difficult and momentous cases relating to the whole

^y De Vaticinio.

^z In Dissertatione de Urim & Thummim.

^a Dr. Pocock, in his

comment on Hosea, c. 3. v. 4.

^b Paraphrasis Jonathanis in Exod. xxviii. 30. Liber Zohar, fol. 105.

editionis Cremonensis.

^c R. Solomon, R. Moses Ben Nachman, R. Becai, R. Levi

Ben Gersom, aliique.

^{*} Toledoth Jesu, ex editione Wagenfeldii, p. 6, 7. Raymundi Pugio

Fidei, part II. c. 8. Buxtorfii Lexicon Rab. p. 2541.

^d R. David Kimchi, R. Abraham Seva,

Aben Ezra, aliique.

state of *Israel*. In order whereto the high-priest did put on his Robes, and over them his breast-plate, in which the *Urim and Thummim* were, and then presented himself before God to ask counsel of him. But he was not to do this for any private man, but only for the King, for the president of the sanhedrim, for the general of the army, or for some other great prince or publick governor in *Israel*; and not for any private affairs, but for such only as related to the publick interest of the nation, either in church or state. For he appeared before God with the names of the twelve tribes of *Israel* upon his breast-plate, and therefore whatever counsel he asked, was in the name, and on the behalf, of all the tribes, and consequently it must have been concerning matters which related publickly to them all. The place where he presented himself before God, was before the ark of the covenant, not within the veil of the holy of holies, (for thither he never entred, but once a year on the great day of expiation) but without the veil in the holy place. And there standing with his robes and breast-plate on, and his face turned directly towards the ark, and the mercy-seat over it, on which the divine presence rested, he propos'd the matter, concerning which counsel of God was asked; and directly behind him, at some distance without the holy place, perchance at the door, (for farther no lay-man could approach) stood the person in whose behalf the counsel was asked, whether it were the King or any other publick officer of the nation, and there with all humility and devotion expected the answer that should be given. But how this answer was given, is that which is made the great dispute. The most common received opinion among the *Jews* is, that it was by the shining and protuberating of the letters in the names of the twelve tribes, graven on the twelve stones in the breast-plate of the high-priest, and that in them he did read the answer. They explain it by the example which we have in the 1st chapter of the book of *Judges*. There the children of *Israel*, either by the president of the sanhedrim, or some other officer entrusted with the publick interest, did ask counsel of God: * *Who shall go up for us against the Canaanites, first, to fight against them?* The answer given by the high-priest, who did by *Urim and Thummim* then ask counsel of God for them, was, ¹ *Judah shall go up*. For having asked the counsel, he did immediately (say they) look into the breast-plate, and saw there those letters shining above the rest, and protuberating beyond them, which being combined into words made up the answer which was given. And this notion was very ancient among them. For both^m *Josephus* and ⁿ *Philo Judæus* have it, and from them several of the ancient fathers of the christian church, give the same account of this matter. But there are unanswerable objections against it. For 1st, All the letters of the *Hebrew* alphabet are not to be found in these twelve names, four of them, that is, *Cheth, Teth, Zaddi, and Koph*, being wholly want-

* Mishnah in Yoma, c. 7. §. 5. The Talmudists prove this from Num. xxvii. 21. See Maimonides in Cele Hammikdash, c. 10. §. 12. f Abarbanel in Exod. xxviii. & in Deuteron. xxxiii.

R. Levi Ben Gersom, Maimonid. ibid. alique. g Maimonides, ibid. Yalkut fol. 248. col. 1.

h Maimonides in Cele Hammikdash, c. 10. §. 11. Zohar in Exodum. Yalkut ex antiquo libro Siphre. R. Becai in Deuteron. xxxiii. 8. Ramban, R. Levi Ben Gersom, Abarbanel, R. Azarias in Meor Enaim, R. Abraham Seba, alique. i Abarbanel in Iegem, Ramban in Iegem.

* Judg. i. 1. 1 Judg. i. 2. m Antiq. lib. iii. c. 9. n De monarchia, lib. 2.

o Chrysostom. Hom. 37. adversus Judæos. Augustin. lib. 2. Quæstionum supra Exodum, alique.

ing in them. And therefore an answer could not be given this way to every thing, concerning which counsel might have been asked of God. To solve this they have added the names of *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob* to the breast-plate. But still the letter *Teth* will be wanting, and therefore farther to botch up the matter they have added also these words, *Col elleh shilte Israel*, i. e. *All these are the tribes of Israel*. But this is not only without any foundation in Scripture, but rather contrary to it. For the description of the breast-plate in scripture being very particular in the reckoning up of all its parts, seems plainly to exclude whatever is not there named. 2^{dly}, The assertors of this opinion do not tell us, where the words which they would have added were placed in the breast-plate. They could not be written or engraven on the breast-plate it self, for that was only a piece of cloth. They must therefore be engraven, either on some of the twelve stones, or else on others set there on purpose for it. They could not be on any one of the twelve stones, because on them were only engraven the names of the twelve tribes of *Israel*. And they could not be on other stones, because there were none other set there, but these twelve stones only. And in these two particulars the Scriptures are sufficiently positive to exclude all such additions. 3^{dly}, They that hold this opinion are forced to have recourse to the spirit of prophecy in the high-priest, for the right combining of those shining and protuberating letters, that were to make up the words of which the answer did consist, which is a difficulty of it self alone sufficient to explode this conceit. 4^{thly}, There were some answers given of that length (as particularly that in the second of *Samuel*, ch. v. ver. 23, 24.) that all the letters in the breast-plate, taking in all those also which the assertors of this opinion have added, will not suffice for them. It would be too tedious to add all else, that might be said to shew the absurdity of this opinion. Dr. *Spencer* deservedly saith of it, that it is a Talmudical camel, which no one that is in his wits can ever swallow.

THERE are also other opinions offered by others concerning this matter. But to me it appears plain from Scripture, that when the high-priest appeared before the veil to ask counsel of God, the answer was given him by an audible voice from the mercy-seat, which was within behind the veil. There it was that ^p *Moses* went to ask counsel of God in all cases, and from thence he was answered by an audible voice. For from thence God communed with him of all those things, which he gave him in commandment unto the children of *Israel*. And in the same way did God afterwards communicate his will to the governors of *Israel*, as often as he was consulted by them, only with this difference, that whereas *Moses* through the extraordinary favour that was granted unto him, had immediate access to the divine presence, and God did there commune with him, and speak to him, as it were, ^q face to face, as a man speaketh to his friend, none other was admitted thither to ask counsel of him, but through ^r the mediation of the high-priest, who in his stead asked counsel for him by *Urim and Thummim*, that is, by presenting himself with the breast-plate on over all his other robes before the veil, exactly over against the mercy-seat, where the divine presence rested. And when he thus presented himself

^p Exod. xxv. 22. xxx. 6. Num. vii. 89. Judg. xx. 28.

^q Exod. xxxiii. 11.

^r Num. xxvii. 21.

in due manner, according to the prescription of the divine law, God gave him an answer in the same manner as he did unto *Moses*, that is, by an audible voice from the mercy seat. For in ^f many instances, which we have in Scripture of God's being consulted this way, the answer in every one of them, ^t except two, is ushered in with *the Lord said*; And when the *Israelites* made peace with the *Gibeonites*, they are blamed in that they asked not counsel ^v *at the mouth of God*; both which phrases seem plainly to express a vocal answer, and taking them both together, I think they can scarce import any thing else. And for this reason it is, that the holy of holies, the place where the ark and the mercy seat stood, from whence this answer was given, is so often in Scripture called ^w *the oracle*, because from thence the divine oracles of God were uttered forth to those that asked counsel of him.

THIS, I take it to be plain, was the manner of consulting God by *Urim* and *Thummim* in the tabernacle, but how it was done in the camp raiseth another question. For it appeareth by Scripture, that either the high-priest, or another deputed in his stead, always went with the armies of *Israel* to the wars, and carried with him the *Ephod*, and breast-plate, therewith to ask counsel of God by *Urim* and *Thummim*, in all difficult emergencies that might happen. Thus ¹ *Phineas* went to the wars against the *Midianites*, *with the holy instruments*, that is, say the *Jewish* commentators, ^v with the ephod and the breast-plate, which were, say they, put into an ark or coffer made on purpose for it, and carried by *Levites* on their shoulders, as the other ark was. And of this ark they understand that place of Scripture, where *Saul* saith to *Abiah* the high-priest, ² *Bring hither the ark of God*. For this could not be the ark of the covenant. For that was then at *Kirjath-Jearim*, and never ought to have been removed from its place in the tabernacle to be carried to the wars, or any where else from its proper station, and never was so but once against the *Philistines*, and then God gave the armies of *Israel*, and also the ark it self into the hands of the enemy, for the punishment hereof. It must therefore have been no other ark which *Saul* called to *Abiah* for, than that ark or coffer, in which the ephod and breast-plate were carried; and the end for which he called for it shews the thing. For it was to ask counsel of God, for which the ephod and breast-plate served. So that the saying of *Saul* to *Abiah* (*Bring hither the Ark*) importeth no more, than the saying of *David* afterwards to *Abiathar* in the like case, ³ *Bring hither the Ephod*. For this ark was the coffer in which the *ephod* was kept, and with which *Abiathar* fled to *David*, when *Saul* destroyed his father's house. And of the same ark they understand the saying of *Uriah* the *Hittite* unto *David*, when he excused his not going to his house, and lying with his wife. ^b *The ark, and Israel, and Judah abide in tents, and my lord Joab, and the servants of my lord are encamped in the open fields; shall I then go into my house to eat, and to drink, and to lie with my wife?* For if this be understood of

^f Judg. i. 1, 2. xx. 18, 23, 28. 1 Sam. x. 22. xxiii. 2, 4, 11, 12. 2 Sam. ii. 1. and v. 19, 23.
^t 1 Sam. xxx. 7, 8. 2 Sam. xxi. 1. ^v Josh. ix. 14. ^w Psal. xxviii. 2. 1 Kings vi.
5, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 31. and vii. 49. and viii. 6, 8. 2 Chron. iii. 16. iv. 20. and v. 7, 9.
^x Num. xxxi. 6. ^y Paraphrasis Chaldaica Jonathanis Ben Uzziel Textum interpretatur
his verbis. *Et misit eos Moses, & Phineasum filium Eleazaris Sacerdotem ad bellum, & Urim &*
Thummim Sanctitatis ad interrogandum per ea. ^z 1 Sam. xiv. 18. ^a 1 Sam. xxiii. 9.
^b 2 Sam. xi. 11.

the ark of the covenant, and the tent or tabernacle in which it was kept, what he said would have been a reason for him never to have lain with his wife. For that was always kept in such a tent or tabernacle, till the temple of *Solomon* was built. It is most likely therefore, that the ark which he speaks of, was the ark or coffer in which the ephod and breast-plate were put, which the priest carried with him, who was sent to the war.

THE priest that was sent on this occasion, that he might be fully qualified to act in the high-priest's stead, whenever there should be occasion for him to ask counsel of God by *Urim* and *Thummim*, was ^c consecrated to the office by the holy anointing oil, in the same manner as the high-priest was, and therefore he was called, *The anointed for the wars*. But how he had the answer is the difficulty. For there was no mercy seat in the camp to appear before, or from whence to receive the oracle, as there was in the tabernacle. And yet that such oracles were given in the camp is certain from several Instances which we have of it in Scripture. For *David* did by the *ephod* and breast-plate only ask counsel of God ^d three several times in the case of *Keilah*, and ^{*} twice at *Ziglag*, once on the pursuit of those who had burnt that city, and again on his going from thence for *Hebron*, there to take possession of the kingdom of *Judah* on the death of *Saul*, and on every one of these times he had an answer given him, tho' it is certain the ark of the covenant was not then present with him. It is most likely, since God allowed that counsel should be thus asked of him in the camp without the ark, as well as in the tabernacle where the ark was, that the answer was given in the same manner by an audible voice. It seems most probable, that *the priest anointed for the wars*, had a tent in the camp on purpose there erected for this use, in which a part was separated by a veil, in the same manner as the holy of holies was in the tabernacle, and that when he asked counsel of God in the camp, he appeared there before that veil in the same manner, as the high-priest on the like occasion did before that in the tabernacle, and that the answer was given from behind it, tho' no ark or mercy seat was there. And the words of *Uriah* above recited plainly refer us to such a tent. And it cannot be agreeable to a religion of so much ceremony and solemnity, to suppose them to be without it for so sacred an Office.

ALTHO' this way of asking counsel of God was frequently used during the tabernacle, and no doubt continued afterward till the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*, yet we have no instance of it in scripture during the whole time of the first temple; and it is most certain, that it was wholly wanting in the second temple. For ^e both *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* tell us as much. And hence is that saying among the *Jews*, That the holy spirit spake to the children of *Israel* during the tabernacle by *Urim* and *Thummim*, and under the first temple by the prophets, and under the second by [†] *Bath-Kol*.

THEY who would have the *Urim* and *Thummim* absolutely to have ceased under the first temple, give two reasons for it. 1st, ^f That it was an appendent of the theocracy. For as long as God was the immediate go-

^c Maimonides in *Cele Hammikdash*, c. 1. §. 7. & in *Melachim*, c. 7.

^d 1 Sam. xxiii.

^{*} 1 Sam. xxx. 8. 2 Sam. ii. 1.

^e Ezra ii. 63. Nehem vii. 65.

[†] By this the

Jews mean a voice from the clouds, such as was heard from thence concerning our Saviour. Matth. iii. 7. xvii. 5. 2 Pet. i. 17.

^f Spencerus de *Urim & Thummim*. c. 2. §. 2.

vernor of *Israel*, it was necessary, say they, that a method should be established, whereby he might at all times be applied to, and consulted with, by his people; and for this reason, they tell us the oracle by *Urim* and *Thummim* was appointed. But when the theocracy ceased, (which they say it did, when *Solomon* the first hereditary King sat upon the throne) this oracle ceased with it. And, 2^{dly}, they say, That the *Urim* and *Thummim* was established to ask counsel only about that, which belonged to the common interest of all *Israel*, and therefore whenever the high-priest asked counsel of God this way, it was with the names of all the tribes of *Israel* upon his breast to denote, that what was asked, was for the common interest of all of them. But that common interest ceasing upon the division of the kingdom, this way of asking counsel of God must in the nature of the thing have then ceased also, as being no longer practicable. But how far these arguments may conclude, is left to every one to consider.

IV. THE fourth thing wanting in the second temple, which was in the first, was the holy fire, which came down from heaven upon the altar. ^a It descended first upon the altar in the tabernacle at the consecrating of *Aaron*, and his sons, to the priesthood, and afterwards it descended anew ^b upon the altar in the temple of *Solomon*, at the consecrating of that temple. And there it was constantly fed and maintained by the priests day and night, without suffering it ever to go out in the same manner, as it had been before in the tabernacle, and with this all the offerings were offered that were made by fire. And for using other fire were *Nadab* and *Abihu* consumed by fire from the Lord. This, say some of the *Jewish* writers, was extinguished in the days of *Manasseh*. But the more general opinion among them is, that it continued till the destruction of the temple by the *Chaldeans*. After that it was never more restored, but instead of it they had only common fire in the second temple. For what is said of its being ^c hid in a pit by *Jeremiah*, and again brought thence, and revived upon the altar in the second temple, is a fable that deserves no regard.

V. THE fifth thing wanting in the second temple, which was in the first, was the spirit of prophecy; but this was not wholly wanting there. For the prophets *Haggai*, *Zechariah* and *Malachi*, lived after the second temple was built, and prophesied under it. But on their death, which (say the *Rabbins*) hapned all in one year, the prophetick spirit wholly ceased from among them.

BESIDES these five things there was wanting also a sixth, that is, the holy anointing oil, ^d which was made by *Moses* for the anointing and consecrating of the King, the high-priest, and all the sacred vessels made use of in the house of God. And for this use it was commanded to be kept by the children of *Israel* throughout their generations. And therefore it was laid up before the Lord in the most holy place. And as the original copy of the law was placed there on the right side of the ark of the covenant, so perchance the vessel containing this oil was placed on the other side of it, and there kept till the first temple being destroyed that also was destroyed with it. Every ^e King was not anointed, but only the first of the family. For he being anointed for himself, and all the successors of

^a Lev. ix. 24.
18, 19.

^b 2 Chron. vii. 1.
^d Exod. xxx. 22---33.

^c Talmud in Zebachim, cap. 6.

^e 2 Mac. i.
^f Maimonides in Cele Hammikdash, c. 1. §. 11.

his race, they needed no other anointing, only if there arose any difficulty or dispute about the succession, then he that obtained it though of the same family, was anointed anew to put an end to the controversy, and after that no one was to question the title; and this was the case of *Solomon*, *Jonah*, and *Jeboahaz*. But ⁿ every high-priest was anointed at his consecration, or first admission to the office, and so also was ^o the priest, that went in his stead to the wars. The vessels and utensils that were anointed were the ^p ark of the covenant, the altar of incense, the shew-bread table, the golden candlestick, the altar of burnt-offerings, the laver, and all other the vessels and utensils belonging to them. And as by this ^a anointing they were first consecrated at the erecting of the tabernacle by *Moses*, so in case any of them were afterwards decayed, destroyed, or lost, they could, as long as this anointing oil remained, be again restored, by making and consecrating new ones in their place of the same virtue and holiness with the former. But this being wanting in the second temple, the want hereof caused a want of sanctity in all things else belonging to it. For although on the return of the *Jews* from the *Babylonish* captivity, and the rebuilding of their temple, they did anew make an ark, an altar of incense, a shew-bread table, a golden candlestick, an altar of burnt-offerings, and a laver, with the other vessels and utensils belonging to them, and did put them all in their former places, and applied them to their former uses, yet through want of the holy anointing oil to consecrate them, these all wanted that holiness under the second temple, which they had under the first. And their high-priest, who officiated in that temple, was no otherwise consecrated than ^r by the putting on of his vestments. So that the want of this one thing only in the second temple, caused a great want and defect in all things else that were therein, every thing in it falling short of its former holiness by reason hereof. And therefore this anointing oil might well under the second temple have been reckoned among the principal things that were wanting in it. But the *Jews* superstitiously confine themselves to the number of five particulars in this reckoning. For in the 8th verse of the 1st chapter of *Haggai*, where God saith of the second temple, *I will take pleasure in it, and will be glorified*, the *Hebrew* word *Aicabedha*, i. e. *I will be glorified*, being written without the letter *He* at the end of it, which it ought to have been written with, they make a mystery of it, as ^s if this letter (which is the numerical letter for five) were there left out for this purpose, that the want of it might denote the five things of the first temple, that were wanting in the second, and therefore will not add a sixth. But however there are some among them, who to make room for it contract the *Shecinah* and the *spirit of prophecy* under one and the same head, and instead of them two (which are two of the particulars above-mentioned) put *the holy spirit*, as reckoning them no other than different manifestations of the same holy spirit of God, the one in a place, and the other in a person, and thereby without altering the number of five in the reckoning up of these defects, have given the holy anointing oil a place among them, and therefore name them ^t as followeth. 1. The ark of the covenant with the mercy-seat. 2. The holy fire

ⁿ Exod. xxx. 30.^o Maimonides in *Cele Hammikdash*, c. 1. §. 7.^p Exod. xxx. 26---29.^a Exod. xi.^r Maimonides in *Cele Hammikdash*, c. 1. §. 8.^s Talmud Hierosol. in

Ta'anith. c. 2.

^t Talmud Hierosol. in Ta'anith.

3. The *Urim and Thummim*. 4. The holy anointing Oil. And 5. The holy spirit. And these, as well as many other particulars of the glory of the first temple, being wanting in the second, there was reason enough for those to weep at the rebuilding of the second temple, who remembered the first. But all these wants and defects were abundantly repaired in the second temple, when the desire of all nations, the Lord, whom they sought, came to this his temple, and *Christ* our Saviour, who was the truest *Shecinah* of the divine majesty, honoured it with his presence, and in this respect the glory of the latter house did far exceed the glory of the former house. And herein the prophecies of the prophet *Haggai*,^v which foretold it should be so, had a very full and thorough completion.

THE *Samaritans* hearing that the *Jews* had begun to rebuild the temple of *Jerusalem*,^u came thither, and expressing a great desire of being admitted to worship God at the same temple, in joint communion with them, offered to join with them in the building of it, telling them, that ever since the days of *Esharhaddon* King of *Assyria* they had worshipped the same God that they did. But *Zerubbabel* and *Jeshua*, and the rest of the elders of *Israel*, made answer to them, That they not being of the seed of *Israel* had nothing to do to build a temple to their God with them: That *Cyrus's* commission being only to those of the house of *Israel*, they would keep themselves exactly to that, and according to the tenor of it build the house to the Lord their God themselves, without admitting any other with them into the work. The reason of this answer was, they saw they intended not sincerely what they said, but came with an insidious design to get an opportunity, by being admitted among them, of doing them mischief. And besides, they were not truly of their religion. For altho' from the time that they had been infested with lions in the days of *Esharhaddon*, they had worshipped the God of *Israel*, yet it was only^w in conjunction with their other Gods whom they worshipped before, and therefore notwithstanding their worship of the true God, since they worshipped false gods too at the same time, they were in this respect idolaters; and this was reason enough for the true worshippers of God to have no communion with them. At which the *Samaritans* being much incensed, they did all they could to hinder the work, and altho' they could not alter *Cyrus's* decree, yet^x they prevailed by bribes and under-hand dealings with his ministers, and other officers concerned herein, to put obstructions to the execution of it, so that for several years the building went but very slowly on; which the *Jews* resenting, according as it deserved, this became the beginning of that bitter rancour which hath ever since been between them and the *Samaritans*; which being improved by other causes, grew at length to that height, that nothing became more odious to a *Jew* than a *Samaritan*, of which we have several instances in the gospels, and so it still continues. For even to this day a *Cuthean* (that is, a *Samaritan*) in their language, is the most odious name among them, and that which in the height of their anger by way of infamy and reproach they bestow on those they most hate and abominate. And by this they commonly call us christians, when they would express the bitterest of their hatred against us.

By these under-hand and subdolous dealings the work of the temple

^u Malachi iii. 1. Haggai ii. 7.

^v Haggai ii. 9.

^w Ezra iv.

^x 2 Kings xvii. 3.

^y Ezra iv. 5. Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. c. 2.

being much retarded, and *Cyrus's* decree in many particulars defeated of its effect, this seems to have been the cause, that in the third year of *Cyrus*, in the first month of that year, ^y *Daniel* did give himself up to mourning and fasting for three weeks together. After this, on the twenty fourth day of that month, he saw the vision concerning the succession of the Kings of *Persia*, the empire of the *Macedonians*, and the conquests of the *Romans*, of which the three last chapters of his prophecies contain an account. And by what is written in the conclusion of the last of them, he seems to have died soon after, and his great age makes it not likely that he could have survived much longer. For the third of *Cyrus* being the seventy third year of his captivity, if he were eighteen years old at his carrying to *Babylon*, (as I have shewn before, is the least that can be supposed) he must have been in the ninety first year of his age at this time, which was a length of years given to few in those days. He was a very extraordinary person both in wisdom and piety, and was favoured of God and honoured of men, beyond any that had lived in his time. His prophecies concerning the coming of the *Messiah*, and other great events of after-times, are the clearest and the fullest of all that we have in the holy Scriptures, insomuch that ^z *Porphyry*, in his objections against them, saith, they must have been written after the facts were done. For it seems they rather appeared to him to be a narration of matters afore transacted, than a prediction of things to come, so great an agreement was there between the facts when accomplished, and the prophecies which foretold them. But notwithstanding all this, ^{*} the *Jews* do not reckon him to be a prophet, and therefore place his prophecies only among the *Hagiographa*, and they serve the *Psalms* of *David* after the same rate. The † reason which they give for it, in respect of both, is, that they lived not the prophetic manner of life, but the courtly, *David* in his own palace, as King of *Israel*, and *Daniel* in the palace of the King of *Babylon*, as one of his chief counsellors and ministers in the government of that empire. And in respect of *Daniel*, they farther add, ‡ That altho' he had divine revelations delivered unto him, yet it was not in the prophetic way, but by dreams and visions of the night, which they reckon to be the most imperfect manner of revelation, and below the prophetic. But ^a *Josephus*, who was one of the ancientest writers of that nation, reckons him among the greatest of the prophets, and says farther of him, that he had familiar converse with God, and did not only foretel future events, as other prophets did, but also determined the time when they should come to pass. And that whereas other prophets only foretold evil things, and thereby drew on them the ill will both of princes and people, *Daniel* was a prophet of good things to come, and by the good report which his predictions carried with them on this account, reconciled to himself the good will of all men. And the event of such of them, as were accomplished, procured to the rest a thorough belief of their truth, and a general opinion that they came from God. But what makes most for this point with us, against all that contra-

^y Daniel x. ^z Hieronymus in Proœmio ad Comment. in Danielelem. ^{*} Hieronymi Præfatio in Danielelem. Maimonides in Moreh Nevochim, Part. II. c. 45. † Vide Grotium in præfatione ad Comment. in Esaiam, & Huetii demonstrationem Evangelicam, Prop. 4. c. 14. §. De prophetiâ Danielis. ‡ Maimonides, ibid. David Kimchi in præfatione ad Comment. in Psalmos.

^a Antiq. lib. 10. c. 12.

dict it, our Saviour *Christ* acknowledgeth *Daniel* to be a prophet. For he so styles him in the gospel, and this is a sufficient decision of this matter.

BUT *Daniel's* wisdom reached not only to things divine and political, but also to arts and sciences, and particularly to that of architecture. And *Josephus*^c tells us of a famous edifice built by him at *Susa*, in the manner of a castle (which he saith was remaining to his time) and finished with such wonderful art, that it then seemed as fresh and beautiful as if it had been newly built. Within this edifice, he saith, was the place where the *Persian* and *Parthian* Kings used to be buried, and that for the sake of the founder the keeping of it was committed to one of the *Jewish* nation even to his time. The copies of *Josephus* that are now extant, do indeed place this building in *Ecbatana* in *Media*, but^d *St. Jerom*, who gives us the same account of it word for word out of *Josephus*, and professeth so to do, placeth it in *Susa* in *Persia*, which makes it plain, that the copy of *Josephus*, which he made use of, had it so, and it is most likely to have been the true reading. For *Susa* being within the *Babylonish* empire, the Scripture tells us that *Daniel* had sometimes his residence^e there, and the common tradition of those parts hath been for many ages past, That *Daniel* died in that city which is now called *Tuster*, and there they shew his monument even to this day. And it is to be observed, that *Josephus* calls this building *Baris*, which is the same name by which *Daniel* himself calls the castle or palace at *Shushan* or *Susa*. For what we translate^f *at Shushan in the palace*, is in the original *Beshushan Habirah*, where no doubt the *Birah* of *Daniel* is the same with the *Baris* of *Josephus*, and both signify this palace or castle there built by *Daniel*, while he was governor of that province. For^h *there he did the King's business*, i. e. was governor for the King of *Babylon*.

PART of the book of *Daniel* is originally written in the *Chaldee* language, that is, from the 4th verse of the ii^d chapter to the end of the viith chapter. For there the holy prophet treating of *Babylonish* affairs, he wrote of them in the *Chaldee* or *Babylonish* language. All the rest is in *Hebrew*. The *Greek* translation of this book, used by the *Greek* churches through all the eastern countries, was that which was translated by *Theodotion*. In the vulgar *Latin* edition of the Bible, there is added in the iii^d chapter after the 23^d verse, between that and the 24th verse, the song of the three children; and at the end of the book, the history of *Susanna*, and of *Bel and the Dragon*; and the former is made the xiiith, and the other the xivth chapter of the book in that edition. But these additions^k were never received into the canon of holy writ by the *Jewish* church, neither are they extant either in the *Hebrew* or the *Chaldee* language, nor is there any evidence that they ever were so. That there are hebraisms in them can prove no more, than that they were written by an *Hebrew* in the *Greek* tongue, who transferred the idioms of his own tongue into that which he wrote in, as is usual in this case. And that they were thus originally written in the *Greek* tongue, by some hellenistical *Jew*, without having any higher fountain from whence they are derived, appears from this, That in the histo-

^b Matth. xxiv. 15.

^c Antiq. lib. 10. c. 12.

^d Comment in Dan. c. viii. 2.

^e For *Susa* is the same which the Scriptures call *Shushan*.

^f Benjaminis Itinerarium.

^g Dan. viii. 2.

^h Dan. viii. 27.

ⁱ Hieronymus in Præfatione ad Danielelem & in

Procemio ad Comment. in eundem.

^k Hieronymus, ibid.

ry of *Susanna*, *Daniel* in his replies to the elders¹ alludes to the *Greek* names of the trees, under which they said the adultery, which they charged *Susanna* with, was committed, which allusions cannot hold good in any other language. However, the church of *Rome* allows them to be of the same authority with the rest of the book of *Daniel*, and by their decree² at *Trent* have given them an equal place with it among the canonical Scriptures. But the ancients never did so. *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *Apollinarius*, have rejected those pieces, not only as being uncanonical, but also as fabulous; and³ *Jerom* gives the history of *Bel* and the *Dragon* no better title, than that⁴ of the fables of *Bel* and the *Dragon*. And others, who have been content to admit them for instruction of manners, have yet rejected them from being parts of the canonical Scripture, whom the protestant churches following herein do give them a place in their Bibles among the *Apocryphal* writings, but allow them not to be canonical.

IN the death of *Daniel* the *Jews* having lost a powerful advocate in the *Persian* Court, this gave their enemies the greater advantage of succeeding in their designs against them. But altho' they prevailed by under-hand dealings to divert those encouragements which *Cyrus* had ordered for the carrying on of the work, yet they could not put an open stop to it. So that as far as the *Jews* of themselves were able they still carried on the work, in which they were much helped by⁵ the *Tyrians*, and the *Zidonians*, not only in furnishing them with masons, and other workmen and artificers, but chiefly in bringing the cedars which *Cyrus* had given them out of the forest of mount *Libanus*, from thence to *Joppa* by sea, from which place they were carried by land to *Jerusalem*. For the *Tyrians* and *Zidonians* being wholly given to traffic and navigation, did very little addict themselves to the planting of oliveyards or vineyards, or the tillage of the ground, neither had they indeed any territory for either. For their gain being very great by sea, they did not set themselves to make any enlargements by land, but were in a manner pent up within the narrow precincts of the cities in which they dwelt, and therefore having very little of corn, wine, or oil of their own, they depended mostly on their neighbours for these provisions; from whom they had them either for their money, or by way of barter and exchange for other commodities which they supplied them with; and they were mostly furnished this way⁶ out of the *Jews* countrey, and therefore they readily assisted them with their labour, and shipping, to be supplied with these necessaries in exchange for it. So that as it was by their help that *Solomon* built the first temple, so also was it by their help that the *Jews* were enabled to build the second.

An. 530.
Cyrus 7.

IN the seventh year after the restoration of the *Jews*⁷ died *Cyrus* their great benefactor, after he had reigned from his first taking on him the command of the *Persian* and *Median* armies⁸ thirty years; from his taking of *Babylon*⁹ nine years; and from his being sole monarch of the east

¹ In the examination of the elders, when one of them said that he saw the adultery committed *sub maslick*, i. e. under a maslick tree, *Daniel* answers in allusion to *q̄ter*. The angel of God hath received sentence of God *q̄ter* or *q̄ter*, i. e. to cut thee in two. And when the other elder said it was *sub elm*, i. e. under an elm-tree, *Daniel* answers in allusion to the word *q̄ter*. The angel of the Lord waiteth with the sword *q̄ter* or *q̄ter*, i. e. to cut thee in two. Vide Hieron. *ibid*.

² Sessione 4^{ta}. ³ Hieronymus, *ibid*. ⁴ Peter Comestor doth also so call them, as doth likewise Erasmus in Schol. super *Præf*. Hieronymi in *Danielem*. ⁵ Ezra iii. 7.

⁶ Acts xii. 20. ⁷ *Cyropædia*, lib. 8. ⁸ Cicero de *Divinatione*, lib. 1. ⁹ Can. Ptolemæi. after

after the death of *Cyaxares* or *Darius* the *Median* his uncle ^v seven years, being at the time of his death ^v seventy years old. There are different accounts of the manner of his death. ^w *Herodotus*, ^x *Diodorus Siculus*, and ^y *Justin* tell us, that having invaded the *Scythians* he was there cut off with all his army, consisting of two hundred thousand men. But ^z *Xenophon* makes him die in his bed as fortunately as he lived, amidst his friends, and in his own countrey, and this is by much the more probable account of the two. For it is by no means likely, that so wise a man as *Cyrus* was, and so advanced in years as he then was, should engage in so rash an undertaking, as that *Scythian* expedition is described to be by those who tell us of it. Neither can it be conceived, how after such a blow his new erected empire could have been upheld, especially in the hands of such a successor as *Cambyſes* was, or how it could be possible, that he should so soon after it be in a condition to wage such a war, as he did with the *Egyptians*, and make such an absolute conquest of that countrey, as he did. That such a wild-headed man could settle himself so easily in his father's new erected empire, and hold it in such quiet at home, and so soon after his coming to it, enlarge it with such conquests abroad, could certainly be owing to nothing else, but that it was founded in the highest wisdom, and left to him in the highest tranquillity. Besides all authors agree, that *Cyrus* ^a was buried at *Pasargada* in *Persia*, in which countrey *Xenophon* saith he died, and his monument there continued to the time of *Alexander*. But if he had been slain in *Scythia*, and his body there mangled, by way of indignity to it, in such a manner as *Herodotus* and *Justin* do relate, how can we suppose it could ever have been brought thence out of the hands of those enraged Barbarians to be buried at *Pasargada*.

THIS *Cambyſes*, who succeeded his father *Cyrus*, is ^b in Scripture called *Ahasuerus*. As soon as he was settled in the throne, the enemies of the *Jews* knowing him to be of a temper fit to be worked upon for the doing of mischief, instead of opposing the *Jews* in their building of the temple by secret machinations, and underhand dealings with the ministers of the court, and other subordinate officers, as they had hitherto done, they now openly addressed to the King himself to put a stop to the work. But it seems he had so much respect for the memory of his father that he could not be induced publickly to revoke his decree, however he otherwise defeated in a great measure the design of it by several discouragements which he put upon it, so that the work went but heavily on all his reign. An. 529.
Cambyſes 1.

CAMBYSES had not long been King, ere ^c he resolved upon a war with the *Egyptians*, by reason of some offence taken against *Amasis* their King. *Herodotus* tells us, it was because *Amasis*, when he desired of him one of his daughters to wife, sent him a daughter of *Apries* instead of one of his own. But this could not be true, because *Apries* having been dead above forty years before, no daughter of his could be young enough at that time to be acceptable to *Cambyſes*. They speak with more probability, ^d who An. 528.
Cambyſes 2.

^v Cyropædia, lib. 8.
^z Cyropæd. lib. 8.
Arrianus, Aliqua.
æus, lib. 13. p. 560.
in initio. Athenæus, ibid.

^w Lib. 1. ^x Lib. 2. p. 90. ^y Lib. 1. c. viii.
^a Strabo, lib. 15. p. 730. Plutarchus in vitâ Alexandri, Q. Curtius,
^b Ezra iv. 6. ^c Herodotus, lib. 2. Justin, lib. 1. c. 9. Athe-
^d Polyænus Stratagem. lib. 8. Et Ægyptii apud Herodotum, lib. 3.

say, it was *Cyrus*, and not *Cambyfes*, to whom this daughter of *Apries* was sent. Her name they say was *Nitetis*, and for some time she concealed her true parentage, and was content to go for the daughter of *Amasis*. But at length, having had several children by *Cyrus*, and fully secured herself in his favour and affection, she discovered to him the whole truth of the matter, and excited him all she could, to revenge upon *Amasis* her father's wrong; which he intended to have done, as soon as his other affairs would have permitted, but dying before he could execute his intentions, *Cambyfes* (who they say was her son) undertook the quarrel on her account, and made this war upon *Egypt* for no other reason, than to revenge upon *Amasis* the case of *Apries*. But it is most likely, that whereas *Amasis* had subjected himself to *Cyrus*, and become his tributary, he did on his death withdraw his obedience from his successor, and that this was the true cause of the war. For the carrying on whereof *Cambyfes* made great preparations both by sea and land. For the sea service he engaged the *Cypriots* and the *Phœnicians* to help him with their fleets. And for the war by land, besides his other forces, he had a great number of *Greeks*, *Ionians*, and *Æolians*, in his army, who were the main strength of it. But the greatest help he had in this war was from *Phanes*, an *Halicarnassean*, who being a commander of some of the *Grecian* auxiliaries, that were in the service of *Amasis*, on some disgust given him revolted to *Cambyfes*, and made those discoveries to him, of the nature of the countrey, the strength of the enemy, and the then state of their affairs, as chiefly conduced to the making of that expedition successful. And it was by his advice, that *Cambyfes* contracted with the *Arabian* King, that lay next the borders of *Palestine* and *Egypt*, to supply him with water, while he passed the deserts that lay between these two countries, where accordingly it was brought him on camel's backs, without which he could never have marched his army that way. Being therefore thus prepared, he invaded *Egypt* in the fourth year of his reign. On his arrival on the borders he found *Amasis* was newly dead, and that *Psammenitus* his son, being made King in his stead, was drawing together a great army to oppose him. To make his passage open into the countrey, it was necessary for him to take *Pelusium*, which was as the key of *Egypt* on that side. But that being a strong place it was like to give him much trouble. For the preventing hereof, by the counsel it's supposed of *Phanes*, he had recourse to this stratagem. Finding that the garrison were all *Egyptians*, in an assault which he made upon the city, he placed a great number of cats, dogs, sheep, and other of those animals, which the *Egyptians* reckon'd sacred, in the front of the army; and therefore the soldiers not daring to throw a dart, or shoot an arrow that way, for fear of killing some of those animals, *Cambyfes* made himself master of the place without any opposition. For these being the gods which the *Egyptians* then adored, it was reckoned the highest impiety to kill any of them; and when they died of themselves, they buried them with the greatest solemnity. By the time that *Cambyfes* had taken this place, *Psammenitus* came up with his army to oppose his farther progress, whercon ensued a bloody battel between them. At the beginning

An. 526.
Camby-
fes 4.

^c Herodotus, lib. 3.
lib. 1. p. 52.

^f Polyænus, lib. 7.
^h Herodotus, lib. 3.

^e Herodotus, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus,

of it the *Greeks*, that were in *Psammenitus's* army, to be revenged on *Phanes* for his revolt to the enemy, brought forth his children, (whom he was forced to leave behind him on his flight) and slew them in the front of the battel in the sight of both armies, and drunk their blood. But this served them not in any stead for the victory. For the *Persians* being exasperated by a spectacle of so horrid a nature, fell on with such fury and rage to revenge it, that they soon vanquished and overthrew the whole *Egyptian* army, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. The remainder fled to *Memphis*, where *Cambyfes* pursuing them, on his arrival thither sent into the city by the *Nile*, on which it stood, a ship of *Mitylene*, with an herald to summon them to a surrender, but the people rising on him, in their rage slew the herald, and tore him and all that were with him to pieces. But *Cambyfes*, after a short siege, having taken the place, sufficiently revenged their death, causing ten *Egyptians* of the first rank to be publickly executed for every one of those that were thus slain, and the eldest son of *Psammenitus* was one of the number. As to *Psammenitus* himself, *Cambyfes* was inclined to have dealt kindly with him. For at first he gave him his life, and allowed him wherewith honourably to live, but he not being contented herewith endeavoured to raise new troubles for the recovery of his crown, whereon he was forced to drink bulls blood, and so ended his life. His reign was only six months. For so much time only intervened from the death of his father to the taking of *Memphis*, when he fell into the hands of the enemy, and all his power ceased. For hereon all *Egypt* submitted to *Cambyfes*. This hapned in the fifth year of his reign, and he reigned three years after. The *Libyans*, *Cyrenians*, and *Barceans*, hearing of this success sent embassadors with presents to make their submission to him. From *Memphis* he went to *Sais*, where the *Egyptian* Kings for several descents past had kept their usual residence, and there entering into the palace, caused the body of *Amasis* to be dug up out of his grave, and after all manner of indignities had been offered thereto in his presence, he ordered it to be cast into the fire and burnt. Which rage against the carcase, sheweth the anger which he had against the man, and whatsoever it was that provoked it, this seems to be the cause that brought him into *Egypt*.

An. 525.
Camby-
fes 5.

THE next year, which was the sixth of his reign, he designed three expeditions, the first against the *Carthaginians*, the second against the *Hammonians*, and the third against the *Ethiopians*. But the *Phœnicians* refusing to assist him against the *Carthaginians*, who were descended from them, (they being a colony of the *Tyrians*) and not being able to carry on that war without them, he was forced to drop this project. But his heart being intent upon the other two, he sent embassadors into *Ethiopia*, who under that name were to serve him as spies, to learn and bring him an account of the state and strength of the countrey. But the *Ethiopians* being fully apprised of the end of their coming, treated them with great contempt. And the *Ethiopian* King, in return for the present they brought him from *Cambyfes*, sent him back only his bow; advising him, then to make war upon the *Ethiopians*, when the *Persians* could as easily draw that bow as they could; and in the mean time to thank the gods, that they never inspired the *Ethiopians* with a desire of extending their dominions beyond the limits of their own countrey. With which answer *Cambyfes* being exceedingly exasperated, immediately on the receipt of it,

An. 524.
Camby-
fes 6.

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in a mad irrational humour, commanded his army forthwith to march, (without considering, that they were furnished neither with provisions, nor any other necessaries for such an expedition) leaving only the *Grecian* auxiliaries behind to keep the countrey in awe during his absence. On his coming to *Thebes* in the upper *Egypt*, he detach'd from his army fifty thousand men to go against the *Hammonians*, with orders to destroy their countrey, and burn the temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, that stood in it. But after several days march over the deserts, a strong and impetuous wind beginning to blow from the south at the time of their dinner, raised the sands to such a degree, and brought them in such a torrent upon them, that the whole army was overwhelmed thereby, and perished. In the interim *Cambyfes* madly marched on with the rest of the army against the *Ethiopians*, tho' he wanted all manner of provisions for their subsistence, till at length, they having eaten up all their beasts of burden, they came to feed upon each other, setting out every tenth man by lot for this purpose. By this *Cambyfes* being convinced, that it was time for him to return, marched back his army to *Thebes*, after having lost a great part of it in this wild expedition, and from thence returned to *Memphis*; when he came thither he dismissed all the *Greeks* to their respective homes, but on his entry into the city, finding it all in mirth and jollity, because their god *Apis* had then appeared among them, he fell into a great rage, supposing all this rejoycing to have been for the ill success of his affairs. And when he called the magistrates, and they gave him a true account of the matter, he would not believe them, but caused them to be put to death, as imposing a lye upon him. And then he sent for the priests, who made him the same answer, telling him, that their god having manifested himself unto them, (which seldom hapned) it was always their custom to celebrate his appearance with the greatest demonstrations of joy that they could express. To this he replied, that if their god was so kind and familiar, as to appear among them, he would be acquainted with him, and therefore commanded them forthwith to bring him unto him.

THE chief god of the *Egyptians* was ⁱ *Osiris*, him they worshipped in the shape of a *Bull*, and that not only in imagery, but also in reality. For they kept a bull in the temple of *Osiris*, which they worshipped in his stead. At *Heliopolis* he was called *Mnevis*, at *Memphis* *Apis*. The Marks of *Apis* ^k were these. His body was to be all black, excepting a square spot of white on his forehead. He was also to have the figure of an eagle, say some, of an half moon, say others, on his back, a double list of hair on his tail, and a scarabæus, or knot under his tongue. When they had found such an one, they brought him with great rejoycing to the temple of *Osiris*, and there kept him, and worshipped him for that god as long as he lived, and when he was dead, they buried him with great solemnity, and then sought for another with the same marks, which sometimes it was many years ere they could find; and such an one they having found on *Cambyfes*'s return to *Memphis* from his *Ethiopic* expedition, this was the reason of their great rejoycing at that time. And in imitation of this idolatry was it, that *Aaron* made the golden calf in the wilderness, and *Jeroboam* those in *Dan* and *Bethel*, and did set them up there to be worshipped

ⁱ Herod. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 1. cap. 35. Ammianus Marcellinus, c. 22.

^k Herod. lib. 3. Plin. lib. 8. c. 46. Solinus,

by the children of *Israel*, as the gods that had brought them out of the land of *Egypt*.

THIS *Apis* being brought to *Cambyfes*, he fell into a rage, as well he might, at the sight of such a god, and drawing out his dagger run it into the thigh of the beast, and then reproaching the priests for their stupidity and wretchedness, in worshipping a brute for a God, ordered them severely to be whipp'd, and all the *Egyptians* in *Memphis* to be slain, that should be found any more rejoicing there on this occasion. The *Apis* being carried back to the temple, there languished of his wound, and died.

THE *Egyptians* say, that after this act (which they reckon to have been the highest instance of impiety that was ever found among them) *Cambyfes* was stricken with madness. But his actions shewed him to have been mad long before, of which he continued to give divers instances. They tell us of these following.

HIS had a brother, the only son of *Cyrus* besides himself, and born of the same mother; his name according to *Xenophon* was *Tannocharis*; but *Herodotus* calls him *Smerdis*, and *Justin*, *Mergis*. He accompanied *Cambyfes* in his *Egyptian* expedition, but being the only person among all the *Persians* that could draw the bow, which *Cambyfes*'s ambassadors brought him back from the *Ethiopian* King, *Cambyfes* from hence contracted such an envy against him, that he could no longer bear him in the army, but sent him back into *Persia*. And not long after, dreaming that one came and told him that *Smerdis* sat on the throne, he thereon suspecting of his brother, what was afterwards fulfilled by another of his name, sent after him into *Persia*, *Prexaspes*, one of his chiefest confidents, with orders to put him to death, which he accordingly executed. And when one of his sisters, who was with him in the camp, on the hearing of it lamented his death, he gave her such a blow with his foot in the belly, that she died of it. She was the youngest of his sisters, and being a very beautiful woman, he fell violently in love with her, so that nothing could satisfy him but that he must have her to wife; whereon he called together all the royal judges of the *Persian* nation, to whom the interpretation of their Laws did belong, to know of them whether they had any Law that would allow it. They being unwilling to authorize such an incestuous marriage, and at the same time fearing his violent temper, should they contradict him herein, they gave him this crafty answer: That they had no law indeed that permitted a brother to marry his sister, but they had a law which allowed the King of *Persia* to do what he pleased. Which serving this purpose as well as a direct approbation of the thing, he solemnly married her, and hereby gave the first example to that incest which was afterwards practised by most of his successors, and by some of them carried so far as to marry their own daughters. This lady he carried with him in all his expeditions, and her name being *Meroe*, he from her gave¹ that name to the island in the *Nile*, between *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, on the conquering of it, which in all our maps of the old geography it still bears, (for so far he advanced in his wild march against the *Ethiopians*.) And she being with child by him when he struck her, the blow caused an abortion, and of this she died. And so vile a marriage deserved no better an end. He caused also several of the principal of his followers to be buried alive, without a-

¹ Strabo, lib. 17. p. 790. Josephus Antiq. lib. 2. c. 10.

ny cause deserving of it, and daily sacrificed some or other of them to his wild fury. And when *Cræsus* advised him against these proceedings, and laid before him the ill consequences which they would lead to, he ordered him to be put to death. And when those who received his orders, knowing he would repent of it the next day, did therefore defer the execution, he caused them all to be executed for it, because they had not obeyed his commands, altho' at the same time he expressed great joy that *Cræsus* was alive. And out of a mere humour, only to shew his skill in archery, he shot to death a son of *Prexaspes*, who was the chief of his favourites, and in such wild actions he wore out the seventh year of his reign.

At. 522
Camby-
ses 8.

IN the beginning of the eighth year he left *Egypt*, and returned towards *Persia*. On his coming into *Syria* he there met with an herald, who being sent from *Shushan* came into the army, and there proclaimed *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* King, and commanded all men to obey him. The meaning of this was, *Cambyfes*, when he departed from *Shushan* on the *Egyptian* expedition, placed there in the supreme government of his affairs, during his absence, *Patizithes*, one of the chief of the Magians. This *Patizithes* had a brother who did very much resemble *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, and was (for that reason perchance) called by the same name. As soon as he had been fully informed of the death of that prince, (which had been concealed from most others) and found that the extravagancies of *Cambyfes* were grown to an height no longer to be born, he placed this brother of his on the throne, giving out that he was the true *Smerdis*, the son of *Cyrus*, and forthwith sent out heralds into all parts of the empire to give notice hereof, and commanded obedience to be paid unto him. *Cambyfes* having seized him that came with this message to the army, on the examining of him, and on the examining of *Prexaspes*, whom he had sent to kill his brother, found that the true *Smerdis* was certainly dead, and that this was none other than *Smerdis* the Magian who had invaded the throne, whereon much lamenting that he had been led by the identity of the name to murder his brother, he gave orders for his army forthwith to set forward to suppress the usurper, but as he mounted his horse for the march, his sword falling out of the scabbard gave him a wound in the thigh, of which he died a few days after. The *Egyptians* remarking that it was in the same part of the body where he had afore wounded the *Apis*, reckoned it as an especial judgment from heaven upon him for that fact, and perchance they were not much out in it. For it seldom hapning in an affront given to any particular mode of worship, how erroneous soever it may be, but that religion is in general wounded hereby, there are many instances in history, wherein God hath very signally punished the prophecies of religion in the worst of times, and under the worst modes of heathen idolatry. While he was in *Egypt*, having consulted the oracle of *Butus* in that countrey, he was told that he should die at *Ecbatana*, which understanding of *Ecbatana* in *Media*, he resolved to preserve his life by never going thither, but what he thought to avoid in *Media* he found in *Syria*. For the town where he lay sick of this wound was of the same name, being also called *Ecbatana*, * of which when he was informed, ta-
king

* There are many instances of such, who on their over-curious enquiry into their future fate have been in the same manner deceived. Thus Henry the IVth of England being foretold that he should die at Je-
rusalem,

king it for certain that he must there die, he called for all the chief of the *Persians* together, and acquainting them with the true state of the case, that his brother was certainly dead, and that it was *Smerdis* the Magian that then reigned, earnestly exhorted them not to submit to the cheat, and thereby permit the sovereignty to pass from the *Persians* again to the *Medes*, of which nation the Magian was, but to take care to set up a King over them of their own people. But the *Persians*, thinking all this was said by him out of hatred to his brother, had no regard to it, but on his death quietly submitted to him whom they found on the throne, supposing him to be the true *Smerdis*. And it being the usage of the eastern Kings in those times to live retired in their palaces, and there transact all their affairs by the intercourse of their eunuchs, without admitting any else, unless those of their highest confidence, to have access to them, the Magian exactly observed this conduct, and therefore being never seen in publick, this made it the harder for them to discover the cheat.

CAMBYSES reigned ° seven years and five months, the remaining seven months of the eighth year was the reign of the Magian. *Herodotus* calls him *Smerdis*, (as hath been already said) *Æschylus* *Mardus*, *Ctesias* *Spendadates*, and *Justin* *Orapastes*, but in the Scripture he is called ° *Artaxerxes*. As soon as he was settled in the kingdom, after the death of *Cambyfes*, the *Samaritans* * wrote a letter to him, setting forth that the *Jews* were rebuilding their city and temple at *Jerusalem*, that they having been always a rebellious people, there was reason to suspect, that as soon as they should have finished that work they would withdraw their obedience from the King, and pay no more toll nor tribute, which might give an occasion for all *Syria* and *Palestine* to revolt also, and the King be excluded from having any more portion on that side the river *Euphrates*. And for the truth of what they had informed him of, as to the rebellious temper of that people, they referred him to the records of his predecessors, wherein they desired search might be made concerning this matter. On the receipt of this letter, examination being made according to the purport of it into the records of former times, concerning the behaviour of the *Jews* under the *Assyrian* and *Babylonish* empires, and it being found in them with what valour they had long defended themselves, and with what difficulty they were at length reduced by *Nebuchadnezzar*, an order was issued forth to prohibit them from proceeding any farther, and sent to the *Samaritans* to see it put in execution, who immediately on the receipt hereof went up to *Jerusalem*, and having exhibited their order to the *Jews* made them desist by force and power from going on any farther with the work of the house; so it wholly ceased till the second year of *Darius* King of *Persia*, for about the space of two years. The King that now reigned having been a chief leader of the sect of the Magians, against whom the *Jews* were in the utmost opposition in point of religion, the aversion he had to them on this account no doubt furthered this decree against them.

Jerusalem, was suddenly taken sick in the abbot of Westminster's house, and died there in the *Jerusalem* chamber. And so Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Spain, being foretold that he should die at *Madrigal*, carefully avoided going thither; but while he was thus, as he thought, avoiding his death, he found it at *Madrigalejo*, or little *Madrigal*, a poor little village he had never before heard of. For as he was accidentally passing through it he was suddenly taken ill, and being carried into a poor cottage, the best reception the place could afford him, he died there in an hole scarce large enough to receive his bed.

° Herodotus, lib. 3.

° Ezra iv. 7.

* Ezra iv. 7---24.

THAT *Cambyfes* was the *Ahasuerus*, and *Smerdis* the *Artaxerxes*, that obstructed the work of the temple, is plain from hence, that they are said † in Scripture to be the Kings of *Persia*, that reigned between the time of *Cyrus*, and the time of that *Darius* by whose decree the temple was finished; but that *Darius* being *Darius Hystaspis* (as will be unanswerably demonstrated in its proper place) and none reigning between *Cyrus* and that *Darius* in *Persia*, but *Cambyfes* and *Smerdis*, it must follow from hence, that none but *Cambyfes* and *Smerdis* could be the *Ahasuerus* and *Artaxerxes*, who are said in *Ezra* to have put a stop to this work.

BUT tho' *Smerdis* was thus unkind to the *Jews*, † he studied to shew grace and favour to all others, that so gaining their affections, he might the better secure himself in the possession of the throne which he had usurped. And therefore as soon as he had taken on him the sovereignty, he granted to all his subjects a freedom from taxes, and an immunity from all military services, for three years, and also did so many other things for their benefit, as made his death to be very much lamented by a great many of them on the change that after followed. And farther to secure himself he took to wife *Atossa* the daughter of *Cyrus*, aiming thereby to hold the empire by her title, if in case of a discovery he could not be allowed to have any of his own. She had before been the wife of *Cambyfes*. For after he had, upon the decision above-mentioned, married one of his sisters, he took this other to wife also. And the Magian, while he pretended to be her brother, married her on the same foot.

BUT these steps which he took for his security, made it the more suspected that he was not the true *Smerdis*, for if he were, there would have been no need (it was said) of using all these arts and precautions for his establishment in the empire; and the care which he took never to be seen in publick augmented the suspicion. To be fully satisfied in this matter, *Otaues* a noble *Persian*, brother of *Cassandana*, (who is said by *Herodotus* to have been mother to *Cambyfes*, and the true *Smerdis* his brother) having a daughter named *Phedyma*, that had been one of *Cambyfes*'s wives, and was now kept by the Magian in the same quality, sent to her to know whether it were *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus* that she lay with, or else some other man. The answer which she returned, was, That she having never seen *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, she could not tell. He then, by a second message, bid her enquire of *Atossa* (who could not but know her own brother) whether this were he or no. Whereon she having informed him, that the present King kept all his wives apart, so that they never conversed with each other, and that therefore she could not come at *Atossa* to ask this question of her, he sent her a third message, whereby he directed her, that when he should next lie with her, she should take the opportunity, while he slept, to feel whether he had any ears or no. For *Cyrus* having caused the ears of *Smerdis the Magian* to be cut off for some crime that deserved it, he told her that if the person she lay with had ears, she might satisfy her self that he was *Smerdis* the son of *Cyrus*, but that if she found it was otherwise, he was certainly *Smerdis the Magian*, and therefore unworthy of possessing either the crown or her. *Phedyma* having received these instructions took the next opportunity of making the tryal she was directed to, and finding hereon that the person she lay with had no ears,

† *Ezra* iv. 5, 6, 7.† *Herodotus*, lib. 3.

she sent word to her father of it, and hereby the whole fraud became detected. Whereon *Otanes*, taking to him six other of the nobility of the *Persians*, entered into the palace, and there falling on the usurper and his brother *Patizithes*, who had been the contriver of the whole plot, slew them both, and then bringing out their heads to the people declared unto them the whole imposture. Which did set them into such a rage, that they fell on the whole sect which the impostor was of, and slew all of them that they met with that day. For which reason the said day on which this was done, thenceforth became an annual festival among them, and for a long while after it was celebrated every year by the *Persians* in commemoration of the discovery of this imposture, and their deliverance from it. And by reason of the great slaughter of the Magians then made, it was called *Magophonia*, or the slaughter day of the Magians. And it was from this time that they first had the name of *Magians*; which signifying the cropt-ear'd it was then given unto them by way of nick-name and contempt, because of this impostor, who was thus cropp'd. For *Mige-Gush* signified in the language of the countrey then in use, one that had his ears cropp'd, and ¹ from a ring-leader of that sect who was thus cropp'd, the author of the famous *Arabic Lexicon* called *Camus*, tells us, they had all this name given unto them. And what *Herodotus*, and *Justin*, and other authors write of this *Smerdis*, plainly shews that he was the man. After this the whole sect of the Magians grew into that contempt, that they would soon have sunk into an utter extinction, but that a few years after it was under the name of a reformation again revived by *Zoroastres*, of which an account will be hereafter given in its proper place.

In the interim it may be proper to acquaint the reader, that at this time all the idolatry of the world was divided between two sects, ² that is, the worshippers of images, who were called the *Sabians*, and the worshippers of fire, who were called the *Magians*. The true religion, which *Noah* taught his posterity, was that which *Abraham* practis'd, the worshipping of one God, the supreme governor and creator of all things, with hopes in his mercy through a mediator. For the necessity of a mediator between God and man was a general notion, which obtained among all mankind from the beginning. For being conscious of their own meanness, vileness and impurity, they could not conceive, how it was possible for them of themselves alone to have any access to the all holy, all glorious, and supreme governor of all things. They considered him as too high, and too pure; and themselves too low and polluted for such a converse. And therefore concluded that there must be a mediator, by whose means only they could make any address unto him, and by whose intercession alone any of their petitions could be accepted of. But no clear revelation being then made of the mediator, whom God had appointed, because as yet he had not been manifested unto the world, they took upon them to address unto him by mediators of their own chusing. And their notion of the sun, moon, and stars, being, that they were the tabernacles, or habitations of intelligences, which animated those orbs, in the same manner as the soul of man

¹ Pocockii specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 146.

² Vide Pocockii specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 138. Golii notas ad Alfraganum, p. 251. Maimonidem in Moreh Nevochim. Hottingeri Historiam Orientalem, lib. 4. c. 8. Historiam Religionis veterum Persarum per Thomam Hyde.

animates his body, and were the causes of all their motions; and that these intelligences were of a middle nature between God and them, they thought these the properest beings to become the mediators between God and them. And therefore the planets being the nearest to them of all these heavenly bodies, and generally looked on to have the greatest influence on this world, they made choice of them in the first place for their Gods-mediators, who were to mediate for them with the supreme God, and procure from him the mercies and favours which they prayed for, and accordingly they directed divine worship unto them as such. And here began all the idolatry that hath been practis'd in the world. They first worshipped them *per Sacella*, that is, by *their tabernacles*, and afterwards by images also. By these *Sacella*, or *tabernacles*, they meant the orbs themselves, which they looked on only as the *Sacella*, or *sacred tabernacles*, in which the intelligences had their habitations. And therefore when they paid their devotions to any one of them, they directed their worship towards the planet, in which they supposed he dwelt. But these orbs by their rising and setting, being as much under the horizon as above, they were at a loss how to address to them in their absence. To remedy this, they had recourse to the invention of images, in which, after their consecration, they thought these intelligences, or inferior deities, to be as much present by their influence as in the planets themselves, and that all addresses to them were made as effectually before the one, as before the other. And this was the beginning of image worship among them. To these images were given the names of the planets they represented, which were the same they are still called by. And hence it is, that we find *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, *Venus* and *Diana*, to be first ranked in the polytheism of the ancients. For they were their first gods. After this a notion obtaining, that good men departed had a power with God also to mediate and intercede for them, they deified many of those whom they thought to be such, and hence the number of their gods encreased in the idolatrous times of the world. This religion first began among the *Chaldeans*, which their knowledge in astronomy helped to lead them to. And from this it was, that *Abraham* separated himself when he came out of *Chaldea*. From the *Chaldeans* it spread it self over all the east, where the professors of it had the name of *Sabians*. From them it passed into *Egypt*, and from thence to the *Grecians*, who propagated it to all the western nations of the world. And therefore those who mislike the notion advanced by *Maimonides*, that many of the *Jewish* laws were made in opposition to the idolatrous rites of the *Sabians*, are much mistaken, when they object against it, that the *Sabians* were an inconsiderable sect, and therefore not likely to have been so far regarded in that matter. They are now indeed since the growth of christianity and mahometism in the world, reduced to an inconsiderable sect; but anciently they were all the nations of the world, that worshipped God by images. And that *Maimonides* understood the name in this latitude, is plain from hence, that he tells us: The *Sabians* whom he spoke of, were a sect whose heresy had overspread almost all mankind. The remainder of this sect still subsists in the east under the same name of *Sabians*, which they pretend to have received from *Sabius* a son of *Seth's*. And among the books, wherein the doctrines of their sect are contained,

^f In Moreh Nevochim.

^e Moreh Nevochim, Part I. c. 63.

they have one, which they call the book of *Seth*, and say, that it was written by that patriarch. That which hath given them the greatest credit among the people of the east is, that the best of their astronomers have been of this sect, as *Thebet Ebn Korrah*, *Albattani*, and others. For the stars being the gods they worshipped, they made them the chief subject of their studies. These *Sabians* in the consecrating of their images used many incantations to draw down into them from the stars those intelligences, for whom they erected them, whose power and influence, they held, did afterward dwell in them. And from hence the whole foolery of *Telefms*, which some make so much ado about, had its original.

DIRECTLY opposite to these were the *Magians*, another sect, who had their original in the same eastern countries. For ^v they abominating all images worshipped God only by fire. They began first in *Persia*, and there and in *India*, were the only places where this sect was propagated, and there they remain even to this day. Their chief doctrine was, that there ^u were two principles, one which was the cause of all good, and the other the cause of all evil, that is to say, God and the Devil: That the former is represented by light, and the other by darkness; as their truest symbols; and that of the composition of these two all things in the world are made. The good God they name *Tazdan*, and also *Ormuzd*, and the evil god *Abrahaman*. The former is by the *Greeks* called *Oramasdes*, and the latter *Arimanius*. And therefore when *Xerxes* prayed for that evil upon his enemies, that it might be put into the minds of all of them to drive their best and bravest men from them, as the *Athenians* had *Themistocles*, ^{*} he addressed his prayer to *Arimanius* the evil god of the *Persians*, and not to *Oramasdes* their good God. And concerning these two Gods there was this difference of opinion among them, that whereas some held both of them to have been from all eternity, there were others that contended, that the good God only was eternal, and that the other was created. But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual opposition between these two till the end of the world: That then the good God shall overcome the evil god, and that from thenceforward each of them shall have his world to himself, that is, the good God his world with all good men with him, and the evil god his world with all evil men with him: That darkness is the truest symbol of the evil god, and light the truest symbol of the good God. And therefore they always worshipped him before fire, as being the cause of light, and especially before the sun, as being, in their opinion, the perfectest fire, and causing the perfectest light. And for this reason, in all their temples they had fire continually burning on altars, erected in them for that purpose. And before these sacred fires they offered up all their publick devotions, as likewise they did all their private devotions before their private fires in their own houses. Thus did they pay the highest honour to light, as being in their opinion the truest representative of the good God, but always hated darkness, as being what they thought the truest representative of the evil god, whom they ever had in the utmost detestation, as we now have the devil; and for an instance here-

^v Vide Pocockii specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 146, 147 &c. & Historiam Religionis veterum Perfarum per Th. Hyde.

^u This Opinion Manes the Heretick received from them, and would have introduced it into the Christian Religion, it being the principal point, which those of his Heresy called from him Manichees, endeavoured to impose upon the world.

^{*} Plutarchus in Themistocle.

of, whenever they had an occasion in any of their writings to mention his name, they always wrote it backward, and inverfed, as thus, *Ἀβράμης*. And these were the tenets of this sect, when on the death of *Cambyfes*, *Smerdis* and *Patizithes*, the two chiefeft ringleaders of it, made that attempt for the ufurping of the fovereignty, which I have mentioned.

An. 521.
Darius I.

THE ^w seven princes who had flain these ufurpers, entering into confultation among themfelves about the fetling of the government, on the fixth day after came to this agreement. That the monarchy fhould be continued in the fame manner, as it had been eftablifhed by *Cyrus*, and that for the determining which of them fhould be the monarch, they fhould meet on horfeback the next morning againft the rifing of the fun, at a place in the fuburbs of the city; which they had appointed for it, and that he whose horfe fhould firft neigh fhould be the King. For the fun being then the great deity of the *Persians*, and equally adored by them all, whether of the *Sabian* or *Magian* feft, by this method they feemed to refer the election to it. But the groom of *Darius*, one of the seven princes, being informed of what was agreed on, made ufe of a device which fecured the crown to his mafter. For the night before having tyed a mare to the place where they were the next morning to meet, he brought *Darius's* horfe thither, and put him to cover the mare. And therefore as foon as the princes came thither at the time appointed, *Darius's* horfe, at the fight of the place remembring the mare, ran thither and neighed, whereon he was forthwith faluted King by the reft, and accordingly placed on the throne. He was the fon of *Hystafpes*, a noble *Persian* of the royal family of *Achæmenes*, who had followed *Cyrus* in all his wars. He was at that time governor of the Province of *Persia*, and fo continued for many years after his fon's advancement to the throne. This *Darius* in the writings of the later *Persians* is called *Gushtafph*, and his father *Lorafph*, and under these names they are much fpoken of in that countrey even to this day.

THE empire of *Persia* being thus reftored, and fettled by the wifdom and valour of these seven princes, they were afterwards admitted to extraordinary honours and privileges under the new King. For they were to have accefs to his prefence at all times, whenever they fhould defire, unlefs only when he was accompanying with any of his wives, and their advice was to be firft had in the management of all the publick affairs of the empire. And whereas the King only wore his turbant directly upright, and all others till then with its top reverfed, or turned backward, these had it by way of fpecial privilege granted unto them from thenceforth to wear their turbants with the top turned forward. For they having, when they went in to fall upon the *Magians*, turned the back part of their turbants forward, that they might by that fignal be the better known to each other in the fcuffle, in memory of this, as an efpecial mark of honour, they were permitted to wear their turbants in that manner ever afterward. And from this time the *Persian* Kings of this race had always seven chief counfellors in the fame manner privileged, who were their prime affiftants in the government, and by whose advice all the publick affairs of the empire were tranfacted, and under this character we find them both in ^{*} the book of *Ezra* and in [†] the book of *Efther* made mention of.

^w Herodot. lib. 3. Justin. lib. 1. c. 10.

^{*} Chap. vii. 14.

[†] Chap. i. 14.

As soon as *Darius* was settled in the throne,^a to establish him the firmer in it, he took to wife *Atossa* the daughter of *Cyrus*, and also another daughter of his called *Artistona*. The former had been before wife to *Cambyfes* her brother, and afterwards to *Smerdis the Magian*, while he usurped the throne. But *Artistona* was a virgin when he married her, and was the most belov'd by him of all his wives. Besides these, he took also to wife *Parmys*, the daughter of the true *Smerdis*, brother of *Cambyfes*, and *Phedyma* the daughter of *Otanes*, by whose means the imposture of the Magian was discovered, and by these had a great many children, both sons and daughters.

ALTHOUGH by the death of the usurper, his edict, which prohibited the building of the temple was now at an end, yet the *Jews* neglecting to resume the work^a God did for this reason smite the land with barrenness, so that both the vintage and the harvest fail'd them. But in the second year of *Darius*, they being by the prophet *Haggai* informed of the cause of this Judgment upon them, and exhorted to the doing of their duty for the averting of it, they betook themselves again to prepare for the carrying on of the work. It was on^b the first day of the sixth month (which answers to about the middle of our *August*) that the word of the Lord by *Haggai* the prophet came to *Zerubbabel* the son of *Salathiel*, governor of *Judea*, and to *Jeshua* the son of *Jozadack* the high-priest, concerning this matter. And^c on the twenty fourth day of the same month they being excited hereby arose with all the remnant of the people, and obeyed the voice of the Lord, and again applied themselves with all diligence to provide stone and timber, and all other materials, that were necessary for the again carrying on of the work. And to encourage them to go on vigorously herewith, on the twenty first day of the seventh month (*i. e.* about the beginning of our *October*)^d another message from God came to them by the same prophet, which not only assured them of his presence with them herein, to make it prosper in their hands, but also promised them that^e the glory of the later house, when built, should be greater than the glory of the former house; which was accordingly accomplished, when *Christ* our Lord came to this his temple, and honoured it with his presence. In all other respects this later temple, the same prophet tells us, at its first building was as nothing in comparison of the former.

IN the^f eighth month of the same year (which answers to part of our *October* and part of *November*) the word of the Lord came by *Zechariah* the prophet to the people of the *Jews*, exhorting them to repentance, and promising them mercy and favour on their obedience hereto.

ON the^g twenty fourth day of the ninth month (which fell about the beginning of our *December*) the *Jews*, after they had been employ'd from the twenty fourth day of the sixth month, in preparing materials for the temple, went on again with the building of it; whereon the prophet *Haggai* promised them from God a deliverance from that barrenness of their land, with which it had been smitten, and plentiful encrease of all its fruits for the future. And also^h delivered unto *Zerubbabel* a message from God, of mercy and favour unto him.

^a Herodotus, lib. 3.

^b Haggai i. 6, 8, 9, 10, 11. ii. 17, 19.

^c Haggai i. 1.

^d Haggai i. 15.

^e Haggai ii. 1.

^f Haggai i. 9.

^g Haggai ii. 3.

^h Zech. i. 1.

ⁱ Haggai ii. 18.

^j Haggai ii. 10---19.

^k Haggai ii. 20---23.

An. 519.
Darius 3. IN the beginning of the next year, (which was the third year of *Darius* according to the ¹ *Babylonian* and *Persian* account, but the second according to the *Jewish*) the *Samaritans* understanding that the building of the temple went on again, notwithstanding the stop which they had procured to be put to it in the last reign, they ^m betook themselves again to their old malicious practices for the obstructing of the work, and therefore applied themselves to *Tatnai*, whom *Darius* had made chief governor or prefect of all the provinces of *Syria* and *Palestine* (which was ⁿ one of the twenty prefectures into which he had lately divided his whole empire) and made complaint to him against the *Jews* as to this matter, suggesting that they proceeded herein without authority, and that it would tend to the prejudice of the King. Whereon *Tatnai* being accompanied by *Setharboznai* (who seems to have been then governor of *Samaria*) came to *Jerusalem*, to take an account of what was there a doing. But *Tatnai* being a man of temper and justice, after he had made a view of the building, did not proceed roughly and rashly to put a stop to it, but first enquired of the elders of the *Jews* by what authority they had gone on with it. And they having produced to him *Cyrus's* decree, he would not take upon him to contradict the same, or order any thing contrary to it upon his own authority, but first wrote letters to the King, to know his pleasure concerning it, wherein he fairly stated the case, setting forth the matter of fact, and also the *Jews* plea of *Cyrus's* decree for the justifying of themselves herein, and thereon requested, that search might be made among the records of the kingdom, whether there were any such decree granted by *Cyrus* or no, and that thereon the King would be pleased to signify unto him what he would have done herein. Whereon ^o search being made, and the decree being found among the rolls in the royal palace at *Ecbatana* in *Media*, where *Cyrus* was when he granted it, the King resolved to confirm the same. For having lately married two of the daughters of *Cyrus*, the better to fortify his title to the crown thereby, he thought it concerned him to do every thing that might tend to support the honour and veneration which was due to the memory of that great prince, and therefore would suffer nothing to be infringed of that which he had so solemnly granted, but ordered his royal decree to be drawn, wherein recitement being made of the decree of *Cyrus*, he commanded it in every particular to be observed, and sent it to *Tatnai*, and *Setharboznai*, to see it fully and effectually put in execution, decreeing that whosoever should alter the same, or put any obstruction to it, should have his house pulled down, and that a gallows being made of the timber of it, he should be hanged thereon.

ON ^p the twenty fourth day of the eleventh month (that is, about the beginning of our *February*) the prophet *Zechariah* had in a vision that revelation made unto him, which is contained in the book of his prophecies, from the 7th verse of the 1st chapter to the 9th verse of the vith chapter. The

¹ For the *Babylonians* and *Persians* at this time began their year from the beginning of January; but the *Jews* from *Nisan*, about ten or eleven weeks after. And therefore seeing the eighth month (which answers in part to our *October*) was according to *Zechariah* (ch. i. v. 1.) in the second year of *Darius*, whatsoever was acted from the beginning of January, within a year after must be in the third year of *Darius*, according to the *Babylonish* account, and also according to the exact truth of the matter. For *Darius* began his reign with the beginning of the *Babylonish* year. ^m *Ezra* v. 3---17.

ⁿ *Herodotus*, lib. 3.

^o *Ezra* vi.

^p *Zechariah* i. 7.

substance of which is to express the mercy that God would shew unto his people in the restoration and redemption of *Sion*, and the vengeance which he would execute upon those that had oppressed them.

ABOUT the beginning of the fourth year of *Darius*, his decree which confirmed that of *Cyrus* in favour of the *Jews* was brought to *Jerusalem*. It was about the beginning of the former year, that *Tatnai* sent to the King about it, and less than a year's time cannot be well allowed for the dispatch of such an affair. For the King then residing at *Shushan* in *Persia*, was at such a distance from *Judea*, that the journey of the messenger thither to him could not take up less than three months time, (for ^a *Ezra* was four months in coming to *Judea* from *Babylon*, which was at least one quarter of the way nearer) and on his arrival it cannot be supposed, that in a court where the government of so great an empire was managed, he could immediately come at a dispatch. The multiplicity of other affairs there agitated must necessarily detain him some time, before it could come to his turn to be heard for the delivery of his message, and when he had obtained an order to search among the records of the empire for the decree of *Cyrus*, (which we cannot imagine to have been without a farther time of attendance) he or some other messenger first went to *Babylon* to make the search there, and on his failing of finding it in that place, he went from thence to ^c *Ecbatana* the capital of *Media*, where having found the enrolment of it (for it seems *Cyrus* was there when he granted it) he returned with it from thence to *Shushan*. In which three journeys and two searches, considering the distance of the said three places from each other, and the vast number of records which in the registries of so large an empire must be turned over for the finding of that which was searched for, less than five months could not have been expended. And when the record of *Cyrus's* decree was brought from *Ecbatana* to *Shushan*, a month is the least time that can be supposed for the dispatch of the new decree which *Darius* made in confirmation of it; and then three months more must be allowed for the carrying of it to *Tatnai*, and from him to *Judea*. All which put together make a full year, from the time of *Tatnai's* writing his letter, to the time of the arrival of *Darius's* decree in answer to it. When *Tatnai* and *Setharboznai*, on the perusal of it, found how strictly the King required obedience to be given thereto, they durst not but act in conformity to it, ^c and therefore they did immediately let the *Jews* know hereof, and forthwith took care to have it fully and effectually put in execution. And from that time the building of the house went on so successfully, that it was fully finished within three years after. For by virtue of this decree the *Jews* were not only fully authorized to go on with the building, but were also furnished with the expences of it out of the taxes of the province. This had been granted by *Cyrus* in the former decree, but by the underhand dealings of the *Samaritans*, and other enemies, in corrupting those, thro' whose hands the administration of the publick affairs and publick revenues passed, this part of *Cyrus's* decree was rendered ineffectual during a great part of his reign, and thro' the whole reign of *Cambyses*. And therefore during all that time the *Jews* being left to carry on the work at their own charges only, and they being then very poor, as being newly returned

An. 518.
Darius 4.

^a Ezra vii. 9.

^c This is the same that is now called Tauris.

^c Ezra vi. 13. and

Josephus Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 4.

from their captivity, it went very slowly on. But being now helped again by the King's bounty, they followed it with that diligence, that they soon brought it to a conclusion.

THE publishing of this decree at *Jerusalem* may be reckoned the thorough restoration of the *Jewish* state. And from the thorough destruction of it in the burning of the city and temple of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans* to this time is just seventy years. The time falling so exactly, and the prophet *Zechariah* confirming it by expressing under ' the fourth year of *Darius*, that the mourning and fasting of the *Jews* for the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the utter driving of them out of the land on the death of *Gedaliah* was then ' just seventy years; this hath given a plausible handle to some for the placing of the beginning of the seventy years of the *Babylonish* captivity, spoken of by *Jeremiah*, at the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the end of them at the publication of this decree of *Darius*. But the Scripture plainly tells us, that these seventy years as prophesied of by the prophet *Jeremiah*, began * from the fourth year of *Jehoiakim*, and expired * on the first of *Cyrus*, on his then granting his decree for the rebuilding of the temple, and the return of the *Jews* again into their own land. But this matter will admit of a very easy reconciliation, for both computations may very well stand together. For though the *Babylonish* captivity did begin from the fourth of *Jehoiakim*, when *Nebuchadnezzar* first subjugated the land, and carried away to *Babylon* the first captives, yet it was not completed till he had absolutely destroyed it in the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, which was just eighteen years after. And so likewise, tho' the deliverance from this captivity, and the restoration of the *Jewish* state thereon, was begun by the decree of *Cyrus* in the first year of his reign, yet it was not completed till that decree was put in full vigour of execution by the decree which *Darius* granted in the fourth year of his reign for the confirmation of it, which was also just eighteen years after. And therefore if we reckon from the beginning of the captivity to the beginning of the restoration, we must reckon from the fourth year of *Jehoiakim* to the first of *Cyrus*, which was just seventy years; and if we reckon from the completion of the captivity to the completion of the restoration, we must reckon from the eleventh year of *Zedekiah* to the fourth of *Darius*, which was also just seventy years. So that whether we reckon from the beginning of the captivity to the beginning of the restoration, or from the completing of the captivity to the completing of the restoration, *Jeremiah's* prophecy of the seventy years captivity will be both ways equally accomplished, and therefore I doubt not but that both ways were equally intended therein, tho' the words of the prophecy seem chiefly to refer to the former.

ON the publication of this decree of *Darius*, and the care that was taken to have it fully put in execution, without suffering any of those devices to obstruct it, which had rendered the former decree ineffectual, the work of the temple went on very successfully, and the state of the *Jews* in *Judea* and *Jerusalem* seemed so thoroughly restored, that the *Jews* who were in *Babylon*, on their having had an account hereof, thought it might not be any longer proper to keep those fasts, which hitherto they had observed

* Zech. vii. 1.

v Zech. vii. 5.

w Jer. xxv.

* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20---23.

for seventy years past, for the destruction which *Judah* and *Jerusalem* had suffered from the *Chaldeans* in the time of *Zedekiah*, as looking on them now to have obtained a thorough restoration from it. And therefore ¹sent messengers to *Jerusalem*, *Sherezer* and *Regem-melech*, to ask advice of the priests and prophets that were there, concerning this matter. For from the time of the destruction of the city and temple of *Jerusalem*, the *Jews* of the captivity had kept four fasts in commemoration of the calamities which then hapned to their nation; the ²first on the tenth day of the tenth month, because then *Nebuchadnezzar* first laid siege to *Jerusalem* in the ninth year of *Zedekiah*; the ³second on the ninth day of the fourth month, because on that day the city was taken; the third ⁴on the tenth day of the fifth month, because then the city and temple were burnt by *Nebuzaradan*; and the fourth ⁵on the third day of the seventh month, because on that day *Gedaliah* was slain, and the remainder of the people were thereon dispersed and driven out of the land, which completed the desolation of it. Concerning all which fasts, and the question of the *Babylonish Jews* proposed concerning them, God gave them by the prophet *Zachariah* that answer, which we have in the seventh and eighth chapters of his prophecies. Therein ⁶the fasts of the fifth and seventh month are said to have been observed for seventy years past. And from the nineteenth year of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Jewish* account, (which was the seventeenth according to the *Babylonish* account) ⁷when *Jerusalem* was destroyed to the fourth year of *Darius Hystaspis*, when the *Jewish* state was again thoroughly restored, were just seventy years according to the canon of *Ptolomy*. So the sacred and prophane chronology do both exactly agree in this matter. The *Jews* still observe these four fasts even to this day, tho' not exactly on the same days in their ⁸present calendar, as in the former.

IN the beginning of the fifth year of *Darius* hapned ⁹the revolt of the *Babylonians*, which cost him the trouble of a tedious siege again to reduce them. For it lasted twenty months. This city having for many years during the *Babylonish* empire been the mistress of the east, and domineer'd over all the countries round about them, could not bear the subjection which they were fallen under to the *Persians*, especially after they had removed the imperial seat of the empire from *Babylon* to *Shushan*. For that much diminished the grandeur, pride and wealth of the place, which they thought they could no other way again retrieve, but by setting up for themselves against the *Persians*, under a King of their own, in the same manner as they had formerly done under *Nabopolassar* against the *Assyrians*. And therefore taking the advantage of the revolution which hapned in the *Persian* empire, first on the death of *Cambyses*, and after on the slaying of the Magians, they began to lay in all manner of provisions for the war; and after they had covertly done this for four years together, till

An. 517.
Darius 5.

¹ Zech. vii. ² 2 Kings xxv. 1. Jer. lii. 4. Zech. viii. 19. ³ 2 Kings xxv. 3.
Jer. xxix. 2. Zech. viii. 19. ⁴ Jer. lii. 12. Zech. vii. 3. 5. and viii. 19. ⁵ Jer. xli. 1.
Zech. vii. 5. and viii. 19. ⁶ Zech. vii. 1. ⁷ 2 Kings xxv. 8. Jer. lii. 12.
⁸ * Their present Calendar was made by R. Hillel, about the year of our Lord 360. Their former year was a lunar year reconciled to a solar by intercalations, but in what form is uncertain, only it was always to have its beginning about the time of the vernal equinox, to which season the products of their flocks and their fields, which were required to be used at their feasts of the passover, and the pentecost, necessarily fixed it.
⁹ Herod. lib. 3. Justin. lib. 1. c. 10. Polyænus, lib. 7.

they had fully stored the city for many years to come, in the fifth year they broke out into an open revolt, which drew *Darius* upon them with all his forces to besiege the city. In the beginning of the third year of *Darius*, we learn from the prophet *Zachariah*, that ^sthe whole empire was then in peace; and therefore the revolt could not then have hapned; and the message of *Sherezzer* and *Regem-melech* from *Babylon*, ^hin the fourth year of his reign proves the same for that year also. And therefore it could not be till the fifth year that this war broke out. As soon as ⁱthe *Babylonians* saw themselves begirt by such an army as they could not cope with in the field, they turned their thoughts wholly to the supporting of themselves in the siege; in order whereto they took a resolution, the most desperate and barbarous that ever any nation practised. For to make their provisions last the longer, they agreed to cut off all unnecessary mouths among them; and therefore drawing together all the women and children, they strangled them all, whether wives, sisters, daughters, or young children useless for the wars, excepting only that every man was allowed to save one of his wives, which he best loved, and a maid-servant to do the work of the house. And hereby was very signally fulfilled the prophecy of *Isaiab* against them, in which he foretold, *That* ^k*two things should come to them in a moment, in one day, the loss of children and widowhood, and that these should come upon them in their perfection for the multitude of their sorceries, and the great abundance of their enchantments.* And in what greater perfection could these calamities come upon them, than when they themselves thus upon themselves became the executioners of them? And in many other particulars did God then execute his vengeance upon this wicked and abominable city, which was foretold by several of the prophets; and the *Jews* were as often ^lwarned to come out of the place before the time of its approach, that they might not be involved in it. And especially ^mthe prophet *Zachariah* about two years before sent them a call from God, that is, to *Zion*, *that dwell with the daughter of Babylon, to flee and come forth from that land*, that they might be delivered from the plague which God was going to inflict upon it. And when *Sherezzer* and *Regem-melech* returned to *Babylon*, no doubt they carried back with them from this prophet a repetition of the same call; and altho' it be no where said, that they paid obedience to it, and so saved themselves; yet we may take it for certain, that they did, and by seasonably removing from *Babylon* before the siege begun, avoided partaking of the calamities of it. For almost all the prophecies concerning this heavy judgment upon *Babylon* speaking of it, as the vengeance of God upon them for their cruel dealings with his people, when they were delivered into their hands; and they all at the same time promising peace, mercy and favour to all that were of his people; and particularly such a promise having been sent them but the year before ⁿby *Sherezzer* and *Regem-melech*, it is utterly inconsistent with the whole tenour of these sacred predictions, that any of the *Jewish* nation should be sufferers with the *Babylonians* in this war, and therefore we may assuredly infer, that they were all gone out of this place before this war begun.

An. 516.
Darius 6.

D A R I U S having lain before *Babylon* a year and eight months,

^s Zech. i. 11---15.

^h Zech. vii. 1---3.

ⁱ Herod. lib. 3.

^k Isai. xlviii. 9.

^l Isai. xlviii. 20. Jer. 1. 8. & 14. 6. 9. 45.

^m Zech. ii. 6---9.

ⁿ Zech. viii.

*at length toward the end of the sixth year of his reign he took it by the stratagem of *Zopyrus*, one of his chief commanders. For he having cut off his nose and ears, and mangled his body all over with stripes, fled in this condition to the besieged, where feigning to have suffered all this by the cruel usage of *Darius*, he grew thereby so far into their confidence, as at length to be made the chief commander of their forces, which trust he made use of to deliver the city to his master, which could scarce have been any other way taken. For the walls by reason of their height and strength made the place impregnable against all storms, batteries and assaults; and it being furnished with provisions for a great many years, and having also *large quantities of void ground within the city, from the cultivation of which it might annually be supplied with much more, it could never have been starved into a surrender; and therefore at length it must have wearied and worn out *Darius* and all his army, had it not been thus delivered into his hands by this stratagem of *Zopyrus*, for which he deservedly rewarded him with the highest honours he could heap on him all his life after. As soon as *Darius* was master of the place, he took away *all their hundred gates, and beat down * their walls from two hundred cubits (which was their former height) to fifty cubits, and of these walls only * *Strabo*, and other after-writers are to be understood, when they describe the walls of *Babylon* to be no more than fifty cubits high. And as to the inhabitants, after having given them for a spoil to his *Persians*, who had been before their servants, according to the prophesy of *Zachariah*, (c. ii. 9.) and impaled three thousand of the most guilty and active of them in the revolt, he pardoned all the rest. But by reason of the destruction they had made of their women in the beginning of the siege, he was forced to send for fifty thousand of that sex out of the other provinces of the empire to supply them with wives, without which the place must soon have become depopulated for want of propagation.

AND here it is to be observed, that the punishment of *Babylon* kept pace with the restoration of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, according to the prophesy of the prophet *Jeremiah* (ch. xxv. 12, 13.) whereby he foretold, That *when the seventy years of Judah's captivity should be accomplished, God would punish the King of Babylon, and that nation for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans, and would make it a perpetual desolation, and would bring upon that land all the words which he had pronounced against it.* For accordingly, when the restoration of *Judah* began in the first of *Cyrus*, after the expiration of the first seventy years, that is, from the fourth of *Jehoiakim* to the first of *Cyrus*, then began *Babylon's* punishment in being conquered and subjected to the *Persians*, in the same manner as they had conquered and subjected the *Jews* to them, in the beginning of the said seventy years. And after the expiration of the second seventy years, that is, from the nineteenth of *Nebuchadnezzar*, when *Judah* and *Jerusalem* were thoroughly desolated, to the fourth of *Darius*, when the restoration of both was completed, then the desolation of *Babylon* was also in a great measure completed in the devallation, which was then brought

* Herod. lib. 3. Justin. lib. 1. c. 10. Polyænus, lib. 7. * Q. Curtius, lib. 5. c. 1. Per 90
Stadia habitatur, cætera serunt coluntque, ut si externa vis ingruat, obsecissis alimenta ex ipsius ur-
bis solo subministrantur. * Jer. li. 58. Herod. ibid. * Jer. l. 15. and li. 44, 58.
Herod. ibid. * Strabo, lib. 16.

upon it by *Darius*. In the first part of their punishment their King was slain, and their city taken, and thenceforth, from being *the lady of kingdoms*, and mistress of all the east, it became subject to the *Persians*. And whereas before it had been the metropolis of a great empire, this honour was now taken from it, and the imperial seat removed from thence to *Shushan* or *Susa*, (for this seems to have been done in the first year of *Cyrus*'s reign over the whole empire) and *Babylon* thenceforth instead of having a King, had only a deputy residing there, who govern'd it as a province of the *Persian* empire. And at the same time that the city was thus brought under, the countrey was desolated and destroyed by the inundation, that was caused by turning of the river on the taking of the city, which hath been already spoken of, and thereon it became *a possession for the bittern, and pools of water*, as the Prophet *Isaiah* foretold, (ch. xiv. 23.) *and the sea came up upon Babylon, and she was covered with the multitude of the waves thereof*, according as *Jeremiah* prophesied hereof (ch. li. 42.) And in the second part of their punishment on *Darius*'s taking the place, all that calamity and devastation was brought upon it, which hath been already spoken of, and from that it did never any more recover it self, but languished a while, and at length ended, according to the words of *Jeremiah*, *in a perpetual desolation*.

An. 515.
Darius 7.

IN the sixth year of *Darius*, according to the *Jewish* account, and on the third day of the twelfth month, called the month of *Adar*, (which answered to part of the third, and part of the fourth month of the *Babylonish* year, and consequently was in the seventh year of *Darius*, according to the *Babylonish* account) "the building of the temple at *Jerusalem* was finished, and the dedication of it was celebrated by the priests and *Levites*, and all the rest of the congregation of *Israel*, with great joy and solemnity. And among other sacrifices then offered, there was a sin-offering for all *Israel* of twelve he-goats, according to the number of the tribes of *Israel*, which is a farther addition of proof to what hath been above-said, that on the return of *Judah* and *Benjamin* from the *Babylonish* captivity, some also of each of the other tribes of *Israel* returned with them out of *Assyria*, *Babylon*, and *Media*, whither they had been before carried, and joining with them in the rebuilding of the temple, (to which they had originally an equal right) partaked also in the solemnity of this dedication, otherwise there is no reason why any such offering should have been then made in their behalf. But the most of them that returned being of the tribe of *Judah*, that swallowed up the names of all the rest, for from this time the whole people of *Israel*, of what tribe soever they were, began to be called *Jews*, and by that name they have all of them been ever since known all the world over.

THIS work was twenty years in finishing. For so many years were elapsed from the second of *Cyrus* when it was first begun, to the seventh of *Darius* when it was fully finished. During the latter part of the reign of *Cyrus*, and thro' the whole reign of *Cambyses*, it met with such discouragements thro' the fraudulent devices of the *Samaritans*, that it went but slowly on for all that time. And during the usurpation of the *Magians*,

* *Isaiah* xlvii. 5.
Demonst. Evang. lib. 8.

† *Ezra* vi. 15---18.

‡ *Josephus* Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5. Euseb.

and for almost ^w two years after, it was wholly suppressed, that is, till towards the latter end of the second year of the reign of *Darius*. But then it being again resumed on the preaching of the prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, and afterwards encouraged and helped forward by the decree of *Darius*, it was thenceforth carried on with that vigour, especially thro' the exhortations and prophecies of the two prophets I have mentioned, that in the beginning of the seventh year of *Darius* it was fully finished, and dedicated anew to the service of God, in the manner as hath been said. In this dedication the cxlvith, cxlvith, and the cxlvith *Psalms* seem to have been sung. For in the *Septuagint* version they are styled the *Psalms* of *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, as if they had been composed by them for this occasion. And this, no doubt, was from some ancient tradition, but in the original *Hebrew* these *Psalms* have no such title prefix'd to them, neither have they any other to contradict it.

THE decree whereby this temple was finished, having been granted by *Darius* at his palace in *Shushan*, (or *Susa*, as the *Greeks* call the place) in remembrance hereof ^x the eastern gate in the outer wall of the temple was from this time called the gate of *Shushan*, and a picture and draught of that city was portrayed in sculpture over it, and there continued till the last destruction of that temple by the *Romans*.

IN the next month after the dedication, which was the Month *Nisan*, the first of the *Jewish* year, the temple being now made fit for all parts of the divine service, ^y the passover was observed in it on the fourteenth day of that month, according to the law of God, and solemnized by all the children of *Israel* that were then returned from the captivity, with great joy and gladness of heart, because, saith the book of *Ezra*, ^z *The Lord hath made them joyful, and turned the heart of the king of Assyria unto them, to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God, the God of Israel;* from whence ^a archbishop *Usher* infers, that *Babylon* must necessarily have been reduced by *Darius* before this time. For otherwise he thinks he could not have been here styled King of *Assyria*, *Babylon* being then the metropolis of that Kingdom.

AND if we will add one stage more to the two above-mentioned, of the captivity and restoration of *Judah*, and place the full completion of the captivity in the twenty third of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the *Jewish* account, (which was the twenty first according to the *Babylonish*) ^b when *Nebuzaradan* carried away the last remainder of the land: And the full completion of the restoration at the finishing of the temple, and the restoration of the divine worship therein, this stage will have the like distance of seventy years. For the dedication of this temple, and the solemnizing of the first passover in it, being in the seventh year of *Darius*, it will fall in the seventieth year from the ^c said twenty third of *Nebuchadnezzar*, according to *Ptolemy's* canon. So that taking it which way you will, and at what stage you please, the prophecy of *Jeremiah* will be fully and exactly accomplished concerning this matter. And here ending the rebuilding of the second temple, I shall herewith end this book.

^w In the first of *Esdra*s, Ver. 73. it's said, That the time of the stop, which was put to the building, was two years. ^x See *Lightfoot* of the Temple, c. 3. ^y *Ezra* vi. 19---22. ^z *Ezra* vi. 22.

^a *Annales veteris Testamenti* sub A. M. 3489. ^b *Jer.* lii. 30. ^c That is, reckoning the twenty third year of *Nebuchadnezzar* according to the Jewish account, to be the twenty first according to the Babylonish account, which *Ptolemy* went by.

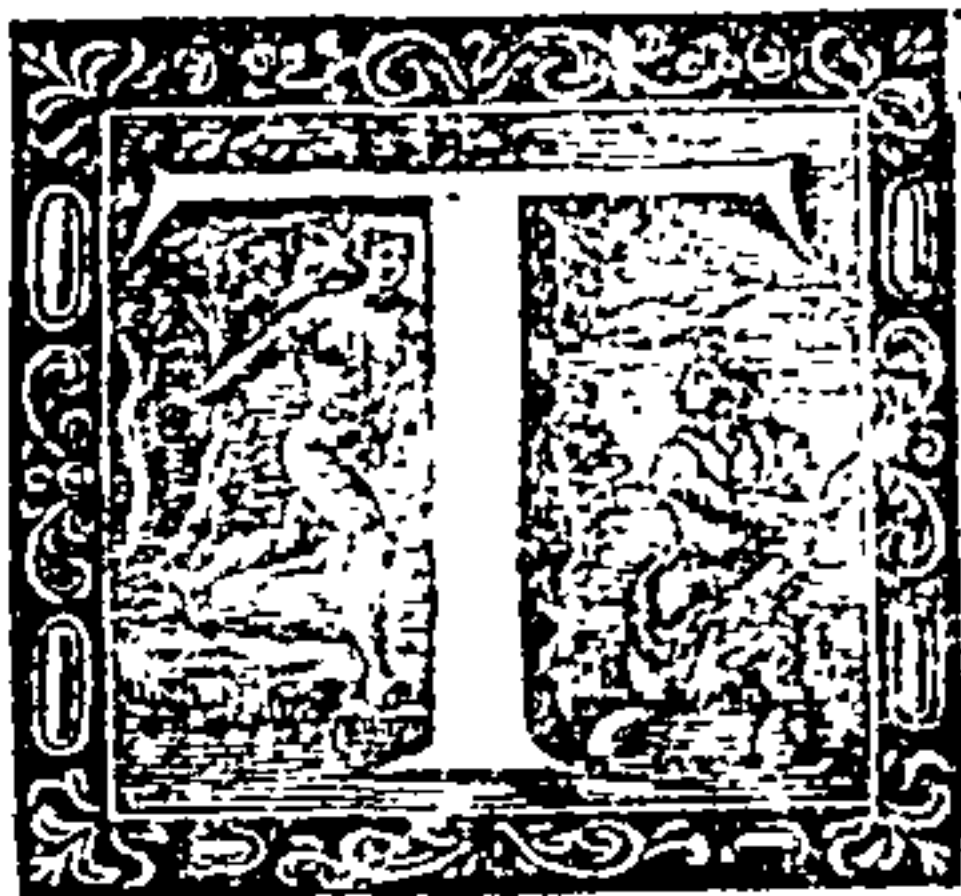


T H F
Old and New TESTAMENT
 Connected in the
 H I S T O R Y
 O F T H E
 J E W S and Neighbouring Nations,
 F R O M T H E
 Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
 to the time of CHRIST.



B O O K I V.

An. 514.
Darius 8.



THE *Samaritans* still carrying on their former spite and rancor against the *Jews*, gave them new trouble on this occasion. The tribute of *Samaria* had been assigned first^a by *Cyrus*, and afterwards^b by *Darius*, for the reparation of the temple at *Jerusalem*, and the furnishing of the *Jews* with sacrifices, that oblations and prayers might there daily be offered up for the King and the royal family, and for the welfare and prosperity of the *Persian* empire. This was a matter of great regret and heart-burning to the *Samaritans*, and was in truth the source and the true

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 1.

^b Joseph. lib. 11. c. 4.

^c Ezra vi. 8, 9, 10.

original reason of all the oppositions which they made against them. For they thought it an indignity upon them to be forced to pay their tribute to the *Jews*, and therefore they did * by bribes, and other underhand dealings, prevail with the ministers, and other officers to whose charge this matter belonged, during the latter part of the reign of *Cyrus*, and all the time of *Cambyfes*, to put a stop to this assignment, and did all else that they could wholly to quash it. But the grant being again * renewed by *Darius*, and the execution of it so strictly enjoined in the manner as hath been before related, the tribute was thenceforth annually paid to the end for which it was assigned, without any more gainsaying till this year. But now, on pretence that the temple was finished, (though the out-buildings still remained unrepaired, and were not finished till many years after) they * refused to let the *Jews* any longer have the tribute, alledging, that it being assigned them for the repairing of their temple, now the temple was repaired the end of that assignment was ceased, and that consequently the payment of the said tribute was to cease with it, and for this reason would pay it no longer to them. Whereon the *Jews*, to right themselves in this matter, sent *Zerubbabel* the governor, with *Mordecai* and *Ananias*, two other principal men among them, with a complaint to *Darius* of the wrong that was done to them, in the detaining of his royal bounty from them, contrary to the purport of the edict which he had in that behalf made. The King, on the hearing of the complaint, and the informing of himself about it, issued out his royal order to his officers at *Samarina*, strictly requiring and commanding them to take effectual care, that the *Samaritans* observe his edict in paying their tribute to the temple of *Jerusalem* as formerly; and no more, on any pretence whatsoever, give the *Jews* any cause for the future to complain of their failure herein. And after this we hear no more of any opposition or contest concerning this matter, till the time of *Sanballat*, which was many years after.

FROM the time of the reduction of *Babylon*, * *Darius* had set himself to make great preparations for a war against the *Scythians*, that inhabited those countries which lye between the *Danube* and the *Tanais*; his pretence for it was to be revenged on them for their having invaded *Asia*, and held it in subjection to them eight and twenty years, as hath been afore related. This was in the time of *Cyaxares*, the first of that name King of *Media*, about an hundred and twenty years before. But for want of a better colour for that, which his ambition and thirst for conquest only led him to, this was given out for the reason of the war. In order whereto, having drawn together an army of seven hundred thousand men, he marched with them to the *Thracian Bosphorus*, and having there passed over it on a bridge of boats he brought all *Thrace* in subjection to him, and then marched to the *Ister*, or *Danube*, where he appointed his fleet to come to him, (which consisted mostly of *Ionians*, and other *Grecian* nations, dwelling in the maritime parts of *Asia*, and on the *Hellepont*) he there passed over another bridge of boats into the countrey of the *Scythians*, and having there for three months time pursued them through several desert and uncultivated countries; where they drew him, by their flight, of

Am. 513.
Darius 9.

* Ezra iv. 5. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 2.

* Ezra vi.

* Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 4.

* Herod. lib. 4. Justin. lib. 2. c. 5. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

purpose to harass and destroy his army, he was glad at last to return with one half of them, having lost the other half in this unfortunate and ill projected expedition. And had not the *Ionians* by the persuasion of *Hestæus* prince of *Miletus*, (or tyrant, as the *Grecians* call him) contrary to the opinion of others among them, staid with the fleet to afford him a passage back, he and all the rest must have perished also. *Miltiades*, prince of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, which lyes at the mouth of the *Hellepont*, being one of those who attended *Darius* with his ships, was earnest for their departure, and the first that moved it, telling them, that by their going away, and leaving *Darius* and his army to perish on the other side of the *Danube*, they had a fair opportunity of breaking the power of the *Persians*, and delivering themselves from the yoke of that tyranny, which would be to the advantage of every one of their respective countries. This was urged by him in a council of the chief commanders, and would certainly have taken place, but that *Hestæus* in answer hereto soon made them sensible what a dangerous risk they were going to run. For he convinced them, that if this were done, the people of each of their cities, being freed from the fear of the *Persians*, would immediately rise upon them to recover their liberties, and this would end in the ruine of every one of them, who now with sovereign authority under the protection of *Darius* securely reigned over them. Which being the true state of their case, this argument prevailed with them, so that they all resolved to stay, and this gave *Darius* the means of again repassing the river into *Thrace*, where having left *Megabyzus* one of his chief commanders with part of his army to finish his conquests in those parts, and thoroughly settle the countrey in his obedience, he repassed the *Bosphorus* with the rest, and retired to *Sardis*, where he staid all the winter, and the most part of the ensuing year, to refresh his broken forces, and re-settle his affairs in those parts of his empire, after the shock that had been given them by the baffle and loss which he had sustained in this ill-advised expedition.

An. 512.
Darius
10.

MEGABYZUS having reduced most of the nations of *Thrace* under the *Persian* yoke, returned to *Sardis* to *Darius*,^a and from thence accompanied him to *Susa*, whither he marched back about the end of the year, after having appointed *Artaphernes*, one of his brothers, governor of *Sardis*, and *Otanes* chief commander of *Thrace*, and the maritime parts adjoining, in the place of *Megabyzus*. This *Otanes* was the son of *Sisamnes*, one of the royal judges of *Persia*, who having been convicted of bribery and corruption by *Cambyses*, there is related this remarkable instance of that King's justice towards him, that he caused him to be flay'd alive, and making with his skin a covering for the seat of the tribunal, made this his son, whom he appointed to succeed him in his office, to sit thereon, that being thus put in mind of his father's punishment, he might thereby be admonish'd to avoid his crime.

An. 510.
Darius
12.

THE *Scythians*, to be revenged on *Darius* for his invading their countrey,ⁱ pass'd over the *Danube*, and ravaged all those parts of *Thrace* that had submitted to the *Persians* as far as the *Hellepont*, whereon *Miltiades* to avoid their rage fled from the *Chersonesus*, but on the retreat of the e-

^a Herodotus, lib. 5.
Marcellinus, lib. 24.

ⁱ Herodotus, lib. 5. Valerius Maximus, lib. 6. c. 3. Ammianus
^j Herodotus, lib. 6.

nemy he returned, and was again reinstated in his former power by the inhabitants of the countrey.

ABOUT this time *Darius*, being desirous to enlarge his dominions eastward, in order to the conquering of those countries, laid a design of first making a discovery of them, ^k for which purpose having built a fleet of ships at *Caspatyrus*, a city on the river *Indus*, and as far up upon it as the borders of *Scythia*, he gave the command of it to *Scylax* a *Grecian* of *Caryandia*, a city in *Caria*, and one well skill'd in maritime affairs, and sent him down the river to make the best discoveries he could of all the parts which lay on the banks of it on either side, ordering him for this end to sail down the current till he should arrive at the mouth of the river, and that then passing through it into the southern ocean he should shape his course westward, and that way return home. Which orders he having exactly executed, he returned by the streights of *Babelmandel* and the red sea, and on the thirtieth month after his first setting out from *Caspatyrus* landed in *Egypt*, at the same place, from whence *Necho* King of *Egypt* formerly sent out his *Phœnicians* to sail round the coasts of *Africa*, which it's most likely was the port where now the town of *Sues* stands, at the hither end of the said red sea. And from thence he went to *Susa*, and there gave *Darius* an account of all the discoveries which he had made. After this *Darius* entred *India* with an army, and brought all that large countrey under him, and ^l made it the twentieth prefecture of his empire, from whence he annually received a tribute of three hundred and sixty talents of gold, according to the number of the days of the then *Persian* year, appointing a talent to be paid him for every day in it. This payment was made him according to the standard of the *Euboic* talent, which was near the same with the *Attic*, and therefore according to the lowest computation it ^m amounted to the value of one million and ninety five thousand pound of our money.

A ⁿ sedition happening in *Naxus*, the chief island of the *Cyclades* in the *Egean* sea, now called the *Archipelago*, and the better sort being therein overpowered by the greater number, many of the wealthiest of the inhabitants were expelled the island, and driven into banishment. Whereon retiring to *Miletus*, they there begged the assistance of *Aristagoras*, for the restoring of them again to their countrey. This *Aristagoras* then governed that city as deputy to *Hestæus*, whose nephew and son-in-law he was, *Hestæus* being then absent at *Susa* in *Persia*. For *Darius* on his return to *Sardis*, after his unfortunate expedition against the *Scythians*, being thoroughly informed that he owed the safety of himself, and all his army to *Hestæus*, in that he persuaded the *Ionians* not to desert him at the *Danube*, sent for him to come to him, and having acknowledged his service bid him ask his reward. Whereon he desired of him the *Edonian Myrcinus*, a territory on the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, in order to build a city there, and having obtained his request, immediately on his return to *Miletus* he equipped a fleet and sailed for *Thrace*, and having there taken possession of the territory granted him, did forthwith set himself on the enterprize of building his intended city in the place projected. *Megabyzus* being then governor of *Thrace*, for *Darius*, soon saw what danger this might create

^k Herodot. lib. 4.

^l Herodot. lib. 3.

^m For according to the lowest valuation an Attic talent of gold amounts to three thousand pound of our money.

ⁿ Herodot. lib. 5.

to the King's affairs in those parts. For he considered that the new-built city stood upon a navigable river, that the countrey thereabout afforded abundance of timber for the building of ships, that it was inhabited by several nations both of *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, which could furnish a great multitude of men fit for military service both by sea and land; that if these should get such a crafty and enterprising person as *Hestiaeus* at the head of them, they might soon grow to a power both by sea and land too hard for the King to master, and that especially since from their silver and gold mines, of which there were many in that countrey, they might be furnished with means enough to carry on any enterprize they should undertake. All this on his return to *Sardis* he represented unto the King, who being thereby made fully sensible of the error he had committed, for the remedying of it sent a messenger to *Myrcinus*, to call *Hestiaeus* to *Sardis* to him, under pretence that having great matters in design, he wanted his counsel and advice concerning them, by which means having gotten him into his power he carried him with him to *Susa*, pretending that he needed such an able counsellor and so faithful a friend to be always about him to advise with on all occasions that might happen, and that he would make him so far a partaker of his fortunes by his royal bounty to him in *Persia*, that he should have no reason any more to think either of *Myrcinus* or *Miletus*. *Hestiaeus* hereon seeing himself under a necessity of obeying, accompanied *Darius* to *Susa*, and appointed *Aristagoras* to govern at *Miletus* in his absence, and to him the banished *Naxians* applied for relief. As soon as *Aristagoras* understood from them their case, he entertained a design of improving this opportunity to the making of himself master of *Naxus*, and therefore readily promised them all the relief and assistance which they desired. But not being strong enough of himself to accomplish what he intended, he went to *Sardis*, and communicated the matter to *Artaphernes*, telling him, that this was an opportunity offered for the putting of a rich and fertile island into the King's hands; that if he had that, all the rest of the *Cyclades* would of course fall under his power also; and that then *Eubæa*, an island as big as *Cyprus*, lying next, would be an easy conquest, from whence he would have an open passage into *Greece*, for the bringing of all that countrey under his obedience, and that an hundred ships would be sufficient to accomplish this enterprize. *Artaphernes* on the hearing of the proposal was so much pleased with it, that instead of the hundred ships which *Aristagoras* demanded, he promised him two hundred, provided the King liked hereof, and accordingly on his writing to him having received his answer of approbation, he sent him the next spring to *Miletus* the number of ships which he had promised, under the command of *Megabates*, a noble *Persian* of the *Achaemenian* or royal family. But his commission being to obey the orders of *Aristagoras*, and the haughty *Persian* not brooking to be under the command of an *Ionian*, this created a dissension between the two generals, which was carried on so far, that *Megabates* to be revenged on *Aristagoras* betrayed the design to the *Naxians*, whereon they provided so fully for their defence, that after the *Persians* had in the siege of the chief city of the island spent four months, and all their provisions, they were forced to retire for want wherewith there any longer to subsist, and so the whole plot miscarried; the blame whereof being by *Megabates* all laid upon *Aristagoras*, and the false accusations of the one being more favourably heard than the just defence of the other, *Artaphernes* charged on him

An. 503.
Darius
19.

him all the expences of the expedition, and it was given him to understand, that they would be exacted of him to the utmost penny; which being more than he was able to pay, he foresaw that this must end not only in the loss of his government, but also in his utter ruine, and therefore being driven into extremities by the desperateness of his case, he entertained thoughts of rebelling against the King, as the only way left him for the extricating of himself out of this difficulty, and while he had this under consideration came a message to him from *Hestæus*, which advised the same thing. For *Hestæus*, after several years continuance at the *Persian* court, being weary of their manners, and exceeding desirous of being again in his own countrey, sent this advice unto *Aristagoras*, as the likeliest means to accomplish his aim herein. For he concluded that if there were any combustions raised in *Ionian*, he should easily prevail with *Darius* to send him thither to appease them, as it accordingly came to pass. *Aristagoras* therefore finding his own inclinations backed with the order of *Hestæus*, communicated the matter to the chief of the *Ionians*, and finding them all ready to join with him in what he propos'd, he fixed his resolutions for a revolt, and immediately set himself to make all manner of preparations to put them in execution.

THE *Tyrians*, after the taking of their city by *Nebuchadnezzar*, having been reduced to a state of servitude, continued under the pressure of it full seventy years. But these being now expired, they were again, according to the °prophecy of *Isaiah*, restored to their former privileges, and were allowed to have a King again of their own, and accordingly had so till the time of *Alexander*. This favour seems to have been granted them by *Darius*, in consideration of their usefulness to him in his naval wars, and especially at this time, when he needed them and their shipping so much for the reducing of the *Ionians* again to their obedience to him. Hereon they soon recovered their former prosperity, and by the means of their traffic, whereby they had made their city the chief mart of all the east, they soon grew to that greatness both of power and riches, as enabled them on *Alexander's* invading the east to make a greater stand against him than all the *Persian* empire besides. For they stopped the progress of his whole army full seven months, before they could be reduced, as will be hereafter shewn. This grant was made them by *Darius* in the nineteenth year of his reign.

THE next year after, *Aristagoras*, to engage the *Ionians* the more firmly to stick to him, ° restored them all to their liberties. For beginning first with himself at *Miletus*, he there abolished his own authority, and re-instated the people in the government, and then going round *Ionian* forced all the other tyrants (as the *Greeks* then called them) in every city to do the same; by which having united them into one common league, and gotten himself to be made the head of it, he openly declared his revolt from the King, and armed both by sea and land to make war against him. This was done in the twentieth year of the reign of *Darius*. An. 502.
Darius 20.

ARISTAGORAS, to strengthen himself the more against the *Persians* in this war, which he had begun against them, ° went in the beginning of the following year to *Lacedæmon*, to engage that city in his interest, and gain their assistance. But being there rejected he came to *Athens*, where An. 501.
Darius 21

° *Isaiah* xxiii. 15, 17.

° *Herodot.* lib. 5.

° *Herodot.* lib. 5.

he had a much more favourable reception. For he had the good fortune to come thither at a time, when he found the *Athenians* in a thorough disposition to close with any proposal against the *Persians* that should be offered to them, they being then in the highest degree exasperated against them on this occasion. *Hippias* the son of *Pisistratus* tyrant of *Athens*, having been expelled thence about ten years before, after he had in vain tried several other ways for his restoration, at length applied himself to *Artaphernes* at *Sardis*, and having there insinuated himself a great way into his favour, was well heard in all that he had to say against the *Athenians*, and he spared not to do all that he could to set *Artaphernes* against them; which the *Athenians* having advice of, sent an Embassy to *Sardis* to make friendship with *Artaphernes*, and to desire him not to give ear to their exiles against them. The answer which *Artaphernes* gave them, was, that they must receive *Hippias* again if they would be safe. Which haughty message being brought back to *Athens* did set the whole city into a rage against the *Persians*; and in this juncture *Aristagoras* coming thither, easily obtained from them all that he desired, and accordingly they ordered a fleet of twenty ships for his assistance.

An. 500
Darius
22.

IN the third year of the war the *Ionians* having gotten all their forces together, and being assisted with twenty ships from *Athens*, and five from *Eretria*, a city in the island of *Eubœa*, they sailed to *Ephesus*, and having there laid up their ships resolved on an attempt upon *Sardis*; and accordingly marched thither and took the place. But *Sardis* being built most of cane, and their houses being therefore very combustible, one of them being accidentally set on fire did spread the flame to all the rest, and the whole city was burnt down, excepting only the castle, where *Artaphernes* retired and defended himself. But after this accident the *Persians* and *Lydians* gathering together for their defence, and other forces coming in to their assistance from the adjacent parts, the *Ionians* saw it was time for them to retreat, and therefore marched back to their ships at *Ephesus* with all the speed they were able; but before they could reach the place they were overtaken, fought with, and overthrown with a great slaughter. Whereon the *Athenians* going on board their ships hoisted their sails and returned home, and would not after this be any farther concerned in this war, notwithstanding all the most earnest intreaties with which they were solicited to it by *Aristagoras*. However their having engaged thus far gave rise to that war between the *Persians* and the *Greeks*, which being carried on for several generations after between these two nations, caused infinite calamities to both, and at last ended in the utter destruction of the *Persian* empire. For *Darius*, on his hearing of the burning of *Sardis*, and the part which the *Athenians* had therein, from that time resolved on a war against *Greece*, and that he might be sure not to forget it, he caused one of his attendants every day, when he was set at dinner, to say aloud unto him three times, *Sir, remember the Athenians*. In the burning of *Sardis*, it hapned that the temple of *Cybele*, the goddess of the country, took fire, and was consumed with the rest of the city, which afterwards served the *Persians* for a pretence, to set on fire all the temples of the *Grecians* which came in their way, tho' in truth that proceeded from another cause, which shall be hereafter related.

† Herod. lib. 5.

† Herod. lib. 5. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

ON the departure of the *Athenians* the rest of the confederate fleet failed to the *Hellepont* and the *Propontis*, and reduced the *Byzantines*, and most of the other *Grecian* cities in those parts under their power. And then sailing back again, brought in the *Carians* to joyn with them in this war, and also the *Cypriots*, who all (excepting the *Amathusians*) entered into the same confederacy against *Darius*, and revolted from him, which drawing upon them all the forces that the *Persians* had in *Cilicia*, and the other neighbouring provinces, and also a great fleet from *Phœnicia*, the *Ionians* failed thither to their assistance, and engaging the *Phœnician* fleet, gave them a great overthrow. But at the same time the *Cypriots* being vanquished in a battel at land, and the head of that conspiracy slain in it, the *Ionians* lost the whole fruit of their victory at sea, and were forced to return, without having at all benefited either themselves or their allies by it. For after this defeat at land the whole island was again reduced; and within three years after, the same persons whom they had now assisted came against them with their ships, in conjunction with the rest of the *Persian* fleet, to complete their utter destruction.

THE next year after being the twenty third of *Darius*, ^{An. 499} *Daurises*, *Hyme* ^{Darius} *mees* and *Otanes*, three *Persian* generals, and all sons-in-law of *Darius* by ^{23.} the marriage of his daughters, having divided the *Persian* forces between them, marched three several ways to attack the revolters. *Daurises* with his army directed his course to the *Hellepont*, but after having there reduced several of the revolted cities, on his hearing that the *Carians* had also joyned the confederates, he left those parts, and marched with all his forces against them. Whereon *Hyme*, who was first sent to the *Propontis*, after having taken the city of *Cius* in *Mysia*, marched thence to supply his place on the *Hellepont*, where there was much more need of him, and there reduced all the *Ilian* coast; but falling sick at *Troas* he there died the next year after. *Artaphernes* and *Otanes* with the third army, resolving to strike at the very heart of the confederacy fell into *Ionia* and *Æolia*, where the chief of their strength lay, and took *Clazomenæ* in *Ionia*, and *Cyma* in *Æolia*, which was such a blow to the whole confederacy, that *Aristagoras* hereon despairing of his cause, resolved to leave *Miletus*, and shift elsewhere for his safety, and therefore getting together all that were willing to accompany him, he went on shipboard, and set sail for the river *Strymon* in *Thrace*, and there seized on the territory of *Myrcinus*, which *Darius* had formerly given to *Hestæus*, but the next year after, while he besieged the city, he was there slain by the *Thracians*, and all his army cut in pieces.

IN the twenty fourth year of *Darius* ^{An. 498.} *Daurises* having fallen into the ^{Darius} countrey of the *Carians*, overthrew them in two battels with a very great ^{24.} slaughter; but in a third battel, being drawn into an ambush, he was slain with several other eminent *Persians*, and his whole army cut off and destroyed.

ARTAPHERNES with *Otanes*, and the rest of the *Persian* generals, seeing that *Miletus* was the head, and chief strength of the *Ionian* ^{An. 497.} confederacy, ^{Darius} resolved to bend all their force against it, reckoning that ^{25.} if they could make themselves masters of this city, all the rest would fall of

[†] Herod. lib. 5.

[‡] Herod. lib. 5.

[§] Herod. lib. 5.

^{*} Herod. lib. 6.

course.

course. The *Ionians* being informed of this, agreed in their general council to bring no army into the field, but provide and strengthen *Miletus*, as well as they could, for a siege, and to draw all their forces to fight the *Persians* by sea, in which sort of fighting they thought themselves, by reason of their skill in maritime affairs, most likely to prevail; in order where-to they appointed *Lada*, a small island before *Miletus*, for their rendezvous, and thither they came to the number of 353 ships; at the sight of which the *Persians*, though their fleet was double the number, fearing the event, came not to a battle with them, till they had, by their emissaries sent among them, corrupted the major part to desert the cause; so that when they came to engage, the *Samians*, *Lesbians*, and several others, hoisting their sails and departing home, there were not above an hundred ships left to bear the whole brunt of the day; who being soon overborn by the number of the enemy, were almost all lost and destroyed. After this *Miletus* being besieged both by sea and land soon fell a prey into the hands of the victors, who absolutely destroyed the place; which hapned in the sixth year after the revolt of *Aristagoras*. From *Miletus* the *Persians* marched into *Caria*, and having there taken some cities by force, and received others by voluntary submission, in a short time reduced all that countrey again under their former yoke. The *Milesians*, who were saved from the sword in the taking of the city, being sent captives to *Darius* to *Susa*, he did them no farther harm, but sent them to inhabit the city of *Ampha*, which was situated at the mouth of the *Tigris*, where in conjunction with the *Euphrates* it falls into the *Persian* gulph, not far from the place where now the city *Balsora* stands, and there they continued a *Grecian* colony for many ages after.

An. 496.
Darius
26.

AFTER the taking of *Miletus* the *Persian* fleet, which mostly consisted of *Phœnicians*, *Cypriots* and *Egyptians*, having wintered on the coasts thereabout, the next year took in *Samos*, *Chius*, *Lesbus*, and the rest of the islands. And while they were thus employed at sea, the armies at land fell on the cities of the continent, and having brought them all again under their power, they treated them as they had afore threatned, that is, they made all the beautifulest of their youths eunuchs, sent all their virgins into *Persia*; and burnt all their cities with their temples; into so grievous a calamity were they brought by this revolt, which the self-designs of one enterprising busy-headed man, *Hestæus* the *Milesian*, led them into, and he himself had his share in it. For this very year being taken prisoner by the *Persians*, he was carried to *Sardis*, and there crucified by the order of *Artaphernes*. He hastned his execution, without consulting *Darius* about it, lest his kindness for him might extend to the granting him his pardon, and thereby a dangerous enemy to the *Persians* be again let loose to embarrass their affairs. And that it would have so hapned, as they conjectured, did afterwards appear. For when his head was brought to *Darius*, he expressed great displeasure against the authors of his death, and caused his head to be honourably buried, as the remains of a man that had much merited from him. How he was the cause of the *Ionian* war, and what was his aim herein, hath been above related. On the breaking out of that revolt, and the burning of *Sardis*, * *Darius* understanding that

v. Herodot. lib. 6.

* Herodot. lib. 5.

Aristagoras, the deputy of *Hestæus*, was at the head of it, doubted not but that *Hestæus* himself was at the bottom of the whole contrivance, and therefore sent for him, and charged him with it; but he managed the matter so craftily with *Darius*, as to make him believe not only that he was innocent, but that the whole cause of this revolt was, that he was not there to have hindered it. For he told him, that the matter appeared plainly to have been long a brewing, and that they had waited only for his absence to put it in execution; and that if he had continued at *Miletus* it could never have hapned; and that the only way to restore his affairs in those parts, was to send him thither to appease these combustions; which he promised not only to do, but to deliver *Aristagoras* into his hands, and make the great island of *Sardinia* to become tributary to him; swearing that if he were sent on this voyage, he would not change his garments till all were effected that he had said. By which fair speech *Darius* being deceived,^a gave him permission to return into *Ionian*. On his arrival at *Sardis* his busy head set him at work to contrive a plot against the government there, and he had drawn several of the *Persians* into it. But in some discourse which he had with *Artaphernes*, finding that he was no stranger to the part which he had acted in the *Ionian* revolt, he thought it not safe for him any longer to tarry at *Sardis*, and therefore the next night after, getting privately away, he fled to the sea coast, and got over to the island of *Chius*. But the *Chians*, mistrusting that his coming thither was to act some part for the interest of *Darius* among them, seized on his person, and put him in prison; but afterwards, being satisfied how he was engaged to the contrary, they set him again at liberty. Hereon he sent one, whom he had confidence in, with letters to *Sardis*, to those *Persians* whom he had corrupted while he was there; but the person whom he trusted deceiving him, delivered the letters to *Artaphernes*, whereby the plot being discovered, and all the persons concerned in it put to death, he failed of this design. But thinking still he could do great matters, were he at the head of the *Ionian* league, in order to the gaining of this point, he got the *Chians* to convey him to *Miletus*. But the *Milesians* having had their liberty restored to them by *Aristagoras* would by no means run the hazard of losing it again by receiving him into the city, whereon endeavouring in the night to enter by force, he was repulsed and wounded, and thereby forced to return again to *Chius*. While he was there, being asked the reason, why he so earnestly pressed *Aristagoras* to revolt, and thereby brought so great a calamity upon *Ionian*, he told them, it was because the King had resolved to remove the *Ionians* into *Phœnicia*, and to bring the *Phœnicians* into *Ionian*, and give them that countrey; which was wholly a fiction of his own devising. For *Darius* had never any such intention; but it very well served his purpose, first to excuse himself, and next to excite the *Ionians* with the greater firmness and vigour to prosecute the war, which accordingly had its effect. For the *Ionians* hearing that their countrey was to be taken from them and given to the *Phœnicians*, were exceedingly alarmed at it, and therefore resolved with the utmost of their power to stand to their defence. However, *Hestæus* finding the *Chians* not any way inclined to trust him with any of their naval forces, as he de-

^a Herod. lib. 6.

fired of them, he passed over to the isle of *Lesbus*, and having there gained eight ships he sailed with them to *Byzantium*, where making prize of all the ships that passed the *Bosphorus*, either to or from the *Euxine* sea, excepting only such as belonged to those who were confederated with him, he did there in a short time grow to a great power. But on his hearing of the taking of *Miletus*, he left the conduct of his affairs in those parts to a deputy, and sailed to *Chius*, and after some little opposition at his first landing made himself master of the island, the *Chians* by reason of the loss they had lately sustained in the sea-fight against the *Persians* at *Lada* being too weak at that time to resist him. From thence he sailed with a great army of *Ionians* and *Æolians* to *Thasus*, an island on the *Thracian* coast, and laid siege to the chief city of that island, but hearing that the *Phœnician* fleet in the service of the *Persians* was sailed to take in the islands on the *Asian* coast, he raised the siege, and sailed back to *Lesbus* with all his forces to defend that place, from whence passing over into the continent, which was opposite to it, to plunder the countrey, *Harpagus*, one of the *Persian* generals, who hapned then to be there with a great army, fell upon him, and having routed his Forces, and taken him prisoner, sent him to *Sardis*, where he met with the fate which I have mentioned. He was a man of the best head, and the most enterprizing genius of any of his age, but he having wholly employed these abilities to lay plots and designs, which produced great mischiefs in the world, for the obtaining of little aims of his own, it hapned to him as it doth most an end to such refined politicians, who while they are spinning fine webs of politicks for the bringing about of their self designs, often find them to become snares to their own destruction. For the providence of the wisest of men being too short to over-reach the providence of God, he often permits such *Achitophels*, for the punishment of their presumption, as well as their malice, to perish by their own devices. And so it hapned to *Machiavel*, the famous master of our modern politicians, who after all his politicks died in jail for want of bread. And thus may it happen to all else, who make any other maxims than those of truth and justice to be the rules of their politicks.

An. 495.
Darius
27.

AFTER the *Phœnician* fleet had subdued all the islands on the *Asian* coast, *Artaphernes* ^b sent them to reduce the *Hellepont*, that is, all its coasts on the *European* side, for those on the *Asian* had been already brought under by the armies at land; which *Miltiades*, prince of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, having advice of, and that the fleet was come as far as *Tenedos* to put these orders in execution, he thought not fit to tarry their arrival, as being too weak to resist so great a power, but immediately carried all that he had on board five ships, and set sail with them for *Athens*. But in his passage one of them, commanded by *Metiochus* his eldest son, was taken by the *Phœnicians*, and *Metiochus* was carried to *Darius* to *Susa*; but instead of doing him any hurt, he generously gave him an house, and lands also for his maintenance, and married him to a *Persian* lady, with whom he there lived in an honourable state all his life after, and never more returned into *Greece*. In the interim *Miltiades*, with his other four ships, got safe to *Athens*, and there again settled himself. For he was a citizen of that city, and of one of the most honourable families in it. *Miltiades*, his

^b Herodot. lib. 6. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade.

father *Cimon's* elder brother by the same mother (for they had different fathers) was the first of the *Athenians* that settled in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, being called thither by the *Dolones*, the inhabitants of the countrey; to be their prince, who dying without issue left his principality to *Stesagoras* his nephew, the eldest son of his brother *Cimon*, and he dying also without children, the sons of *Pisistratus*, who then govern'd at *Athens*, sent this *Miltiades* his brother thither to succeed him, where he arrived and settled himself in that year in which *Darius* entred on his war against the *Scythians*, in which expedition he accompanied him with his ships to the *Danube*, as hath been above said. Three years after he was driven out by the *Scythians*, but being afterwards brought back, and restored again by the *Dolones*, he continued there till this time, and then was finally dispossess'd by the *Phœnicians*. While he lived in the *Chersonesus*, he married for his second wife *Hegesipyla* the daughter of *Olorus*, a *Thracian* King in the neighbourhood, by whom he had *Cimon*, the famous general of the *Athenians*. After the death of *Miltiades* she had by a second husband a son called also *Olorus*, by the name of his grandfather, who was the father of *Thucydides* the historian. She could not have had them both by the same husband, for *Cymon*, and *Thucydides*, and consequently *Olorus*, were of two different tribes, and therefore they could not be both descended from *Miltiades*.

DARIUS recalling all his other generals sent *Mardonius*, the son of *Gobrias*, a young *Persian* nobleman, who had lately married one of his daughters, to be the chief commander in all the maritime parts of *Asia*, with orders to invade *Greece*, and revenge him on the *Athenians* and *Eretrians* for the burning of *Sardis*. On his arrival at the *Hellespont*, all his forces being there rendezvoused for the execution of these orders, he marched with his land forces through *Thrace* into *Macedonia*, ordering his fleet first to take in *Thasus*, and then follow after him, and coast it by sea, as he marched by land, that each might be at hand to act in concert with each other, for the prosecuting of the end proposed by this war. On his arrival in *Macedonia*, all that countrey dreading so great a power submitted to him. But the fleet, after they they had subdued *Thasus*, as they were passing farther on towards the coasts of *Macedonia*, on their doubling of the cape of mount *Athos*, now called *Capo Santo*, met there with a terrible storm, which destroyed three hundred of their ships, and above twenty thousand of their men. And at the same time *Mardonius* fell into no less a misfortune by land; for lying with his army in an encampment not sufficiently secured, the *Thracians* took the advantage of it, and falling on him in the night broke into his camp, and slew a great number of his men, and wounded *Mardonius* himself, by which losses being disabled for any farther action either by sea or land, he was forced to march back again into *Asia*, without gaining any honour or advantage, either to himself, or the King's affairs, by this expedition.

DARIUS, before he would make any farther attempt upon the *Grecians*, to make tryal which of them would submit to him, and which would not, sent heralds to all their cities to demand earth and water, which was the form whereby the *Persians* used to require the submission of those whom they would have yield to them. On the arrival of these heralds se-

An 494.
Darius
28.

An. 493.
Darius
29.

c Plutarchus in Cimone.

d Herodot. lib. 6.

e Herodot. lib. 7.

veral of the *Grecian* cities dreading the power of the *Persians* did as was required of them. But when those who were sent to *Athens* and *Lacedæmon* came thither with this commission, they flung them, the one into a well, and the other into a deep pit, and bid them fetch earth and water thence. But this being done in the heat of their rage, they repented of it when come to a cooler temper. For thus to put heralds to death was a violation of the law of nations, for which they were afterwards condemned even by themselves, as well as all their neighbours, and would gladly have made any satisfaction for the wrong that would have been accepted of, and the *Lacedæmonians* sent a person of purpose to *Susa* to make an offer hereof.

An. 492.
Darius
30.

DARIUS, on the hearing of the ill success of *Mardonius*, suspecting the sufficiency of his conduct, ^f recalled him from his command, and sent two other generals in his stead to prosecute the war against the *Grecians*, *Datis* a *Median*, and *Artaphernes* a *Persian*, the son of that *Artaphernes* his brother who was lately governor of *Sardis*, and gave them particularly in charge not to fail of executing his revenge on the *Athenians*, and the *Eretrians*, whom he could never forgive for the part which they had in the burning of *Sardis*. On their arrival on the coasts of *Ionia* they there drew together an army of three hundred thousand men, and a fleet of six hundred ships, and made the best preparations they could for this expedition against the *Grecians*.

An. 491.
Darius
31.

IN the beginning of the next spring, ^e the two *Persian* generals having shipp'd their army, rendezvoused their whole fleet at *Samos*, and from thence sailed to *Naxos*, and having there burned the chief city of the island, and all their temples, and taken in all the other islands in those seas, they shap'd their course directly for *Eretria*, and after a siege of seven days took the city by the treachery of some of its chief inhabitants, and burnt it to the ground, making all that they found in it captives. And then passing over into *Attica* they were led by the guidance of *Hippias*, the late tyrant of *Athens*, into the plain of *Marathon*, where being met and fought with by ten thousand *Athenians*, and one thousand *Plateans*, under the leading of *Miltiades*, that was lately prince of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, they were there overthrown by this small number with a great slaughter, and forced to retreat to their ships, and sail back again into *Asia* with baffle and disgrace, having lost in this expedition, ^h saith *Trogus*, by the sword, shipwrack, and other ways, two hundred thousand men. But ⁱ *Herodotus* tells us, they were no more than six thousand four hundred that were slain in the field of battel, of which *Hippias* was one, who was the chief exciter and conductor of this war.

DATIS and *Artaphernes*, on their return into *Asia*, ^k that they might shew some fruit of this expedition, sent the *Eretrians* they had taken to *Darius* to *Susa*, who without doing them any farther harm sent them to dwell in a village of the region of *Cissia*, which was at the distance of about a days journey from *Susa*, ^l where *Apollonius Tyaneus* found their descendants still remaining a great many ages after.

An. 490.
Darius
32.

DARIUS, ^m on his hearing of the unsuccessful return of his forces

^f Herodot. lib. 6. Plutarchus in Aristide. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade. ^g Herodot. lib. 6. Plutarchus in Aristide & Themistocle. Cornelius Nepos in Miltiade. ^h Justin. lib. 2. c. 9. ⁱ Herodot. lib. 6. ^k Herodot. lib. 6. ^l Philostratus, lib. 1. c. 17. ^m Herodot. lib. 7. from

from *Attica*, instead of being discouraged by that, or the other disasters that had hapned unto him in his attempts upon the *Grecians*, added the defeat of *Marathon* to the burning of *Sardis*, as a new cause to excite him with the greater vigor to carry on the war against them. And therefore resolving in person to make an invasion upon them with all his power, he sent orders thro' all the provinces to arm the whole empire for it. But after three years had been spent in making these preparations, a new war broke out in the fourth, by the revolt of the *Egyptians*. But *Darius's* heart was so earnestly set against the *Grecians*, that resolving his new rebels should not divert him from executing his wrath upon his old enemies, he determined to make war against them both at the same time, and that, while part of his forces were sent to reduce *Egypt*, he would in person with the rest fall upon *Greece*. But he being now an old man, and there being a controversy between two of his sons, to which of them two the succession did belong, it was thought convenient that the matter should be determined before he did set out on this expedition, lest otherwise on his death it might cause a civil war in the empire. For the preventing of which, it was an ancient usage among the *Persians*, that before their King went out to any dangerous war his successor should be declared. The matter in dispute ^a stood thus: *Darius* had three sons by his first wife, the daughter of *Gobrias*, all born before his advancement to the throne, and four others by *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, who were all born after it. Of the first *Artabasan* (who is by some called *Artemines* and by others *Ariamenes*) was the eldest, and of the latter *Xerxes*. *Artabasan* urged that he was the eldest son, and therefore, according to the usage and custom of all nations, he ought to be preferred in the succession before the younger. To this *Xerxes* replied, that he was the son of *Darius* by *Atossa*, the daughter of *Cyrus*, who was the first founder of the *Persian* empire, and therefore claimed in her right to succeed his father in it, and that it was much more agreeable to justice, that the crown of *Cyrus* should come to a descendent of *Cyrus*, than to one who was not. And he farther added, that it was true, *Artabasan* was the eldest son of *Darius*, but that he was the eldest son of the King. For *Artabasan* was born while his father was only a private person, and therefore by that primogeniture could claim no more than to be heir to his private fortunes; but as to him, he was the first-born after his father was King, and therefore had the best right to succeed him in the kingdom. And for this he had an instance from the *Lacedæmonians*, with whom it was the usage, that the sons of their Kings, who were born after their advancement to the throne, should succeed before those who were born before it. And this last argument he was helped to by *Damaratus*, formerly King of *Lacedæmon*, who having been unjustly deposed by his subjects, was then an exile in the *Persian* court. Hereupon *Xerxes* was declared the successor, tho' not so much by the strength of his plea, as by the influence which his mother *Atossa* had over the inclinations of *Darius*, who was absolutely governed in this matter by the authority she had with him. That which was most remarkable in this contest was, the friendly and amicable manner with which it was managed. For during the whole time that it lasted, all the marks of a most entire fraternal affection passed between the two brothers. And when it was decided, as the one did not insult,

An. 47.
Darius.
35.

^a Herodot. lib. 7. Justin. lib. 2. c. 10. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe & in Apothegm. περὶ φιλαδελφίας.

so neither did the other repine or express any anger or discontent on the judgment given, and although the elder brother lost the cause, yet he cheerfully submitted to the determination, wished his brother joy, and without diminishing his friendship or affection to him, ever after adhered to his interest, and at last died in his service, being slain fighting for him in the *Grecian* war, which is an example very rarely to be met with, where so great a prize is at stake, as that of a crown; the ambitious desire of which is usually of that force with the most of mankind, as to make them break through all other considerations whatsoever, where there is any the least pretence to it, to reach the attainment.

Ar. 486.
Darius
36.

AFTER the succession was thus settled, and all were ready to set out both for the *Egyptian*, as well as the *Grecian* war, ° *Darius* fell sick and died in the second year after the *Egyptian* revolt, having then reigned ¶ six and thirty years, and *Xerxes*, according to the late determination, quietly succeeded in the throne. There are writers ¶ who place this determination after the death of *Darius*, and say that it was settled by the judgment of *Artabanus*, uncle to the two contending princes, who was made the arbitrator between them in this contest. But *Herodotus*, who lived the nearest those times of all that have written of it, positively tells us, that it was decided by *Darius* himself a little before his death. And his decision being that which was most likely to have the greatest authority in this matter, *Herodotus's* account of it seemeth the much more probable of the two.

DARIUS was a prince of wisdom, clemency and justice, and hath the honour ° to have his name recorded in holy writ for a favourer of God's people, a restorer of his temple at *Jerusalem*, and a promoter of his worship therein; For all which God was pleased to make him his instrument, and in respect hereof, I doubt not, it was, that he blessed him with a numerous issue, a long reign, and great prosperity. For although he were not altogether so fortunate in his wars against the *Scythians*, and the *Grecians*, yet every where else he had full success in all his undertakings, and not only restored and thoroughly settled the empire of *Cyrus*, after it had been much shaken by *Cambyfes* and the *Magian*, but also added many large and rich provinces to it, especially those of *India*, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and the isles of the *Ionian* sea.

THE *Jews* have a tradition, that in the last year of *Darius* died the prophets *Haggai*, *Zechariah* and *Malachi*, and that thereon ceased the spirit of prophecy from among the children of *Israel*, and that this was the ob signation or sealing up of vision and prophecy spoken of by the prophet ° *Daniel*. And from the same tradition they tell us, that the kingdom of the *Persians* ceased also the same year. For they will have it, that this was the *Darius* whom *Alexander* conquered, and that the whole continuance of the *Persian* empire was only fifty two years, which they reckon thus. *Darius the Median* reigned one year, *Cyrus* three years, *Cambyfes* (who they say was the *Abasuerus* who married *Esther*) sixteen years, and *Darius* (whom they will have to be the son of *Esther*) thirty two years. And this

° Herod. lib. 7. ¶ Ptolem. in Canone, Africanus, Euseb. &c. ¶ Justin. lib. 2. c. 10.
Plutarchus περὶ φιλαρμόνίας. ° Ezra v. and in the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah.
¶ Abraham Zacutus in Juchasin. David Ganz in Zemach David. Seder Olam Zuta, &c.
° Dan. ix. 24.

last *Darius*, according to them, was the *Artaxerxes*, who sent *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* to *Jerusalem* to restore the state of the *Jews*. For they tell us, that *Artaxerxes* among the *Persians* was the common name of their Kings, as that of *Pharaoh* was among the *Egyptians*. This shews how ill they have been acquainted with the affairs of the *Persian* empire. And their countreyman *Josephus*, in the account which he gives of those times, seems to have been but very little better informed concerning them.

IN the time of his reign first appeared in *Persia* the famous prophet of the Magians, whom the *Persians* call *Zerduſht*, or *Zaratuſh*, and the *Greeks* *Zoroastres*. The *Greek* and *Latin* writers much differ about him, some of them^v will have it, that he lived many ages before, and was King of *Bactria*; and others, that there were^w several of the name, who lived in several ages, all famous in the same kind. But the oriental writers, who should best know, ^xall unanimously agree, that there was but one *Zerduſht*, or *Zoroastres*, and that the time in which he flourished, was while *Darius Hyſtaſpis* was King of *Persia*. It is certain he was no King, but one born of mean and obscure parentage, who did raise himself wholly by his craft in carrying on that imposture, with which he deceived the world. They who place him so high as the time of *Ninus*, by whom, they say, he was slain in battel, follow the authority of *Justin* for it. But ^y*Diodorus Siculus* out of *Ctesias* tells us, that the King of *Bactria*, with whom *Ninus* had war, was called *Oxyartes*; and there are some ancient manuscripts of *Justin*, ^zin which it is read *Oxyartes*, and perchance that was the genuine reading, and *Zoroastres* came into the text instead of it by the error of the copier, led thereto perchance by a note in the margin placed there by some critic, who from the character of the person took upon him to alter the name. For he is there said, *Artes Magicas primo invenisse*, i. e. *That he was the first inventer of Magianisme*, which *Zoroastres* only was generally taken to be, though in truth he was not the founder of that sect, but only the restorer and reformer of it, as shall be hereafter shewn.

HE was the greatest impostor, except *Mahomet*, that ever appeared in the world, and had all the craft and enterprizing boldness of that *Arab*, but much more knowledge. For he was excellently skill'd in all the learning of the east that was in his time; whereas the other could neither write nor read; and particularly he was thoroughly versed in the *Jewish* religion, and in all the sacred writings of the old testament that were then extant, which makes it most likely, that he was as to his origine a *Jew*. And it is generally said of him, that he had been a servant to one of the prophets of *Israel*, and that it was by this means, that he came to be so well skill'd in the holy scriptures, and all other *Jewish* knowledge, which is a farther proof that he was of that people, it not being likely, that a prophet of *Israel* should entertain him as a servant, or instruct him as a disciple, if he were not of the same seed of *Israel*, as well as of the same religion with him; and that especially since it was the usage of that people by principle of religion, as well as by long received custom among them, to separate themselves from all other nations, as far as they were able. And

^v Justin. lib. 1. c. 1. Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio. Plin. lib. 30. c. 1. ^w Plin. lib. 36. c. 1. See Stanley of the Chaldaic Philosophy, ch. 2. ^x Abulfaragius, Ishmael Abulfeda, Sharestani, &c. vide etiam Agathiam, lib. 2. & Thomam Hyde de Religione veterum Persarum, cap. 24. ^y Lib. 2. p. 94. ^z So saith Ligerius.

it is farther to be taken notice of, that most of those who speak of his original, ^a say that he was of *Palestine*, within which countrey the land of *Judea* was. And all this put together amounts with me to a convincing proof, that he was first a *Jew*, and that by birth, as well as religion, before he took upon him to be prophet of the Magian sect.

THE prophet of *Israel* to whom he was a servant, some ^b say was *Elias*, and ^c others *Ezra*; but as the former was too early, so the other was too late for the time in which he lived; with this best agreeth what is said by a third sort of writers, ^d that it was one of the disciples of *Jeremiah* with whom he served, and if so, it must have been either *Ezekiel* or *Daniel*. For besides these two, there was no other prophet of *Israel* in those times, who could have been of the disciples of *Jeremiah*. And as *Daniel* was of age sufficient at his carrying away to *Babylon* (he having been then about eighteen years old) to have been sometimes before under the discipline and tutorage of that prophet, so having continued till about the end of the reign of *Cyrus*, he lived long enough to have been contemporary with this impostor, which cannot be said of *Ezekiel*. For we hear nothing more of him after the twenty seventh year of the captivity of *Jehoiachin*, which was the year next after the taking of *Tyre* by *Nebuchadnezzar*. And therefore it is most likely, that he lived not much beyond that time. It must therefore be *Daniel* under whom this impostor served; and besides him, there was not any other master in those times, under whom he could acquire all that knowledge both in things sacred and prophane, which he was so well furnished with. And no doubt his seeing that great, good, and wise man, arrive to such an height and dignity in the empire, by being a true prophet of God, was that which did set this crafty wretch upon the design of being a false one, hoping that by acting this part well he might obtain the same advancement, and by pretending to that, which the other really was, arrive to the like honour and greatness; and it must be said, that by his craft and dexterity in managing this pretence, he wonderfully succeeded in what he aimed at. It is said, that while he served the prophet under whom he was bred, he did by some evil action ^e draw on him his curse, and that thereon he was smitten with leprosy. But they, who tell us this, seem to be such, who finding *Eliab* said to be his master, mistook *Elisha* for *Eliab*, and therefore thought *Gebazi* to have been the person.

HE did not found a new religion, as his successor in imposture *Mahomet* did, but ^f only took upon him to revive and reform an old one, that of the Magians, which had been for many ages past the ancient national religion of the *Medes* as well as of the *Persians*. For it having fall'n under disgrace on the death of those ringleaders of that sect, who had usurped the sovereignty after the death of *Cambyfes*, and the slaughter which was then made of all the chief men among them, it sunk so low, that it became almost extinct, and *Sabianisme* every where prevail'd against it, *Darius* and most of his followers on that occasion going over to it. But

^a Religio veterum Persarum per Thomam Hyde, c. 24.

^b Abulfaragius, p. 54.

^c Abu Mohammed Mustapha historicus Arabs. Religio veterum Persarum, cap. 24. p. 313.

^d Bundari ex Abu Japhar Tabarita historico Arabe. Relig. vet. Pers. c. 24. p. 314.

^e Migidi Persa. Bundari. Abu Mohammed Mustapha. Religio vet. Pers. c. 24. p. 313, 114, 115.

^f Vide Pocockii specimen historiae Arabicae, p. 147, 148, 149. Et Thomam Hyde de religione veterum Persarum.

the affection which the people had for the religion of their forefathers, and which they had been all brought up in, not being easily to be rooted out, *Zoroastres* saw, that the revival of this was the best game of imposture that he could then play, and having so good an old stock to graft upon, he did with the greater ease make all his new scions to grow, which he inserted into it.

HE first ^smade his appearance in *Media*, now called *Aderbijan*, in the city of *Xiz*, say some; in that of *Ecbatana*, now *Tauris*, say others. For *Smerdis* having been of that province, it is most likely that the sect which he was of had still there its best rooting. And therefore the impostor thought he might in those parts, with the best success, attempt the revival of it. And his first appearing here is that, which I suppose hath given some the handle to assert, that this was the countrey in which he was born.

THE chief reformation which he made in the *Magian* religion ^h was in the first principle of it. For whereas before they had held the being of two first causes, the first Light, or the good God, who was the author of all good; and the other darkness, or the evil god, who was the author of all evil; and that of the mixture of these two, as they were in a continual struggle with each other, all things were made, he introduced a principle superior to them both, one supreme God, who created both light and darkness, and out of these two, according to the alone pleasure of his own will, made all things else that are, according to what is said in the xlvth chapter of *Isaiah*, Ver. 5, 6, 7. *I am the Lord, and there is none else; there is no God besides me; I girded thee, though thou hast not known me, that they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none besides me. I am the Lord, and there is none else. I form the light and create darkness, I make peace and create evil. I the Lord do all these things.* For these words being directed to *Cyrus* King of *Persia*, must be understood as spoken in reference to the *Persian* sect of the *Magians*, who then held light and darkness, or good and evil, to be the supreme beings, without acknowledging the great God, who is superior to both. And, I doubt not, it was from hence that *Zoroastres* had the hint of mending this great absurdity in their theology. But to avoid making God the author of evil, his doctrine was, ⁱ that God originally or directly created only light or good, and that darkness or evil followed it by consequence, as the shadow doth the person; that light or good had only a real production from God, and the other afterwards resulted from it, as the defect thereof. In sum, his doctrine, as to this particular, was, ^k that there was one supreme Being, independent and self-existing from all eternity. That ^l under him there were two angels, one the angel of light, who is the author and director of all good; and the other the angel of darkness, who is the author and director of all evil; and that these two out of the mixture of light and darkness made all things that are; that they are in a perpetual struggle with each other; and that where the angel of light prevails, there the most is good, and where the angel of darkness prevails, there the most is evil;

^s Bundari. Abu Japhar Tabarita. Religio vet. Pers. c. 24. Golii Notæ in Alfraganum, p. 207, & 227.

^h Abul Feda. Ebn Shahnâ. Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arab. p. 147, 148. Religio vet. Pers. cap. 9. p. 163. & cap. 22. p. 299.

ⁱ Shahrîstani. Religio vet. Pers. c. 22. p. 299.

^k Abul Feda. Shahrîstani. Religio vet. Pers. c. 22. ^l Religio vet. Pers. c. 9. p. 163. Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ, p. 148.

that this struggle shall continue to the end of the world : that ^m then there shall be a general resurrection, and ⁿ a day of judgment, wherein just retribution shall be rendred to all according to their works. After which ^o the angel of darkness and his disciples shall go into a world of their own, where they shall suffer in everlasting darkness the punishments of their evil deeds. And the angel of light and his disciples shall also go into a world of their own, where they shall receive in everlasting light the reward due unto their good deeds, and that after this they shall remain separated for ever, and light and darkness be no more mixed together to all eternity. And ^p all this the remainder of that sect which is now in *Persia* and *India* do without any variation after so many ages still hold even to this day. And how consonant this is to the truth is plain enough to be understood without a comment. And whereas he taught, that God originally created the good angel only, and that the other followed only by the defect of good, this plainly shews, that he was not unacquainted with the revolt of the fallen angels, and the entrance of evil into the world that way, but had been thoroughly instructed, how that God at first created all his angels good, as he also did man, and that they that are now evil, became such wholly through their own fault in falling from the state which God first placed them in. All which plainly shews the author of this doctrine to have been well versed in the sacred writings of the *Jewish* religion, out of which it manifestly appears to have been all taken, only the crafty impostor took care to dress it up in such a style and form, as would make it best agree with that old religion of the *Medes* and *Persians*, which he grafted it upon.

ANOTHER reformation which he made in the *Magian* religion, was, ^q that he caused fire-temples to be built wherever he came. For whereas hitherto they had erected their altars, on which their sacred fire was kept, on the tops of hills, and on high places in the open air, and there performed all the offices of their religious worship, where often by rain, tempests and storms, the sacred fire was extinguished, and the holy offices of their religion interrupted and disturbed, for the preventing of this he directed, that wherever any of those altars were erected, temples should be built over them, that so the sacred fires might be the better preserved, and the publick offices of their religion the better performed before them. For all the parts of their publick worship were performed before these publick sacred fires, as all their private devotions were before private fires in their own houses; not that they worshipped the fire (for this they always disowned) but God in the fire. For ^r *Zoroastres*, among other his impostures, having feigned, that he was taken up into heaven, there to be instructed in those doctrines which he was to deliver unto men, he pretended not (as *Mahomet* after did) there to have seen God, but only to have heard him speaking to him out of the midst of a great and most bright flame of fire; and therefore taught his followers, that fire was the truest *Shecinab* of the divine presence; that the sun being the perfectest fire, God had there ^s the throne of his glory, and the residence of his di-

^m Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio. Plutarchus in Iside & Osiride. Shahrastani. Relig. vet. Pers. c. 22. p. 296. ⁿ Relig. vet. Pers. c. 33. ^o Shahrastani. Plutarchus de Iside & Osiride.

Relig. vet. Pers. p. 299, 395, &c. ^p Relig. vet. Pers. c. 22. p. 292, 293. Ovington's Travels. ^q Relig. vet. Pers. c. 1. c. 8. & c. 29. ^r Relig. vet. Pers. c. 8. p. 160.

^s Sanfon in the present state of Persia, p. 185. Relig. vet. Pers. c. 4.

vine presence, in a more excellent manner than any where else, and next that in the elementary fire with us; and for this reason he ordered them still to direct all their worship to God first towards the sun, (which they called *Mithra*) and next towards their sacred fires, as being the things in which God chiefly dwelt, and their ordinary way of worship was to do so towards both. For when they came before these fires to worship, they always approached them on the west side, that having their faces towards them, and also towards the rising sun at the same time, they might direct their worship towards both. And in this posture they always performed every act of their worship. But this was not a new institution of his. For thus to worship before fire and the sun, was, as hath been said, the ancient usage of that sect, and according hereto is it, that we are to understand what we find in the sixteenth verse of the eighth chapter of *Ezekiel*, where it is related, that the prophet being carried in a vision to *Jerusalem* to see the abominations of that place, among other impieties, had there shewn him *about five and twenty men standing between the porch and the altar, with their backs towards the temple of the lord, and their faces towards the east, and they worshipped the sun.* The meaning of which is, that they had turned their backs upon the true worship of God, and had gone over to that of the *Magians*. For the holy of holies (in which was the *Shecinah* of the divine presence resting over the mercy seat) being on the western end of the temple at *Jerusalem*, all that entered thither to worship God, did it with their faces turned that way. For that was their '*Kebla*, or the point towards which they always directed their worship. But the *Kebla* of the *Magians* being the rising sun, they always worshipped with their faces turned that way, that is, towards the east. And therefore these five and twenty men by altering their *Kebla*, are shewn to have altered their religion, and instead of worshipping God according to the *Jewish* religion, to have gone over to the religion and worship of the *Magians*.

ZOROASTRES having thus retained in his reformation of *Magianism* the ancient usage of that sect in worshipping God before fire, to give the sacred fires in the temples, which he had erected, the greater veneration, he pretended, that when he was in heaven, and there heard God speaking to him out of the midst of fire, he 'brought thence some of that fire with him on his return, and placed it on the altar of the first fire-temple that he erected, (which was that 'at *Xiz* in *Media*) from whence they say it was propagated to all the rest. And this is the reason which is given for their so careful keeping of it. " For their priests watch it day and night, and never *suffer it to go out, or be extinguished. And for the same reason also they did treat it with that superstition, that they fed it only with ' wood stripped of its bark, and of that sort which they thought most clean, and they never ' did blow it either with bellows or with their breath, for fear of polluting it, and to do this either of those ways, or to cast any unclean thing into it, was no less than death by the law of the land,

* *Kebla among the eastern nations signifieth the point of the heavens, towards which they directed their worship. The Jews did it towards the temple at Jerusalem, the Mahometans towards Mecca, the Sabians towards the Meridian, and the Magians towards the rising sun.* ' *Relig. vet. Pers. c. 8. p. 160.*

' *Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 227.* " *Strabo, lib. 15. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 23. Agathias, lib. 2.* * *Relig. vet. Pers. c. 28. p. 351. & c. 29. p. 355.*

' *Strabo, lib. 15. Relig. vet. Pers. ibid.*

as long as those of that sect reigned in it, which from the time of *Zoroastres* to the death of *Tazdejerd*, the last *Persian* King of the *Magian* religion, was about eleven hundred and fifty years; yea, it went so far, ² that the priests themselves never approached this fire but with a cloth over their mouths, that they might not breath thereon, and this they did, not only when they tended the fire to lay more wood thereon, or do any other service about it, but also when they approached it to read the daily offices of their liturgy before it. So that they mumbled over their prayers rather than spoke them, in the same manner as the *Popish* priests do their masses, without letting the people present articulately hear one word of what they said, and if they should hear them, they would now as badly understand them. For all their public prayers are even to this day in the old *Persian* language, in which *Zoroastres* first composed them above two thousand two hundred years since, of which the common people do not now understand one word. And in this absurdity also have they the *Romanists* partakers with them. When *Zoroastres* composed his liturgy, the old *Persic* was then indeed the vulgar language of all those countries where this liturgy was used. And so was the *Latin* throughout all the western empire, when the *Latin* service was first used therein. But when the language changed, they would not consider that the change, which was made thereby, in the reason of the thing did require that a change should be made in their liturgy also, but retained it the same, after it ceased to be understood as it was before. So it was the superstitious folly of adhering to old establishments against reason, that produced this absurdity in both of them; though it must be acknowledged, that the *Magians* have more to say for themselves in this matter than the *Romanists*. For they are taught, that their liturgy was brought them from heaven, which the others do not believe of theirs, tho' they stick to it as if it were. And if that stiffness of humour, which is now among too many of us against altering any thing in our liturgy, should continue, it must at last bring us to the same pass: For all languages being *in fluxu*, they do in every age alter from what they were in the former, and therefore as we do not now understand the *English*, which was here spoken by our ancestors three or four hundred years ago, so in all likelihood will not our posterity three or four hundred years hence, understand that which is now spoken by us. And therefore should our liturgy be still continued without any change or alteration, it will then be as much in an unknown language, as now the *Roman* service is to the vulgar of that communion.

BUT to return to the reformatations of *Zoroastres*; How much he followed the *Jewish* platform in the framing of them, doth manifestly appear from the particulars I have mention'd. For most of them were taken either from the sacred writings, or the sacred usages of that people. *Moses* heard God speaking to him out of a flame of fire from the bush, and all *Israel* heard him speaking to them in the same manner out of the midst of fire from mount *Sinai*. Hence *Zoroastres* pretended to have heard God speaking to him also out of the midst of a flame of fire. The *Jews* had a visible *Shecinah* of the divine presence among them, resting over the mercy seat in the holy of holies, both in their tabernacle and temple, toward which they offered up all their prayers; and therefore *Zoroastres* taught

² Strabo, lib. 15. p. 732. Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 30.

his *Magians* to pretend to the like, and to hold the sun, and the sacred fires in their fire-temples, to be this *Shecinab*, in which God especially dwelt; and for this reason they offered up all their prayers to him with their faces turned towards both: The *Jews* had a sacred fire, which came down from heaven upon their altar of burnt offerings, which they did there ever after, till the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans*, inextinguishably maintain, and with this fire only were all their sacrifices and oblations made, and *Nadab* and *Abihu* were punished with death for offering incense to God with other fire. And in like manner *Zoroastres* pretended to have brought his holy fire from heaven, and therefore commanded it to be kept with the same care. And to kindle fire on the altar of any new erected fire-temple, or to rekindle it on any such altar, where it had been by any unavoidable accident extinguished, from any other fire, than from one of the sacred fires in some other temple, or else from the sun, was reckoned a crime to be punished in the same manner. And whereas great care was taken among the *Jews*,^a that no wood should be used on their altar in the temple, but that which they reputed clean, and for this reason they had it all barked and examined before it was laid on; and that when it was laid on, the fire should never be blowed up, either with bellows or the breath of man, for the kindling of it; hence *Zoroastres*^b ordained both these particulars to be also observed in respect of his sacred fire among his *Magians*, commanding them to use only barked wood for the maintaining of it, and no other means for the kindling of it up into a flame, but the pouring on of oyl, and the blasts of the open air. And that he should in so many things write after the *Jewish* religion, or have been so well informed therein, can scarce seem probable, if he had not been first educated and brought up in it.

ZOROASTRES having thus taken upon him to be a prophet of God, sent to reform the old religion of the *Persians*, to gain the better reputation to his pretensions^c he retired into a cave, and there lived a long time as a recluse, pretending to be abstracted from all worldly considerations, and to be given wholly to prayer and divine meditations; and the more to amuse the people, who there resorted to him, he dressed up his cave with several mystical figures representing *Mithra* and other mysteries of their religion; from whence it became for a long while after a usage among them to chuse such caves for their devotions, which being dressed up in the same manner were called *Mithratic* caves. While he was in this retirement, he composed the book wherein all his pretended revelations are contained, which shall be hereafter spoken of. And *Mahomet* exactly followed his example herein. For he also retired to a cave some time before he broached his imposture, and by the help of his accomplices there formed the *Alcoran* wherein it is contained. And^d *Pythagoras*, on his return from *Babylon* to *Samos*, in imitation of his master *Zoroastres*, (whom^e *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us he emulously followed) had there in like manner his cave to which he retired, and wherein he mostly abided both day and night, and for the same end as *Zoroastres* did in his, that is, to get himself the greater veneration from the people. For *Pythagoras* acted

^a See Lightfoot's *temple service*.^b Relig. vet. Pers. c. 29. & c. 30.^c Porphyrius in

libro de Nympharum Antro, p. 254. Edit. Cam.

^d Porphyrius in vitâ Pythagoræ, p. 184.

Edit. Cantab. Jamblichus in vitâ Pythagoræ, cap. 5.

^e Strom. 1. p. 223.

a part of imposture as well as *Zoroastres*, and this perchance he also learnt from him.

AFTER he had thus acted the part of a prophet in *Media*, and there settled all things according to his intentions, he removed from thence into *Bactria*, the most eastern province of *Persia*, and there settled in the city of *Balch*, which lyes on the river *Oxus* in the confines of *Persia*, *India*, and *Cowaresmia*, where under the protection of *Hystaspes*, the father of *Darius*, he soon spread his imposture thro' all that province with great success. For altho' *Darius*, after the slaughter of the *Magians*, had with most of his followers gone over to the sect of the *Sabians*, yet *Hystaspes* still adhered to the religion of his ancestors, and having fixed his residence at *Balch*, (where it may be supposed he governed those parts of the empire under his son) did there support and promote it to the utmost of his power. And in order to give it the greater reputation, ^e he went in person into *India* among the *Brachmans*, and having there learned from them all their knowledge in mathematicks, astronomy, and natural philosophy, he brought it back among his *Magians*, and thoroughly instructed them in it. And they continued for many ages after, above all others of those times, skilful in these sciences, especially after they had been farther instructed in them by *Zoroastres*, who was the greatest mathematician, and the greatest Philosopher, of the age in which he lived, and therefore took care to improve his sect not only in their religion, but also in all natural knowledge, which so much advanced their credit in the world, that thenceforth a learned man and a *Magian* became equivalent terms. And this proceeded so far, that the vulgar looking on their knowledge to be more than natural entertained an opinion of them, as if they had been actuated and inspired by supernatural powers, in the same manner as too frequently among us ignorant people are apt to give great scholars, and such as are learned beyond their comprehensions, (as were Friar *Bacon*, ^h *Dr. Faustus*, and ⁱ *Cornelius Agrippa*) the name of conjurers. And from hence those who really practised wicked and diabolical arts, or would be thought to do so, taking the name of *Magians*, drew on it that ill signification which now the word *Magician* bears among us, whereas the true and ancient *Magians* ^k were the great mathematicians, philosophers, and divines, of the ages in which they lived, and had no other knowledge but what by their own study, and the instructions of the ancients of their sect, they had improved themselves in.

BUT it is not to be understood that all *Magians*, that is, all of the sect, were thus learned, but only those who had this name by way of eminence above the rest, that is, their priests. For they being all ^{*} of the same tribe, as among the *Jews*, (none but the son of a priest being capable of being a

^f Abu Japhar Tabarita, Bundari, Relig. vet. Pers. c. 24. ^g Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 23.

^h John Faustus was the first inventor of printing at Mentz, and from thence being taken for a conjurer, that story is here in England made of him, which goes under the name of Dr. Faustus.

ⁱ That which contributes most to the opinion, that *Cornelius Agrippa* was a *Magician*, is an impertinent book published under his name, entitled, *The Fourth Book De Occultâ Philosophiâ*, which that learned man was never the author of. For it is not to be found in the folio edition of his works, in which only those that are genuine, and truly his, are contained.

^k Dion Chrysostomus tells us, (in *Oratione Borysthenicâ*) that the Persians call them *Magians* who are skilled in the worship of the Gods, and not as the Greeks, who being ignorant of the meaning of the word, called them so who were skilful in Goetic Magic, i.e. That which jugglers and conjurers pretend to make use of. ^{*} Relig. vet.

Pers. cap. 30. p. 367. Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. lib. 5. cap. 38.

priest among them) they mostly appropriated their learning to their own families, transmitting it in them from father to son, and seldom communicating it to any other, unless it were to those of the royal family, † whom they were bound to instruct, the better to fit them for government, and therefore there were some of them as tutors, as well as chaplains, always residing in the palaces of their Kings. And whether it were, that these *Magians* thought it would bring the greater credit to them, or the Kings, that it would add a great sacredness to their persons, or whether it were from both these causes, the royal family among the *Persians*, as long as this sect prevailed among them, was always reckoned of the sacerdotal tribe. They were divided into three orders. The lowest were the inferior clergy, who served in all the common offices of their divine worship; next above them were the super-intendents, who in their several districts governed the inferior clergy, as the bishops do with us; and above all was the *Archimagus*, or arch-priest, who in the same manner as the high-priest among the *Jews*, or the pope now among the *Romanists*, was the head of the whole religion. And according to the number of their orders, the churches or temples in which they officiated were also of three sorts. The lowest sort were the parochial churches, or oratories, which were served by the inferior clergy, as the parochial churches are now with us. And the duties which they there performed were to read the daily offices out of their liturgy, and at stated and solemn times to read some part of their sacred writings to the people. In these churches there were no fire altars, but the sacred fire, before which they here worshipped, was maintained only in a lamp. Next above these were their fire-temples, in which fire was continually kept burning on a sacred altar. And these were in the same manner, as cathedrals with us, the churches or temples where the super-intendent resided. In every one of these were also several of the inferior clergy entertained, who in the same manner as the choral vicars with us performed all the divine offices under the super-intendent, and also took care of the sacred fire, which they constantly watched day and night by four and four in their turns, that it might be always kept burning, and never go out. 3dly, The highest church above all was the fire-temple, where the *Archimagus* resided, which was had in the same veneration with them, as the temple of *Mecca* among the *Mahometans*, to which every one of that sect thought themselves obliged to make a pilgrimage once in their lives. *Zoroastres* first settled it at *Balch*, and there he, as their *Archimagus*, had his usual residence. But after the *Mahometans* had over-run *Persia*, in the seventh century after Christ, the *Archimagus* was forced to remove from thence into *Kerman*, which is a province in *Persia*, lying upon the southern ocean towards *India*, and there it hath continued even to this day. And to the fire-temple there, erected at the place of his residency, do they now pay the same veneration as formerly they did to that of *Balch*. This temple of the *Archimagus*, as also the other fire-temples, were endowed with large revenues in lands; but the parochial clergy depended solely on the tythes and offerings of the people. For this usage also had *Zoroastres* taken from the *Jewish* church, and made it one of his establishments among his *Magians*.

† Plato in *Alcibiade* 1. Stobæus, p. 456. Clemens Alexandrinus in *Paedagogo* 1. p. 81. Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 28. & cap. 30.

THE impostor having thus settled his new scheme of *Magianism* throughout the province of *Bactria*, with the same success as he had before in *Media*, he ^m went next to the royal court at *Susa*, where he managed his pretensions with that craft, address, and insinuation, that he soon got within *Darius* himself, and made him a profelyte to his new-reform'd religion; whose example in a short time drew after it into the same profession the courtiers, nobility, and all the great men of the kingdom. This hapned in the thirtieth year of *Darius*, and altho' it succeeded not without great oppositions from the ring-leaders of the *Sabians*, who were the opposite sect, yet the craft, address, and dexterity of the impostor surmounted them all, and so settled his new device, that thenceforth it became the national religion of all that countrey, and so continued for many ages after, till this imposture was at last supplanted by that of *Mahomet*, which was raised almost by the same arts. They who professed this religion ⁿ in *Lucian's* time, as reckoned up by him, were the *Persians*, the *Parthians*, the *Bactrians*, the *Chowaresmians*, the *Arians*, the *Sacans*, the *Medes*, and many other barbarous nations. But since that, the new imposture hath grown up to the suppressing of the old in all these countries. However, there is a remnant of these *Magians* still remaining in *Persia* and *India*, who even to this day observe the same religion which *Zoroastres* first taught them. For they still have his book, wherein their religion is contained, which they keep and reverence in the same manner as the christians do the Bible, and the mahometans the Alcoran, making it the sole rule both of their faith and manners.

THIS ^obook the impostor composed, while he lived in his retirement in the cave, and therein are contained all his pretended revelations. When he presented it to *Darius*, it was bound up in twelve volumes, whereof each consisted of an hundred skins of vellum. For it ^p was the usage of the *Persians* in those times to write all on skins. This book is called *Zendavesta*, and by contraction *Zend*, the vulgar pronounce it *Zundavestow*, and *Zund*. The word originally signifieth a fire-kindler, such as is a tinder-box with us, which phantastical name the impostor gave it, because, as he pretended, all that would read this book, and meditate thereon, might from thence, as from a fire-kindler, kindle in their hearts the fire of all true love for God and his holy religion. For the better understanding of which it is to be observed, that in those eastern countries their way of kindling fire is not by a tinder-box, as with us, but by rubbing two pieces of cane, one against another, till one of them takes fire; and such a fire-kindler of his religion in the hearts of men the impostor would have his book to be, and therefore called it by that name. The first part of it contains their liturgy, which is still used among them in all their oratories and fire-temples even to this day. The rest treats of all other parts of their religion. And according as their actions do agree or disagree with this book, do they reckon them to be either good or evil. Thence in their language they call a righteous action *Zend-aver*, i. e. *what the book Zend allows*; and an evil action *Na-Zendaver*, i. e. *which the book Zend disallows*. This book *Zoroastres* feigned to have received from heaven, as *Mahomet* afterwards (perchance following his pattern) pretended of his alcoran. It is

^m Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 24.ⁿ Lucian. De Longævis.^o Relig. vet. Pers. c. 25, & 26.^p Diodorus Sic. lib. 2. p. 118.

still preserved among them in the old *Persian* language and character; and in every oratory and fire-temple, even to this day, there is a copy of it kept, in the same manner as there is with us of the Bible in every parish church, out of which on certain stated times the priests read a portion of it to the people. ¹ Dr. *Hyde*, late professor of the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* tongues at *Oxford*, being well skill'd in the old *Persic* as well as the modern, ² offered to have published the whole of it with a *Latin* translation, could he have been supported in the expences of the edition. But for want of this help and encouragement the design died with him, to the great damage of the learned world. For a book of that antiquity, no doubt, would be of great use, could it be made public among us, and would unfold and give us light into many things of the times wherein it was written, which we are now ignorant of.

IN this book are found a great many things ³ taken out of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, besides those I have already mentioned, which farther proves the author's original to have been what I have said. For therein he inserts a great part of the *Psalms* of *David*; he makes *Adam* and *Eve* to have been the first parents of all mankind, and gives in a manner the same history of the creation and the deluge, that *Moses* doth; only as to the former, whereas *Moses* tells us, that *all things were created in six days*, *Zoroastres* converts those six days into six times, allowing to each of those times several days; so that putting them all together, the time of the creation, according to his account, amounted to three hundred sixty five days, that is, a whole year. He speaks therein also of *Abraham*, *Joseph*, *Moses*, and *Solomon*, in the same manner as the Scriptures do. And out of a particular veneration for *Abraham* he called his book the book of *Abraham*, and his religion the religion of *Abraham*. For he pretended, that the reformation which he introduced was no more than to bring back the religion of the *Persians* to that original purity in which *Abraham* practised it, by purging it of all those defects, abuses, and innovations, which the corruptions of after-times had introduced into it. And to all this *Mahomet* also (no doubt from this pattern) afterwards pretended for his religion. For the name of *Abraham* hath for a great many ages past been had in great veneration all over the east, and among all sects, so that every one of them have thought it would give reputation to them, could they entitle themselves to him. For not only the *Jews*, the *Magians*, and the *Mahometans*, but the *Sabians*, and also the *Indians*, (if the *Brahma* of the latter be *Abraham*, as it is with good reason supposed) all challenge him to themselves, as the great patriarch and founder of their several sects, every one of them pretending that their religion is the same which *Abraham* professed, and by his reformation established among them, and to restore this reformation was all that *Zoroastres*, *Mahomet*, and the author of the *Sabian* sect, whoever he was, pretended to. This veneration for *Abraham* in those parts proceeded from the great fame of his piety, which was (it's supposed) there spread among them by the *Israelites*, in their dispersion all over the east, first on the *Assyrian*, and after on the *Babylonish* captivity. And this fame being once fixed, made all parties fond of having him thought their own, and therefore all laid claim to him. And in this book *Zoroastres*

¹ Vide eundem, de Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 1. p. 25.
² Pocockii Specimen historię Arabicę, p. 148. Relig. vet. Pers.

commands also the same observances about beasts clean and unclean, as *Moses* doth, gives the same law of paying tythes to the sacerdotal order, enjoins the same care of avoiding all external as well as all internal pollutions, the same way of cleansing and purifying themselves by frequent washings, the same keeping of the priesthood always within the same tribe, and the same ordaining of one high-priest over all; and several other institutions are also therein contained, of the same *Jewish* extraction. The rest of its contents are an historical account of the life, actions, and prophecies of its author, the several branches and particulars of his new-reform'd superstition, and rules and exhortations to moral living, in which he is very pressing, and sufficiently exact, saving only in one particular, that is, about incest. For therein he wholly takes this away, and as if nothing of this nature were unlawful, 'allows a man to marry, not only his sister or his daughter, but also his mother; and it went so far with that sect in the practice, that in the sacerdotal tribe, he that was born of this last and worst sort of incest, was looked on as the best qualified for the sacerdotal function, none being esteemed among them more proper for the highest stations in it, than those that were born of mothers, who conceived them of their own sons; which was such an abomination, that tho' all things else had been right therein, this alone is enough to pollute the whole book. The *Persian* Kings being exceedingly given to such incestuous marriages, this seems to have been contrived out of a vile piece of flattery to them, the better to engage and fix them to their sect. But ' *Alexander*, when he conquered *Persia*, did put an end to this abomination. For he did by a law forbid all such incestuous copulations among them.

ZOROASTRES having obtained this wonderful success in making his imposture to be thus received by the King, and the great men, and the generality of the whole kingdom, ' he returned back again to *Balch*, where according to his own institution he was obliged to have his residence, as *Archimagus*, or head of the sect, and there he reigned in spirituals with the same authority over the whole empire, as the King did in temporals, and from hence perchance might proceed the mistake of making him King of *Bactria*, *Balch* being in that province. And his being said to have been there slain in battle by *Ninus*, might also have its original from his suffering this fate in that countrey, although from another hand. For after his return to *Balch*, having enterprised upon *Argasp* King of the oriental *Scythians* (who was a zealous *Sabian*) to draw him over to his religion, and backed this attempt with the authority of *Darius*, the more prevalently to induce him to it; the *Scythian* prince resented it with such indignation to be thus imperiously addressed to concerning this matter, that he invaded *Bactria* with an army, and having there defeated the forces of *Darius* that opposed him, slew *Zoroastres* with all the priests of his patriarchal church, which amounted to the number of eighty persons, and demolished all the fire-temples in that province. This hapned in the thirtyfifth year of the reign of *Darius*. The *Persians* tell us that *Lorasp* or *Hystaspes*, the father of *Darius*, was slain also in the same war. But if he lived so long, he must then have been exceeding old. For allowing him

[†] Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio. Strabo, lib. 15. Philo Judæus de specialibus Legibus, p. 778. Tertullian in Apologetico. Clemens Alexandrinus in Pædagogico 1. p. 81. & Strom. 3. p. 314.

^{*} Plutarchus de fortuna Alexandri.

^v Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 24.

to have been no more than twenty on his first coming with *Cyrus* out of *Persia*, he must now have been ninety three years old. But this is no strange thing in those parts. For the air being there thoroughly pure and healthy, the perspiration free and regular, and all the fruits of the earth fully concocted, they, who can there avoid the excesses of lust and luxury, usually live to a great age, of which we have lately had two instances, in *Aurang-Zeb* King of *India*, and *Rajah-Singab* King of *Candia*, in the island of *Ceylon*; the former dying in the year 1708, of the age of near an hundred, and the other about twenty years before, much older.

BUT *Darius* soon revenged the injury upon the *Scythian* King. For falling on him before he could make his retreat, he overthrew him with a great slaughter, and drove him out of the province; after which he rebuilt again all the fire-temples that had been demolished by the enemy, and especially that of *Balch*, which he erected with a grandeur suitable to its dignity, it being the patriarchal temple of the sect, and therefore from the name of its restorer it was thenceforth called *“Azur Gustasp*, i. e. the fire-temple of *Darius Hystaspis*. And the care which he took in this matter shews the zeal which he had for his new religion, which he still continued to propagate after the death of its author with the same ardour as before. And the better to preserve its credit and reputation after this accident, he thenceforth took it on himself to be their *Archimagus*. For *“Porphry* tells us he ordered before his death, that among other his titles it should be engraven on his monument, that he was *Master of the Magians*, which plainly implies that he bore this office among them. (For none but the *Archimagus* was master of the whole sect.) But it was not long that he was in it, for he died the next year after. However from hence it seems to have proceeded, that the Kings of *Persia* were ever after looked on to be of the sacerdotal tribe, and were always *“initiated* into the sacred order of the *Magians*, before they took on them the crown, or were inaugurated into the kingdom.

THE *“Greeks* had the name of *Zoroastres* in great esteem, speaking of him as the great master of all humane and divine knowledge. *“Plato*, *“Aristotle*, *“Plutarch*, and *“Porphry*, mention him with honour, acknowledging his great learning, and so do others. *“Pliny* saith much of him, and particularly remarks, that he was the only person, that laughed on the day in which he was born; and that the pulsation of his head did then beat so strong, that it heaved up the hand laid upon it; which last he saith was a presage of his future learning. *Solinus* tells the same story of his laughing on the day of his birth, and saith that *“he* was *optimarum artium peritissimus*, i. e. *most skilful in the knowledge of the best arts*. And *Apuleius*’s character of him is that he was, *“omnis divini arcani antistes*, i. e. *the chief doctor in all divine mysteries*. *Cedrenus* names him as a famous astronomer among the *Persians*, and *“Suidas* saith of him, that he excelled all others in that science. And this reputation he still hath over all the east, even among those who are most averse

“Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 23.

“Porphyrus de abstinencia, lib. 4. p. 165. Edit. Cantab.

“Cicero de Divinatione, lib. 1. Philo Judæus de Specialibus Legibus. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

“Diogenes Laertius in Proœmio.

“In Alcibiade 1.

“In libro de Magia citante

Laertio in Proœmio.

“De Iside & Osiride.

“In vitâ Pythagoræ.

“Lib. 30. c. 1.

& lib. 7. c. 16.

“Cap. 1.

“Floridorum 2^{do}.

“In vocibus Μᾶγοι & Ἀστρονόμοι &

Ἰατροὶ & φῖς.

to his sect, to this very day. For they all there, as well *Mahometans* as *Sabians*, give him the title of *Hakim*, that is, of a wise and learned philosopher, and reckon him as the most skilful and eminent of their ancient astronomers. And particularly *Ulugh Beigh*, that famous and learned *Tartarian* prince, writing a book of astronomy and astrology doth therein^k prefer *Zoroastres* before all others for his skill and knowledge in these sciences. It is to be observed also, that they who write of *Pythagoras* do almost all of them tell us, that he was the scholar of *Zoroastres* at *Babylon*, and learned of him most of that knowledge which afterwards rendred him so famous in the west. So saith^l *Apuleius*, and so say^m *Jamblichus*,ⁿ *Porphyry*, and^o *Clemens Alexandrinus*. (For the *Zabratus*, or *Zaratus* of *Porphyry*, and the *Na-Zaratus* of *Clemens*, were none other than this *Zoroastres*) and they relate the matter thus: That when *Cambyfes* conquered *Egypt*,^p he found *Pythagoras* there on his travels, for the improvement of himself in the learning of that countrey, and that having taken him prisoner he sent him with other captives to *Babylon*, where *Zoroastres* (or *Zabratus*, as *Porphyry* calls him) then lived, and that there he became his disciple, and learned many things of him of the eastern learning. The words of *Porphyry* are, *That by*^q *Zabratus* *he was cleansed from the pollutions of his life past, and instructed from what things virtuous persons ought to be free, and also learn'd from him the discourse concerning nature, and what are the principles of the universe.* This story may well enough agree with the time of *Zoroastres*, but it cannot do so with the time of *Pythagoras*; what is therein said of his being carried captive to *Babylon*, it's possible might have hapned when *Nebuchadnezzar* conquered *Egypt*, but could not be when it was conquer'd by *Cambyfes*; the chronology of the life of *Pythagoras* may very well admit of the former, but can never of the later. For by that time *Cambyfes* had conquered *Egypt*, *Pythagoras* had been settled in *Italy* above twenty years, after all his travels were over, and was then grown an old man, being then about the sixty third year of his age. But however, that *Pythagoras* was at *Babylon*, and learnt there a great part of that knowledge which he was afterwards so famous for, is agreed by^r all, though there may be some error as to the time when he is said to have been there, or the manner how he came thither. His stay there, *Jamblichus*^s tells us, was twelve years, and that in his converse with the *Magians* he learnt from them (over and above what hath been afore-mention'd out of *Porphyry*) arithmetic, music, and the knowledge of divine things, and the sacred mysteries pertaining thereto. But the most important doctrine which he brought home from thence was that of the immortality of the soul. For it's generally agreed among the ancients, that he was the first of all the *Greeks* that taught it. And this, I take it for certain, he had from *Zoroastres*. For, as I have afore shewn, it was his doctrine, and he is the ancientest whom we have upon record of all the heathen nations that taught it. But *Pythago-*

ⁱ Relig. vet. Pers. c. 24. p. 312.^k Relig. vet. Pers. ibid.^l Floridorum. 2^{do}.^m In vitâ Pythagoræ, cap. 4.ⁿ In vitâ Pythagoræ, p. 185. Edit. Cantab.^o Strom. 1. p. 223.^p Jamblichus de vitâ Pythagoræ, cap. 4. Apuleius Floridorum 2^{do}.^q In vitâ Pythagoræ, p. 185. Edit. Cantab.^r See the bishop of Worcester's tract of thelife of Pythagoras. ^s Diogenes Laertius, Porphyrius & Jamblichus in vitâ Pythagoræ.^t Jamblichus in vitâ Pythagoræ, lib. 4.^v Porphyrius in vitâ Pythagoræ, p. 188. & 201.

Edit. Cantab. Jamblichus in vitâ Pythagoræ, cap. 30.

ras did not bring this doctrine into *Greece*, with that purity in which he received it from his master. For having corrupted it with a mixture of the *Indian* philosophy, (for this also he had learn'd in the east) he made this immortality to consist ^w in an eternal transmigration of the soul from one body to another, whereas *Zoroastres's* doctrine was ^x that there is to be a resurrection of the dead, and an immortal state after to follow, in the same manner as ^y *Daniel* taught, and the people of God then held, and we now, and there is no doubt but that he had it from them.

SOME of the ^z ancient heretics, especially the followers of *Prodicus*, pretended to have the secret books of *Zoroastres*, containing his revelations, and other mysteries of religion, and offered to make use of them in defence of their heresies. Against these ^a *Plotinus* and *Porphyry* did both write, and fully shewed them to have been the forgeries of the *Gnostick* christians. And others have gathered together out of *Proclus*, *Simplicius*, *Damascius*, *Synesius*, *Olympiodorus*, and other writers, what they call the oracles of *Zoroastres*, and several editions have been published of them in *Greek*, with the scholia or comments of *Pletho* and *Psellus*. But all these are mere figments, coined by the *Platonic* philosophers, who lived after the time of *Christ*, and are condemned as such by ^b *St. Chrysostom*, who plainly tells us that they were all figments. If any are desirous to see what unintelligible and nonsensical stuff these oracles do contain, they may consult Mr. *Stanley's* book of the *Chaldaic* philosophy, which is published at the end of his history of philosophy, where they will find them translated into *English* from the collection of *Francis Patricius*.

ABUL-PHARAGIUS tells us, that ^c *Zerduſht* (or *Zoroastres*) foretold to his *Magians* the coming of *Christ*, and that at the time of his birth there should appear a wonderful star, which should shine by day as well as by night, and therefore left it in command with them, that when that star should appear they should follow the directions of it, and go to the place where he should be born, and there offer gifts, and pay their adoration unto him: And that it was by this command that the three wise men came from the east, that is, out of *Persia*, to worship *Christ* at *Bethlehem*. And so far ^d *Scharistani*, tho' a *Mahometan* writer, doth agree with him, as that he tells us, That *Zerduſht* (or *Zoroastres*) foretold the coming of a wonderful person in the latter times, who should reform the world both in religion and righteousness, and that Kings and Princes should become obedient to him, and give him their assistance in promoting the true religion, and all the works thereof. But what these attribute to the prophesy of *Zoroastres*, ^e others refer to the prophesy of *Balaam*, and say, that it was by his prediction that the wise men were led by the star to seek *Christ* in *Judea*, and there pay their adoration unto him. But all this seems to be taken out of the *legendary* writings of the eastern christians. And *Abul-Pharagius*, tho' an *Arab* writer, being by religion a christian, it is most likely, that what he tells us of this matter was taken from them.

^w Porphyrius in vitâ Pythagoræ, p. 17. Edit. Cantab. & Jamblichus & Diogenes Laertius in vitâ ejusdem. ^x Diogenes Laertius in Proemio. ^y Chap. xii. ver. 2, 3.

^z Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. i. p. 223. ^a Vide Lucam Holstenium de vita & scriptis Porphyrii, cap. 9. p. 57. Edit. Cantab. ^b In vitâ Babylæ Martyris.

^c Historia Dynastiæ, p. 54.

^d Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 31. p. 382, 383.

^e Theodorus Tarsensis.

THOSE who are still remaining of this sect in *Persia*^f have there the name of *Gaurs*, which in the *Arabick* signifieth *Infidels*, and is the usual appellation which the *Mahometans* bestow on all that are not of their religion. But these people have this name in *Persia* by way of eminency, as if there were none other such like them, and therefore they are called by it, as if it were their national name, and are known by none other in that countrey, and whosoever speaks of a *Gaur* there, understands none other by it than one of this sect. They have a suburb at *Hispahan*, the metropolis of *Persia*, which is called *Gaurabad*, or the town of the *Gaurs*, where they are employed only in the meanest and vilest drudgeries of the town. And some of them are scattered abroad in other places of that countrey, where they are made use of in the like services. But the bulk of them is in *Kerman*, which being the barrenest and worst province of all *Persia*, and where others care not to dwell, the *Mahometans* have been content to permit them to live there with some freedom, and the full exercise of their religion. But every where else they use them as dogs; esteeming them, as to their religion, the worst of all those that differ from them, and it is with a wonderful constancy that they bear this oppression. Some ages since for the avoiding of it several of them fled into *India*, and settled there in the countrey about *Surat*, where their posterity are still remaining even to this day. And a colony of them is settled in *Bombay*, an island in those parts belonging to the *English*, where they are allowed, without any molestation, the full freedom and exercise of their religion. They are a poor harmless sort of people, zealous in their superstition, rigorous in their morals, and exact in their dealings, professing the worship of one God only, and the belief of a resurrection and a future judgment, and utterly detesting all idolatry, although reckoned by the *Mahometans* the most guilty of it. For although they perform their worship before fire, and towards the rising sun, yet they utterly deny that they worship either of them. They hold, that more of God is in these his creatures, than in any other, and that therefore they worship God towards them, as being in their opinion the truest *Shecinah* of the divine presence among us, as darkness is that of the devils; and as to *Zoroastres*, they still have him in the same veneration as the *Jews* have *Moses*, looking on him as the great prophet of God, by whom he sent his law, and communicated his will unto them.

An. 485.
Xerxes 1.

XERXES having ascended the throne^h employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations for the reduction of *Egypt*, which his father had begun. Heⁱ confirmed to the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* all the privileges granted them by his father, especially that of having the tribute of *Samaría* for the furnishing them with sacrifices for the carrying on of the divine worship in the temple of God in that place.

An. 484.
Xerxes 2.

IN the second year of his reign he marched against the *Egyptians*, and having thoroughly vanquished and subdued these revoltors, he^k reduced them under an heavier yoke of servitude than they were before, and then towards the end of the year, after having made *Achemenes* one of his brothers governor of that province, returned again to *Susa*.

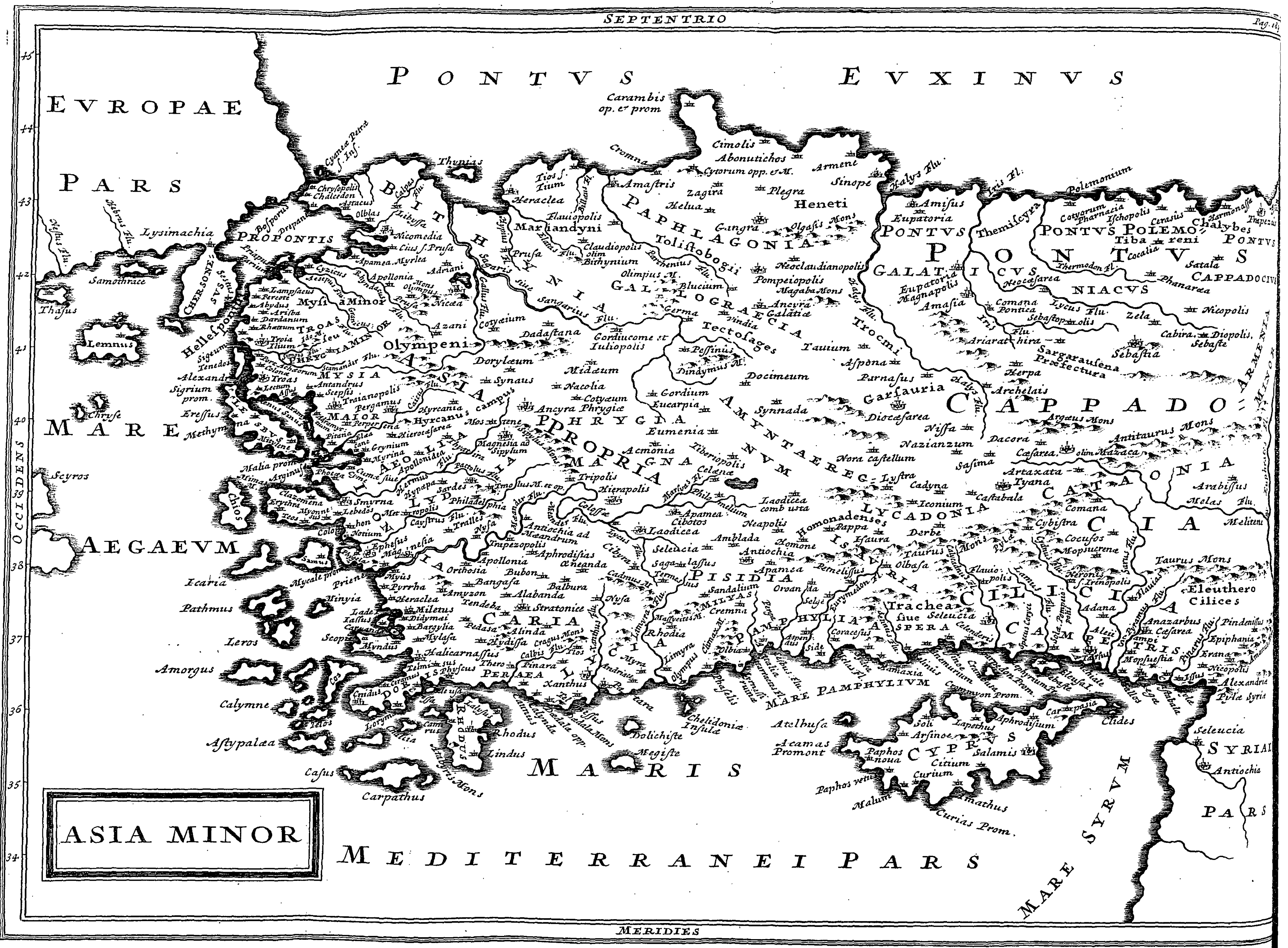
^f Thevenot's travels. Sanzon's present state of Persia. Tavernier Relig. vet. Pers. cap. 29.

^g Ovington's travels.

^h Herod. lib. 7.

ⁱ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 5.

^k Herod. lib. 7.



THIS year *Herodotus* the famous historian ¹ was born at *Halicarnassus* in *Caria*. For he was fifty three years old when the *Peloponesian* war first began.

XERXES being puffed up with his success against the *Egyptians*, *An.* 483. upon the advice and instigation of *Mardonius*, the son of *Gobrias*, who *Xerxes* 3. had married one of his sisters, ^m resolved upon a war with *Greece*, and in order thereto made great preparations for three years together throughout all the provinces of the *Persian* empire.

JESHUA the high-priest of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* ⁿ died in the fifty third year of his high-priesthood, and ^o *Joiakim* his son succeeded him in that office.

XERXES being resolved on the *Grecian* war, ^p entered into a league *An.* 482. with the *Carthaginians*, whereby it was agreed, that while the *Persians* *Xerxes* 4. invaded *Greece*, the *Carthaginians* should fall on all those who were of the *Grecian* name in *Sicily* and *Italy*, that thereby they might be diverted from helping one the other. And the *Carthaginians* made choice of *Hamilcar* to be their general in this war, who not only raised what forces he could in *Africa*, but also with the money sent him by *Xerxes* hired a great number of mercenaries out of *Spain*, *Gallia*, and *Italy*, so that he got together an army of three hundred thousand men, and a fleet proportionable hereto, for the prosecuting of the intent of this league.

AND thus *Xerxes*, according as was foretold by the prophet *Daniel*, *An.* 481. ^q having by his strength and thorough his great riches stirred up all the then *Xerxes* 5. known habitable world against the realm of *Grecia*, that is, all the west under the command of *Hamilcar*, and all the east under his own, he did ^r in the fifth year of his reign, which was ^s the tenth after the battel of *Marathon*, set out from *Susa* to begin the war, and having marched as far as *Sardis* wintered there.

EARLY the next spring ^t *Xerxes* did set out for the *Hellepont*, over *An.* 480. which two bridges of boats having been laid, the one for his army, and *Xerxes* 6. the other for his carriages and beasts of burden, he passed all over in seven days, during all which time they were continually a passing day and night before all could get over, so great was the number of them that attended him in this expedition. From thence marching thorough the *Thracian Chersonesus* he arrived at *Doriscus*, a city at the mouth of the river *Hebrus* in *Thracia*, at which place having encamped his army, and ordered his fleet also to attend him on the adjacent shore, he there took an account of both. His land army upon the muster was found to be one million and seven hundred thousand foot, and fourscore thousand horse, besides his chariots and his camels, for which allowing twenty thousand more, the whole will amount to one million and eight hundred thousand men. His fleet consisted of twelve hundred and seven ships of the line of battel, besides gallies, transports, victuallers, and other sorts of vessels that attended, which were three thousand more; on board all which were reckoned to be five hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. So that the whole number of forces by sea and land, which *Xerxes* brought

¹ Aulus Gellius, lib. 15. c. 23.

^m Herodot. lib. 7.

ⁿ Chronicon Alexandrinum.

^o Nehem. xii. 10. Jos. Antiq. lib. 10. c. 5.

^p Diod. Siculus, lib. 11.

^q Dan. xi. 2.

^r Herod. lib. 7.

^s Thucydides, lib. 1.

^t Herod. lib. 7.

Diodor. Siculus, lib. 11.

Plutarchus in Themistocle & Aristide. Justin. lib. 2. c. 10.

with him out of *Asia* to invade *Greece*, amounted to two millions three hundred and seventeen thousand six hundred and ten men. After his passing the *Hellepont*, the nations on this side that submitted to him, added to his land army three hundred thousand men more, and two hundred and twenty ships to his fleet, on board of which were twenty four thousand men. So that putting all together, his forces by sea and land, by that time he come to the *Streights* of the *Thermopylae*, made up the number of two millions six hundred forty one thousand six hundred and ten men. And the servants, eunuchs, women, sutlers, and all such other people as followed the camp, were computed to be no less than as many more. So that the whole number of persons of all sorts, that followed *Xerxes* in this expedition, were at least five millions. This is ^v *Herodotus*'s account of them, and ^w *Plutarch* and ^x *Isocrates* agree with him herein. But ^y *Diodorus Siculus*, ^z *Pliny*, ^a *Ælian* and others, do in their computations fall much short of this number, making the army of *Xerxes*, with which he passed the *Hellepont* against *Greece*, to be very little more than that with which *Darius* his father passed the *Bosphorus* to make war upon the *Scythians*. It is probable they might have mistaken the one for the other. The verses engraved on the monument of those *Grecians* who were slain at *Thermopylae*, best agree with the account of *Herodotus*. For in them it is said, ^b that they there fought against two millions of men. And he being the ancientest author that hath written of this war, and having lived in the age in which it hapned, and treated of it more particularly, and with a greater appearance of exactness than any other, his computation seemeth the most likely to be the truest, and that especially since we find it to be the general opinion of the ancients, both *Greeks* and *Latins*, that this was the greatest army that was ever brought into the field.

JOSEPHUS tells us, that a band of *Jews* was also in this army, and brings for proof of it a passage out of the poet *Cherilus*, who in describing the army of *Xerxes*, as they passed on by their several nations in their march, hath these verses.

*Then next did march in habit and in meen,
A people wonderful for to be seen.
Their language is in dialect the same,
Which men do speak of the Phœnician name.
They dwell in the high Solymæan land,
On hills, near which there doth a great lake stand.*

Jerusalem having also had the name of ^a *Solyma*, and all the countrey thereabout being mountainous, and lying near the great lake *Asphaltites*, commonly called the lake of *Sodom*, this description seems plainly to suit the *Jews*, especially since it is also mentioned, that they spake the *Phœnician* language, the *Syriac* being then the vulgar language of the *Jews*. But ^c *Scaliger*, ^d *Cunæus*, and ^e *Bochartus* understand it of the *Solymi* in *Pisidia*.

^v Herod. lib. 7. ^w In Themistocle. ^x In Panathenaico. ^y Lib. 11.
^z Lib. 33. c. 10. ^a Var. Hist. lib. 13. cap. 3. ^b Herod. lib. 7. ^c Diod. Siculus, lib. 11. p. 26. *This inscription, according to the reading as in Herodotus, saith they were three millions, but as in Diodorus only two millions.*
^d By abbreviation for Hierosolyma. ^e Contra Apionem, lib. 1. ^f De Republica Hebræorum, lib. 2. c. 18.
^g Geographia Sacra, Part 2. lib. 1. c. 2.

However, ^b *Salmasius* maintains the contrary opinion, and justifies *Josephus* in it; and it must be said, that it is not at all likely, that when *Xerxes* called all the other nations of the *Persian* empire to follow him to this war, the *Jews* alone should be excused from it. And therefore whether these whom *Chærilus* speaks of were *Jews* or not, it must be taken for certain, that they also did bear a part in this expedition.

AFTER *Xerxes* had taken this account of his fleet and army at *Doriscus*, he marched from thence with his army through *Thrace*, *Macedon* and *Thessaly*, towards *Attica*, and ordered his fleet to attend him on the coast all the way, making the same stations by sea that he did by land. All yielded to him in his march without any opposition, till he came to the *Streights* of *Thermopylae*, where *Leonidas* King of the *Lacedæmonians* with three hundred *Spartans*, and as many other *Greeks* as made up a body of four thousand men, defended the pass against him. For two days he made it good against all the numerous army of the *Persians*, repulsing them in every assault with a great slaughter of their men. But on the third day, being ready to be surrounded by the *Persians* through the treachery of a certain *Greek*, who led them by a secret way over the mountains to fall on them in the rear, all retired, saving *Leonidas* and his three hundred *Spartans*, and some few others that would not desert them, who resolutely abiding by the post they had undertaken to defend, were at length all slain upon the spot. But the *Persians* paid very dear for this victory, having lost in the gaining of it twenty thousand of their men, and among them two of the brothers of *Xerxes*.

AFTER this *Xerxes* ^k entered through *Bæotia* into *Attica* the countrey of the *Athenians*, having spent in his march hither since his passing the *Hellespont* four months. The *Athenians* not able to defend themselves against so great a force, deserted their city, putting all their men aboard their fleet, and securing their wives and children in *Salamis*, *Ægina*, and *Træzene*, neighbouring cities, which by the intervention of the sea were out of the reach of his army, so that on his coming thither he became master of the place without any opposition.

IN the interim, the *Persian* and *Grecian* ^l fleets lying near each other, the former at *Aphetae*, and the other at *Artemisium*, above *Eubæa*, had several encounters with each other, in every one of which the *Grecians* had the advantage, and though it was not great, yet it served them to shew, that the enemy, notwithstanding their great number, were not invincible, which gave them the heart afterwards with the greater courage and resolution to fight against them. However their ships being much shattered by these several encounters, they found it necessary to retire to some safer place to refit, and for this purpose came into the *Streights* of *Salamis*, where they not only refitted, but were also re-inforced and augmented by a great many other ships, which from several parts of *Greece* came thither to them, and there joined them against the common enemy, till at length they there made up a fleet upward of three hundred sail. It was while they lay there, that *Xerxes* entered *Athens*, and thereon the *Persian* fleet came thither also, and anchored at *Phalerus*, a port on that shore.

^b In Offilegio Linguae Hellenisticae.

^k Herod. lib. 7. Diod. Sic. lib. xi. Plutarchus in Themistocle.

^l Herod. lib. 8. Plutarchus in Themistocle, Diodor. Sic. lib. xi.

The *Streights of Salamis*, where the *Greek* fleet lay, was the most advantageous place for them to fight the numerous fleet of the enemy in, that they could chuse. For the *Persians*, by reason of the narrowness of that sea, not being able to extend their front in it beyond that of the *Greeks*, could there have no advantage from their numbers; but altho' their fleet was four times as great must in that place fight upon equal terms: Which *Themistocles* the general of the *Athenians* having wisely observed, did by his prudence and dexterity bring it to pass, that there it came to a battel between them; wherein the *Grecians* by the advantage of the place gained the victory, and gave the enemy such an overthrow, as wholly dashed all the aims and designs of this prodigious expedition, which was one of the greatest, both for expence and number of men, that was ever undertaken. For they having destroyed two hundred of their ships, besides those which they took, the rest got away to the *Asian* coast, and having set in at *Cyma*, a city in *Æolia*, they there laid up for the winter, and never came again into *Greece*. And *Xerxes* being frightened with an apprehension, lest the conquerors should sail to the *Hellepont*, and there obstruct his return, fled thither with all the haste and precipitation he could, and having left *Mardonius*, with three hundred thousand men, to carry on the war in *Greece*, marched back with the rest to *Sardis*, and there took up his quarters for the ensuing year. It is remarkable, that at his coming to *Hellepont*, finding the bridge of boats which he had left there broken by storms, he who had passed over that sea but a few months before with such pomp and pride, was forced to repass it in a poor fisher-boat.

ABOUT the same time^m his confederates the *Carthaginians* met with as great, or rather a much greater defeat, in *Sicily*. For *Hamilcar*, their general, having drawn together his numerous army, of which I have already spoken, and shipped them on board the vast fleet which he had prepared for their transportation, sailed with them for *Sicily*, and having there landed them at *Panormus*, a port in that island, laid siege to *Himera*, a maritime city in the neighbourhood. While he lay there, for his better security he caused two large camps to be fortified, in the one of which he lodged his land-army, and into the other he drew up his ships, placing there all his marines for their defence. At that time *Gelo* was King of *Sicily*, a prince of great wisdom, conduct, and valour. As soon as he had an account of this invasion, he drew together an army of fifty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, and marched immediately against the enemy for the defence of the countrey. On his arrival at *Himera* he intercepted a courier carrying letters from the *Salinuntines*, confederates of the *Carthaginians*, to *Hamilcar*, whereby he understood that the next morning *Hamilcar* was to celebrate a great sacrifice to *Neptune* at the camp of the marines, and that he had appointed the *Salenuntine* horse then to come thither to him. *Gelo* taking the advantage of this intelligence, the next morning at the time appointed sent thither a party of horse of his own, who being received into the camp of the *Salinuntines*, first flew *Hamilcar*, and then set the fleet on fire. As soon as this was done, *Gelo* having notice of it by a signal given him from the top of an adjacent hill, where he had placed watchmen for this purpose, drew out his army before the other camp of the enemy, and gave them battel. But the flame ascending from the

^m Herodot. lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

camp of the marines, soon telling the *Carthaginians* the fate of their fleet, and a messenger at the same time bringing them an account of the death of their general, this so disheartened and confounded them, that having no longer any courage to stand their ground, they were soon put to the rout, and *Gelo* flew of them an hundred and fifty thousand on the field of battle, and took all the rest prisoners, which were as many more, and sold them all for slaves; so that all *Sicily* was filled with them. This defeat was so entire, that of all this prodigious fleet and army, the greatest that was ever set forth in those western parts for any expedition, it's remarked none returned save only a few, who escaped in a cock-boat to bring this dismal news to *Carthage*. ^a *Herodotus* tells us, that this battle was fought on the same day with that of *Salamis*, but ^o *Diodorus Siculus* says, it was at the time when *Leonidas* was slain at *Thermopylae*; which seems to be the truer account of the two. For after this success of *Gelo*, ^p the *Grecians* sent to him for his assistance against *Xerxes*, which they would not have done after the battle of *Salamis*. For from thenceforth they thought themselves alone more than sufficient for the enemy, without needing any other force than that of their own to finish the war.

ON *Xerxes's* departure out of *Greece*, ^q *Mardonius* wintered his army An. 479.
Xerxes 7. in *Thessaly* and *Macedonia*, and early the next spring marched with it into *Bæotia*. From thence he sent *Alexander* King of *Macedonia* to *Athens*, with proposals of accommodation from the King. Thereby he offered them to rebuild at the King's charges, whatsoever had been burnt or demolished in *Attica* the former year, to permit them to live according to their own laws, to reinstate them in all their former possessions, and to add to them whatsoever other lands they should desire. But the *Athenians* not being to be induced to desert the interest of *Greece*, for any advantage whatsoever, would hearken to none of these offers; whereon ^r *Mardonius* being enraged by the refusal, marched with all his army into *Attica*, destroying every thing wherever he came, and entering *Athens*, burnt and demolished whatsoever he there found standing after the former year's devastation. For the *Athenians* not being strong enough to resist such a torrent, had the second time withdrawn to *Salamis*, *Ægina*, and *Træzene*, and left the city empty. In the interim, the joint forces of all *Greece* being drawn together at the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, *Mardonius* thought fit to march back again into *Bæotia*. For that being an open and level countrey, was much fitter for him to fight in than *Attica*, which being rough, craggy, and full of hills and defiles, could scarce any where afford him room enough for to draw up his numerous army in, or a ground proper for his cavalry to do any service in. On his return he encamped on the river *Æsopus*; thither the *Greeks* marched after him, under the command of *Pausanias* King of *Lacedæmon*, and *Aristides* general of the *Athenians*. They consisted of an hundred and twenty thousand men, and the *Persians* of three hundred and fifty thousand, saith ^s *Herodotus*; of five hundred thousand, saith ^t *Diodorus Siculus*; and with these forces near the city of *Platea* it came to a decisive battle between them, in which *Mardonius* was slain, and all the *Persian* army cut in pieces. Only *Artabazus*,

^a Lib. 7. ^o Lib. 11. ^p Herodot. lib. 7. ^q Herodot. lib. 8. *Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.*
Plutarchus in Aristide & Themistocle. Justin. lib. 2. cap. 14. ^r Herodot. lib. 9.

^s Lib. 9. ^t Lib. 11.

who was aware of the event from the ill conduct which he had observed in *Mardonius*, made an early escape, with forty thousand men which he commanded, and by his speed out-marching the fame of the defeat got safe to *Byzantium*, and there passed over into *Asia*. Besides these, not four thousand of all the rest escaped the carnage of that day, but were all slain and cut in pieces by the *Greeks*, and this quite delivered them from all farther invasions of that people. For from that time a *Persian* army was never more seen on this side the *Hellepont*.

ON the same day that the *Greeks* fought this battel at *Plataea*,^v their naval forces got as memorable a victory over the remainder of the *Persian* fleet in *Asia*. For at the same time that their land-forces rendezvoused at the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, their fleet having met together at *Ægina* under the command of *Leotychides*, the other King of the *Lacedæmonians*, and *Xantippus* the *Athenian*, there came thither to them embassadors from the *Ionians* to invite them into *Asia*, to deliver the *Greek* cities there from the slavery of the *Barbarians*, whereon they sailed for *Delos* in their way thither, and while they lay there other embassadors came to them from *Samos*, who having acquainted them that the *Persian* fleet which wintered at *Cyma*, having sailed thence, were then at *Samos*, and might there be easily vanquished and destroyed by them, earnestly solicited them to come thither and fall upon them. Whereon they accordingly set sail forthwith for *Samos*. But the *Persians* hearing of their approach retired to *Mycale*, a promontory on the continent of *Asia*, where their land-army lay, consisting of an hundred thousand men, which were the remainder of those which *Xerxes* had brought back out of *Greece* the former year, and there drew up their ships upon the land, and fortified them with a strong rampart drawn round them. But the *Greeks* following them thither, by the assistance of the *Ionians* who revolted to them, vanquished their army at land, took their rampart, and burnt all their ships. And here ended all the great designs of *Xerxes* in a most miserable disappointment, there being after these two battels scarce any of all that prodigious army, with which the year before he marched so proudly over the *Hellepont*, now left, whom either the famine, the pestilence, or the sword, had not absolutely destroyed, excepting those whom *Artabazus* brought back out of *Greece*. And of these a great number died on their return into *Asia*, by their overglutting themselves with the plenty of that countrey, after the hardships they had suffered on the other side of the *Hellepont*. A greater fleet and army was scarce ever set forth in the west for any expedition, than that of *Hamilcar*'s against *Sicily*, or ever was there a greater army brought together any where, than that wherewith *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, yet all these numerous forces were baffled, defeated, and destroyed by those, who in number or power, reckoning all the armies on both sides against each other, could scarce bear the name of an handful of men in comparison of them; and hereby a signal instance was given, that whatsoever the pride of man may design, or the power of man think to effect, it is still the providence of God that governs the world, and turneth all the affairs thereof which way soever he pleaseth.

THE battel of *Plataea* was fought in the morning, and that of *Mycale*, in the afternoon of the same day, and yet^w it is commonly said by the *Greek*

^v Herodot. lib. 9. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. ^w Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Herodot. lib. 9. Justin. lib. 2. c. 14. writers,

writers, that they had an account of the victory of *Platæa* at *Mycale* before they begun the battel there, though the whole *Ægean* sea, which was several days failing, lay between. But *Diodorus Siculus* clears this matter. For *he tells us, that *Leotychides*, finding the forces that followed him to be in great pain for the *Greeks* at *Platæa*, lest they should be overpowered and vanquished by the numerous army of *Mardonius*, the better to encourage and enhearten his men for the battel, just before he made the first onset, caused it to be given out through all the army, that the *Persians* were defeated, though he then knew nothing of the matter. But what he then feigned hapning to be true, and also done the same day, this gave occasion for what is said of that quick intelligence, which was utterly impossible to have come in so short a time, from so far distant a place by any human means. And there is no reason to suppose a miracle in this case. And that which is said † of the victory of *Paulus Æmilius* over the *Macedonians*, being known at *Rome* on the same day on which it was got, at a greater distance than *Platæa* was from *Mycale*, no doubt was from the same cause. That hapned to be true which was only feigned when first reported, and afterwards when it was found to be true, and done on the same day on which the *Romans* first had the report, it was made a miracle of, as if there had been some supernatural power that brought the intelligence.

XERXES on his having received these two great defeats at *Platæa* and *Mycale*, ‡ left *Sardis* almost with the same precipitation as he did *Athens* after the battel of *Salamis*, making all the haste he could towards *Persia*, that thereby he might get as far as he could out of the reach of the conquering enemies. However, he omitted not before he left those parts to give † order for the burning and demolishing of all the temples in the *Grecian* cities in *Asia*, which was accordingly executed upon all of them, excepting only that of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, which alone escaped this general devastation. And this he did not out of any particular displeasure to the *Asiatic Greeks*. For he did the same wherever else he came, destroying all idolatrous temples that came in his way, throughout this whole expedition. The true cause of this was his zeal for the *Magian* religion, in which he had been thoroughly instructed, and made a zealous profelyte to it by *Zoroastres*. For that sect expressing † a great detestation against worshipping of God by images, were for destroying all idolatrous temples wherever they came. And to keep *Xerxes* firm to their party, not only several of the chief doctors of the *Magians*, but also † *Ostanes* himself, † who was then the *Archimagus*, or great patriarch of the whole sect, accompanied him as his chaplains through this whole expedition. And by their instigation † *Tully* tells us it was, that all these temples were destroyed. This *Ostanes* is said to have been † grandfather to *Zoroastres*, but it is most likely that he was his grandson, and that it was by mistake that it hath been said otherwise. For *Zoroastres* it's certain was † a very old man at his death. The name of *Ostanes* was very famous among the *Greeks*. For

* Lib. 11. † Plutarchus in Paulo Æmilio. Livius, lib. 41. ‡ Herod. lib. 9. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. † Strabo, lib. 14. p. 634. Cicero de Legibus, lib. 2. Hieronymus in Esaiæ, cap. 37. Æschylus in Persis. Herod. lib. 8. † Clemens Alexandrinus in Protreptico. Laertius in Proœmio. Pocockii Specimen, Hist. Arab. p. 148, 149. † Plin. lib. 30. c. 1, 2. † Laertius in Proœmio. Suidas in voce Μάγος. † De Legibus, lib. 2. † Relig. vet. Pers. c. 24. † Relig. vet. Pers. ibid.

^afrom him, they say, they first had the *Magian* philosophy, he having communicated it unto them, while he followed *Xerxes* in this war, and therefore from him they sometimes call the whole sect ⁱ*Ostaneans*, instead of *Magians*, as if he had been the chief founder of it.

ONE of the temples, which by *Xerxes*'s order were thus destroyed, was ^kthat of *Apollo Didumæan* near *Miletus*, from whence he took an immense treasure. This was discovered to the *Persians* by the *Branchidæ* a family of the *Milesians*, that had the keeping of the temple, who thereon finding themselves by reason of this treachery and sacrilege to become very odious to their countrey-men, durst not, on *Xerxes*'s going away, stay behind him, for fear of their wrath, but followed after him into *Persia*, and were there planted by him in a small territory, which he gave them on the river *Ozus* in the province of *Bactria*, where *Alexander*, on his making himself master of that countrey, finding their posterity still remaining, ^lcaused them all to be put to the sword, thereby cruelly and unreasonably revenging on the innocent descendents, the crime committed by their ancestors many ages before.

XERXES on his return toward *Susa* passing thorough *Babylon*, ^mmade there the same devastation of their temples, as he had in *Greece*, and the *Lesser Asia*, and as it may be supposed on the same principle, that is, his zeal for the *Magian* religion, and his aversion to that of the *Sabians*, who worshipped God by images, ⁿof which the *Magians* had the utmost detestation. For the *Babylonians* were all *Sabians*, and indeed were the first founders of the sect. For they first brought in the worship of the planets, and afterwards that of images, and from thence propagated it to all the other nations, where it obtained, as hath been already shewn. And for this reason the *Magians* having them in abhorrence above all other *Sabians*, prevailed with *Xerxes*, out of an especial hatred to them, to take *Babylon* in his way to *Susa*, of purpose to destroy all the temples they had there; altho' perchance to recruit himself with the spoils of these temples, after the vast expences which he had been at in his *Grecian* war, might be the most forcible motive that wrought him into this resolution. For the wealth of their temples was vast and excessive, as having been the collection of a great number of ages. I have already computed how many millions of our money the treasures of the temple of *Belus* only amounted to, according to the account given us of them by *Diodorus Siculus*, and if those which he found in the other idol temples in that city were as great, as no doubt they were, they must more than repay him all that he spent in the *Grecian* war. And without some such recruit, it is scarce possible to imagine how he could have supported himself at home after so great a miscarriage and loss. And yet we find, that after his return he was supported through all his empire, in the same manner as before, without suffering any great damage either in his authority, or power therein, after this so great and so extraordinary a disaster, whereas it usually happens, that princes are ruined at home as well as abroad by such misfortunes.

^a Plin. lib. 30. c. 1, & 2.

ⁱ Suidas in *Ὀσάναι*.

^k Strabo, lib. 14.

^l Strabo,

lib. 11. p. 518. Q. Curtius, lib. 7. cap. 5.

^m Arrianus Expeditionis Alexandri, lib. 7.

Strabo, lib. 16. Herod. lib. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 2.

ⁿ Pocockii Specimen Historiæ Arabicæ,

p. 148, 149.

By the pillaging and destroying of all these heathen temples at *Babylon* was fully completed, what the prophets *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah* prophesied hereof many years before. ° *All the graven images of her gods hath he broken unto the ground.* ° *I will punish Bel in Babylon. I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he hath swallowed.* ° *And I will do judgment upon all the graven images of Babylon.* ° *Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces, her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces.* For when *Xerxes* destroyed all these temples in *Babylon*, he took from them all their treasures, which they had been for many ages swallowing; and pulling down all the images that were in them, broke them all to pieces, and converted the gold and silver, of which they were made, to all those common uses for which he had occasion of them.

AFTER the battel of *Mycale* the *Grecian* fleet failed to the *Hellepont*, to seize the bridges which *Xerxes* had laid over those streights, supposing that they had been still whole. But on their coming thither, finding that they had been broken by storms, *Leotychides* with the *Peloponnesians* failed home; but *Xantippus* with the *Athenians* and allies of *Ionian* still staying there, made themselves masters of *Sestus* and the *Thracian Chersonesus*, where they took much spoil, and a great number of prisoners, and then on the approach of winter returned to their respective Cities. *Xantippus* finding all the material of *Xerxes*'s bridge at *Cardia*, where the *Persians* had caused them to be brought before his arrival in those parts, he carried them with him to *Athens*, and there laid them up to be a memorial of that total overthrow which they gave their enemy in this war, by the many victories which they had obtained over them. From this time all the *Ionian* cities in *Asia* revolted from the *Persians*, and entering into confederacy with the *Grecians*, by their help maintained their liberty for the most part ever after, during the continuance of that empire.

THE *Greeks* having re-settled their affairs at home, after the great ruffle that was made in them by the late invasion of the *Persians*, ° resolved farther to prosecute the war against them for the driving of them out of all the cities abroad that were of the *Grecian* original. For which purpose they equipped a strong fleet of which *Pausanias* King of the *Lacedemonians*, and *Aristides* the *Athenian* having the command, they sailed with it to *Cyprus*, and there having freed a great many *Grecian* cities from their *Persian* garrisons, restored them again to their own liberty.

An. 477.
Xerxes 9.

ABOUT this time *Xerxes* at *Susa* ° was acting a very cruel and barbarous tragedy in the house of *Masistes* his Brother, which had its rise from an incestuous love first begun at *Sardis*. For *Xerxes*, after his return thither from his flight out of *Greece*, fell in love with *Masistes*'s wife, who was then in that city, but she being a very virtuous woman, and very loving and faithful to her husband, could on no solicitations be prevailed with to defile his bed. But *Xerxes* thinking to win her at last, heaped all manner of favours and obligations upon her, to engage her to yield to him; and particularly he married a daughter which she had, named *Artaynta*, to *Darius* his eldest son, whom he intended for his successor in the throne, and on his return to *Susa* caused the marriage to be consummated, which being the greatest favour he could bestow upon the mother, he expected it

° *Isaiah* xxi. 9.

° *Jer.* li. 44.

° *Jer.* li. 47, 52.

° *Jer.* i. 2.

° *Herod.* lib. 9.

° *Diod. Sic.* lib. 11. *Plutarchus* in *Aristide*.

° *Herod.* lib. 9.

would

would engage her to a compliance with his desires. But finding the lady's virtue to be still impregnable against all his attempts, he at length turned the amour from the mother to the daughter, and fell in love with *Artaynta*, where he soon found a ready compliance to all he desired. While this was a doing, *Hamestris*, *Xerxes's* Queen, having wrought a very rich and curious mantle, presented it to the King, who being very much pleased with it, wore it when he made his next visit to his mistress; and on his having enjoyed his lust on her, to express the satisfaction he had therein, he bad her ask what she would of him for her reward, promising her with an oath, that whatsoever it should be he would give it unto her. Hereon she asked of him the mantle which he had then on him. *Xerxes* being aware of the mischief which might follow from his giving of it unto her, did all that he could to divert her from this request, offering her whatever else was in his power to redeem it from her. But nothing else being able to content the lady, and his promise and the oath being urged for the grant, he was forced to give it unto her, and she out of the vanity and pride of her mind, as soon as she had it put it on, and as by way of trophy wore it publickly, whereby *Hamestris* being thoroughly confirmed in what she was afore only jealous of, became enraged to the utmost degree, but instead of turning her wrath against the daughter, who only was faulty in this matter, resolved to be revenged on the mother, as if all this intrigue had been of her contrivance, who was wholly innocent of it. And therefore waiting the great festival that used annually to be celebrated on the King's birth-day, which was then approaching, whereon it was the custom for the King to grant her whatsoever she should then desire, she asked of him the wife of *Masistes* to be given unto her. The King perceiving the malice of the woman, and what she intended, abhorred it to the utmost, both for the sake of his brother, and also for what he knew of the innocency of the lady, as to that for which *Hamestris* was exasperated against her, and therefore at first withstood her in this request all that he could. But her importunity not being to be diverted, nor what was said for the custom to be gain said, he was forced to yield to her. Whereon the lady being seized by the King's guards, and delivered to her, she caused her breasts, her tongue, nose, ears and lips, to be cut off and thrown to the dogs before her face, and then sent her home again thus mangled to her husband's house. In the interim *Xerxes*, to mollify the matter as much as he could, sent for *Masistes*, and told him, that it was his desire that he must part with his wife, and that instead of her he would give him one of his daughters in marriage. But *Masistes* having an entire affection for his wife could not be induced to consent hereto; whereon *Xerxes* told him in an angry manner, that since he refused to accept of his daughter, when offered to him, he should neither have her nor his wife neither, and so dismissed him in displeasure. Whereon *Masistes* suspecting some mischief was done him, made haste home to see how matters there stood, where finding his wife in that mangled condition, as hath been mentioned, and being thereby exasperated to the utmost, as the case deserved, he immediately got together all his family, servants, and dependants, and made all the haste he could towards *Bactria*, the province of which he was governor, purposing, as soon as he could arrive thither, to raise an army and make war upon the King, to be revenged of him for this barbarous usage. But *Xerxes* hearing of his sudden retreat, and suspecting from
thence

thence what he intended, sent a party of horse after him, who overtaking him on the road, cut him off, with his wife and children, and all that belonged to him. This *Masistes* was brother of *Xerxes* by *Atossa*, the same mother as well as by the same father, and was a person of great worth and honour, as well as of great fidelity to the King, and he had done him great services in his *Grecian* war, having been one of his chief generals, who had the leading of his army in that expedition, and he was personally engaged for him in the battel of *Mycale*, and was in truth the chief honour of his house, and never gave him any just cause to be offended with him. However all this could not protect him from *Xerxes*'s cruelty; which sufficiently shews, that where there is a vicious prince, with an arbitrary power in the government, there is nothing that can be sufficient to secure any man's safety under him.

AND there is ^w another fact related of *Hamestris* equally cruel and impious, that is, that she caused fourteen boys of the best families in *Persia* to be buried alive, as a sacrifice to the infernal gods. And in the relating of this, as well as her other cruelties above-mention'd, I have been the more particular, because ^x several having been of opinion, by reason of the similitude that is between the names of *Hamestris* and *Esther*, that *Xerxes* was the *Abasuerus*, and *Hamestris* the *Esther* mentioned in Scripture, it may from hence appear, how impossible it is, that a woman of so vile and abominable a character, as *Hamestris* was, could have ever been that Queen of *Persia*, who by the name of *Esther* is so renowned in holy writ, and is there recorded, as the instrument, by whom God was pleased in so signal a manner to deliver his people from that utter destruction which was designed against them.

AFTER the death of *Masistes* *Xerxes* appointed ^y *Hystaspis* his second son to be governor of *Bactria* in his stead; which obliging him to be absent from court, gave *Artaxerxes* his younger brother the opportunity of mounting the throne before him on the death of *Xerxes*, as will be hereafter related.

THE *Grecian* fleet having effected at *Cyprus* what they went thither for, ^{An. 476.} failed from thence to the *Hellespont*, and took in *Byzantium*; where ^{Xerxes} several *Persians* of eminent note, and some of them of the kindred of ^{10.} *Xerxes*, being taken prisoners, *Pausanias* treacherously released them all, pretending they had made their escape, and by some of them entered into a treaty with *Xerxes* to betray *Greece* unto him, upon condition that he would give him one of his daughters in marriage; which being readily agreed to by *Xerxes*, *Pausanias* thenceforth took upon him to live after another rate than formerly, affecting the pomp and grandeur of the *Persians*, and carrying himself haughtily and tyrannically towards the allies; whereon they being disgusted with his conduct, and not being able any longer to bear it, did put themselves under the *Athenians*, who thenceforth by this means obtained the chief command at sea in all the *Grecian* affairs, and held it for many years after. The *Lacedæmonians* having received an account of these miscarriages of *Pausanias* deposed him from his command on the *Hellespont*, and recalling him home put him under publick censure for them.

^w Herodot. lib. 7.

^x Scaliger and his followers.

^y Diod. Sic. lib. 11.

^z Thucydides, lib. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Aristide.

An. 475.
Xerxes
11.

HOWEVER ^a the next year he went again to the *Hellepont*, although without the consent of the state or any commission from them, sailing thither in a private ship, which he hired on pretence of fighting against the *Persians* as a volunteer in that war; but in reality to carry on his treasonable designs with them, *Artabazus* being appointed governor on the *Propontis*, of purpose to be there at hand to treat with him. But while he was at *Byzantium* his behaviour was such, that the *Athenians* drove him thence; whereon he went to the countrey of *Troas*, and there tarried some time, the better to carry on his correspondence with *Artabazus*, of which there being some suspicions, the *Lacedaemonians* summoned him home by a publick officer, but on his return put him in prison; but no evidence appearing of this thing in his tryal, he was again discharged. But some time after the whole of it being brought to light, and discovered by one whom he had made use of to carry on the correspondence, they put him to death for it.

An. 472.
Xerxes
14.

THE MISTOCLES, ^b by his wisdom and great application, having much advanced the power and interest of the *Athenians*, hereby drew on him the bitter enmity of the *Lacedaemonians*. For they seeing their honour eclipsed, and that authority, whereby they had hitherto born the chief sway among the *Greeks*, now rivall'd and diminish'd by the growing up of this flourishing state, could not with patience bear it, and therefore to gratify their revenge, resolved on the ruine of him that had been the author of it. In order whereto they caused him first to be accused at *Athens*, of being a confederate with *Pausanias* in his treason against *Greece*, but nothing being proved of what was laid to his charge, he was there acquitted.

An. 471.
Xerxes
15.

BUT ^c the next year after, *Themistocles* being banished *Athens*, they renewed their design against him. He was not banished for any crime, but by *Ostracisme*, which was ^d a way among them, whereby for the better securing of their liberty they used to suppress those that were grown to too great a power and authority among them, by banishing them the city for a certain term of years. *Themistocles* being thus necessitated for a time to leave his countrey, settled at *Argos*, of which the *Lacedaemonians* taking the advantage, prosecuted anew their charge against him before the general council of all *Greece* then met at *Sparta*, and summoned him to appear before them to answer to it, accusing him there of treason against the whole community of *Greece*. *Themistocles* seeing how bitterly the *Lacedaemonians* were set against him, and knowing that they could carry every thing as they pleased in that assembly, durst not trust his cause with them, but fled first to *Corcyra*, and from thence to *Admetus* king of the *Molossians*, by whose assistance being conveyed to the coasts of the *Ægean* sea, he took shipping at *Pydna* in *Macedonia*, and from thence passed over to *Cyrra*, a city of *Æolia* in the lesser *Asia*. But *Xerxes* having put a price of two hundred talents upon his head, (which amounted to thirty seven thousand five hundred pound of our money) several were there upon the hunt after him for the gain of so great a reward. For the avoiding of this danger he was forced there to lye hid for some time, till at length by the contrivance and

^a Thucydides, lib. 1. Plutarchus in Aristide & Themistocle. Cornelius Nepos in Pausania.

^b Herodot. lib. 7, &c. Thucydides, lib. 1. Plutarchus in Themistocle. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

^c Thucydides, lib. 1. Plutarchus in Themistocle. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

^d Plutarchus in Aristide.

assistance of his friend and host *Nicogenes*, the richest man of that country, he was conveyed safe to *Susa*, in one of those close chariots in which the *Persians* used to carry their women; they that had the conducting of him, giving out that they were carrying a young *Greek* lady to the court for one of the nobility, by which means he got to the *Persian* court without any danger; where being arrived, he addressed himself to *Artabanus* the captain of the guards, to whose office it belonged to bring those to the audience of the King that had any business with him; by him he was introduced into *Xerxes's* presence; and being there asked who he was, he told him he was *Themistocles* the *Athenian*; that though he had done him great hurt in his wars, yet he had in many things much served him, particularly in hindering the *Greeks* from pursuing him after the battle of *Salamis*, and obstructing his retreat over the *Hellepont*; that for these his services to him being driven out of his country, he was now fled to him for refuge, hoping that he would have more regard to what he had done for his interest, than to what, with the rest of his countrymen, he had in the wars acted against it. *Xerxes* then said nothing to him, though as soon as he was withdrawn he expressed a great deal of joy and satisfaction, that so considerable a person was come over to him, wishing that God would always put it into the minds of his enemies, thus to drive their best men from them. But the next morning having assembled the chief of the *Persian* nobility about him, and ordered him again to be brought into his presence, he received him with great kindness, telling him in the first place, that he owed him two hundred talents. For he having set that price upon his head, it was due to him, who had brought him his head by thus rendering himself unto him, and accordingly commanded it to be paid him, and then ordered him to say, what he had concerning the affairs of *Greece* to impart unto him. But *Themistocles* being then no otherwise able to deliver himself than by an interpreter, begged leave that he might be permitted first to learn the *Persian* language, hoping that then he might be in a capacity to communicate to the King, what he had to impart to him, in a much more perfect manner than he could then promise to do by the interpretation of another; which being granted to him, and he having after a year's time made himself thorough master of that tongue, he was again called in to the King, to whom having communicated all that he thought proper, he grew very much into his favour, so that when *Mandana* his sister, who had lost several of her sons in the battle of *Salamis*, had prosecuted an accusation against *Themistocles* for their death, and was very importunate and clamorous to have him delivered up to her, a sacrifice to her revenge, he not only caused him to be acquitted by the suffrages of all the nobility then attending the court, but conferred many royal bounties upon him. For he gave him a wife of a noble *Persian* family, with an house, servants, and an equipage in all things suitable hereto, and an annual revenue sufficient to enable him in the best manner to support the same, and on all occasions much caressed him as long as he continued in his court. And it is mentioned as one particular instance of his favour to him, that by his especial command he^e was admitted to hear the lectures and discourses of the *Magians*, and was instructed by them in all the secrets of their philosophy. But at length it being thought best for the King's inte-

^e Plutarchus in Themistocle.

rest that he should reside in some of the maritime towns near *Greece*, that he might be there ready at hand for such services as the King might have occasion of from him in those parts, he was sent to live at *Magnesia* on the river *Meander*, where he had not only all the revenues of that city, (which were fifty talents a year) but also those of *Myus* and *Lampsacus* allowed him for his maintenance, amounting all together to one hundred and fifty talents a year, which was little less than thirty thousand pound of our money. And here he lived all the time of *Xerxes*, and several Years after, in the reign of *Artaxerxes*, his soon, in a very plentiful and splendid manner, as well he might on so large a revenue, till at length he ended his days in that city, in the manner as shall be hereafter related.

BUT according to *Thucydides*, *Xerxes* was dead, and *Artaxerxes* had newly succeeded in the throne, when *Themistocles* fled out of *Greece* to the *Persian* court; and therefore he tells us that it was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and not *Xerxes* by whom *Themistocles* was received with so much favour; and *Thucydides* being an historian of great credit, and having wrote this not many years after the Death of *Artaxerxes*, ^a the lord primate *Usher*, moved by so great an authority, follows him in this matter, and to make it accord with the other transactions of those times, takes nine years from the reign of *Xerxes*, and adds them ^b to the two following reigns, making *Xerxes* to end his reign nine years sooner, and *Artaxerxes* to begin his reign nine years sooner, than any other author says. Hereby the learned primate doth exceedingly help his hypothesis of the computation of the seventy weeks of *Daniel's* prophesy, and that, no doubt, induced him to prefer the authority of *Thucydides* before all others in this particular. For if we put the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* (from whence he reckons the beginning of these seventy weeks) nine years higher than others do, the middle of the last week will fall exactly in with the time when *Christ* was crucified. And therefore were the authority of *Thucydides* sufficient to justify him in this matter, the primate's computation would appear much more plausible than now it doth. But the canon of *Ptolemy*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and all others that write of these times, being against him herein, it is much more probable that *Thucydides* was out in this particular. For although he be a very exact historian in the affairs of *Greece*, of which he professedly writes, yet it is possible he might be mistaken in those of *Persia*, which he treats of only by the by.

IN the interim, the *Athenians* having set out a fleet under the command of *Cimon*, ^c the son of *Miltiades*, conquered *Eione* on the river *Strymon*, and other parts of *Thrace*, and then took in the islands of *Scyrus* and *Naxus*, which had revolted from them, and ^d while they were assaulting the last of these, *Themistocles* passed by them in his flight into *Asia*, and difficultly escaped falling into their hands.

THE next year after, ^e *Cimon* sailing from *Athens* with a fleet of two hundred sail, passed over to the coasts of *Asia*, where having augmented it

An. 470.
Xerxes
16.

^f Lib. 1. ^g In annalibus veteris Testamenti sub anno Julianæ periodi 4241.

^h i. e. To the reigns of *Artaxerxes*, and his son *Xerxes*, whom the primate makes to reign one year after him. For these authors say that *Xerxes* reigned one and twenty years, and *Artaxerxes* one and forty; but according to the primate, *Xerxes* reigned but twelve years, *Artaxerxes* fifty.

^k *Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Plutarchus in Cimone.*

^l *Plutarchus in Themistocle.*

^m *Diodor. & Plutarchus, ibid. Thucydides, lib. 1.*

with

with an hundred sail more from the allies, he took in all the maritime parts of *Carya* and *Lycia*, driving the *Persians* out of all the cities they were possessed of in those parts, and then hearing that they had a great fleet on the coasts of *Pamphylia*, and were also drawing down thither as great an army by land for some expedition, he hastned thither with two hundred and fifty of his best ships in quest of them; and finding their fleet consisting of three hundred and fifty sail at anchor, in the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*, and their land-army encamped on the shore by, he first assaulted their Fleet, which being soon put to the rout, and having no other way to flee but up the River, were all taken, every ship of them, and twenty thousand men in them, the rest having either escaped to land, or been slain in the fight. After this, while his forces were thus flushed with success, he put them ashore and fell upon the land-army, and overthrew them also with a great slaughter; whereby he got two great victories in the same day, of which one was equal to that of *Salamis*, and the other to that of *Plataea*. And having gotten information that there were eighty more *Phœnician* ships coming to join the *Persian* fleet, he surprized them in harbour before they had any notice of the late defeat, and destroyed every ship of them, and all the men on board were either drowned or slain in the fight. After which success *Cimon* returned home in great triumph, and very much enriched and adorned *Athens* with the spoils got in this expedition.

THE next year ^a*Cimon* sailed to the *Hellepont*, and falling on the *Persians* who had taken possession of the *Thracian Chersonesus* drove them out thence, and subjected their country again to the *Athenians*, though in truth (it having been the principality ^o of his father *Miltiades*) he had the best right to it himself. After this he subdued the *Thebians* who had revolted from the *Athenians*, and then landing his army on the opposite shore of *Thrace*, he seized all the gold mines on those coasts, and brought under him all that countrey as far as *Macedon*, and thereby opened a way for the conquering of that realm also, would he have pursued the opportunity. For ^pthe omitting of which he was afterwards on his return brought to trial for his life before the *Athenians*, as if he had been corrupted by the *Macedonians* to spare them, and hardly escaped being condemned for it.

An. 469.
Xerxes
17.

XERXES being at last daunted, and wholly discouraged by the continued series of so many losses and defeats, gave over all thoughts of any longer carrying on the *Grecian* war, and therefore from this time ^qno more of his ships were seen in the *Ægean* sea, or any of his forces on the coasts adjoining to it, all the remainder of his reign.

AFTER this, *Xerxes* giving himself wholly up to luxury and ease, minded nothing but the gratifying of his pleasures and his lusts, whereby growing into contempt with the people, ^r*Artabanus*, the captain of his guards, and one who had been long in prime favour and authority with him, conspired against him, and having drawn *Mithridates*, one of his eunuchs, that was his chamberlain, into the plot, by his means got into his bed-chamber, and there slew him while he slept in his bed; and then going to *Artaxerxes*, his third son, acquainted him of the murder, and accused *Darius* his elder brother to be the author of it, telling him that it was

An. 465.
Xerxes
21.

^a Plutarchus in *Cimone*.

^o Herodot. lib. 6.

^p Plutarchus in *Cimone*.

^q Plutarchus in *Cimone*.

^r Ctesias. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Justin. lib. 3. c. 1.

done to make his way to the throne, and that it was his design to cut him off next to secure himself in it, and that therefore it behoved him to look to himself. All which *Artaxerxes*, as being then a very young man, rashly believing without any farther examination to be true, and being irritated thereby in such a manner as *Artabanus* intended, went immediately to his brother's apartment, and there, by the assistance of *Artabanus* and his guards, flew him also. And this he did, as he thought, by way of just revenge for the death of his father, and for the securing of his own safety, being imposed on and deceived by the craft of the traitor, who excited him hereto. The next heir was *Hystaspes* the second son of *Xerxes*, but he being absent in *Bactria*, of which province he was governor, *Artabanus* took *Artaxerxes*, as being next at hand, and put him on the throne; but with design to let him sit on it no longer than till he had formed a party strong enough to seize it for himself. He having been long in great authority had made many creatures, and he had also seven sons, all grown up to be men of robust bodies, and advanced to great dignities in the empire, and his confidence in these was that which put his ambition on this design; but while he was hastning it to a conclusion, *Artaxerxes* having got a full discovery of the whole plot by the means of *Megabyzus*, who had married one of his sisters, was before-hand with him in a counter-plot, and cut him off before his treason was fully ripened for execution; whereby having secured himself in thorough possession of the kingdom, he held it forty one years.

HE is said to have been ' the handsomest person of the age in which he lived, and to have been a prince ' of a very mild and generous disposition; he is called by the *Greek* historians *Μακροχρῆς* or *Longimanus*, (*i. e.* the long-handed) * by reason of the more than ordinary length of his hands; for they were so long, that on his standing upright he could touch his knees with them. But in scripture he hath the name of *Ahasuerus* as well as that of *Artaxerxes*, and was the same who had *Esther* for his Queen. I acknowledge there are two very great men whose opinion differ from me herein, archbishop *Usher*, and *Joseph Scaliger*.

THE former ' holdeth that it was *Darius Hystaspis* that was the King *Ahasuerus* who married *Esther*, and that *Atossa* was the *Vashti*, and *Artystona* the *Esther* of the holy scriptures. But all what is said of those persons by the historians that have written of them, is wholly inconsistent herewith. For *Herodotus* positively tells us, that *Artystona* ' was the daughter of *Cyrus*, and therefore she could not be *Esther*; and that ' *Atossa* had four sons by *Darius* besides Daughters, all born to him by her after he was King, and therefore she could not be that Queen *Vashti*, who was divorced from the King her husband ' in the third year of his reign, nor he that *Ahasuerus* that divorced her. Furthermore *Atossa* is said to have had that predominant interest with *Darius*, even to the time of his death, that it was by her means, that in the last act of his life^b he was influenced to settle the succession of his crown on *Xerxes* her son, to the disinheriting of all his elder sons, who were born to him by a former wife; whereas the *Ahasuerus* of the book of *Esther*, had removed *Vashti* both

* Strabo, lib. 15. p. 735.

v Plutarch. in Artaxerxe Mnemone.

w Plutarch & Strabo, ibid.

* In annalibus veteris testamenti sub anno J. P. 4193.

y Herodot. lib. 3. & lib. 7.

z Herodot. lib. 7. sub initio.

a Esther i. 3.

b Herodot. lib. 7.

from his bed and from his presence by 'an unalterable decree, and therefore never could admit her again to either all his life after. That which chiefly induced the learned archbishop to be of this opinion was, that whereas it is said of *Ahasuerus*^d in the book of *Esther*, that he laid a tribute upon the land, and upon the isles, 'the same is also said of *Darius Hystaspis* by *Herodotus*; and therefore he thought that they were both the same person. But *Strabo*, who is an author of as good if not better credit, attributeth this to 'Longimanus. It must be acknowledged that in the printed copies which we now have of that author, it is read *Darius Longimanus* in the place which I refer to. But the title *Longimanus*, and the description of the person after in that place added, can belong to none but to the *Artaxerxes* whom we now speak of; and therefore it is manifest, that there *Darius* is put instead of *Artaxerxes* by the corruption of the text.

SCALIGER's opinion is, ^e that *Xerxes* was the *Ahasuerus*, and *Hamestris* his Queen the *Esther* of the holy scriptures. His main reason for it is the similitude that is between the names of *Hamestris* and *Esther*. But how much more the dissimilitude of their characters proves the contrary hath been already shewn; and what will be hereafter said of her dealing with *Inarus*, and the *Greeks* taken with him in *Egypt*, and her frequent adulteries will be a farther confirmation of it. Farthermore it appears from ^h*Herodotus*, that *Xerxes* had a son by *Hamestris*, that was marriageable in the seventh year of his reign, and therefore it is impossible she could be *Esther*. For *Esther* was not married to *Ahasuerus*ⁱ till the seventh year of his reign, nor could possibly have been taken into his bed sooner than two years before. For according to the sacred history^k it was the fourth year of *Ahasuerus*, when the choice of virgins was made for him, and a^l whole year being employed in the purifications, whereby they were prepared for his bed, she could not be called thither till the fifth year of his reign; and therefore the sixth was the soonest that she could have a son by him. Besides, *Artaxerxes* the third son of *Hamestris*^m being grown up to the state of a man at the death of his father, (which hapned in the twenty first year of his reign) he must have been born before the sixth year of his reign. All which put together do sufficiently prove, how much soever the names *Esther* and *Hamestris* may be alike, the persons could not be the same.

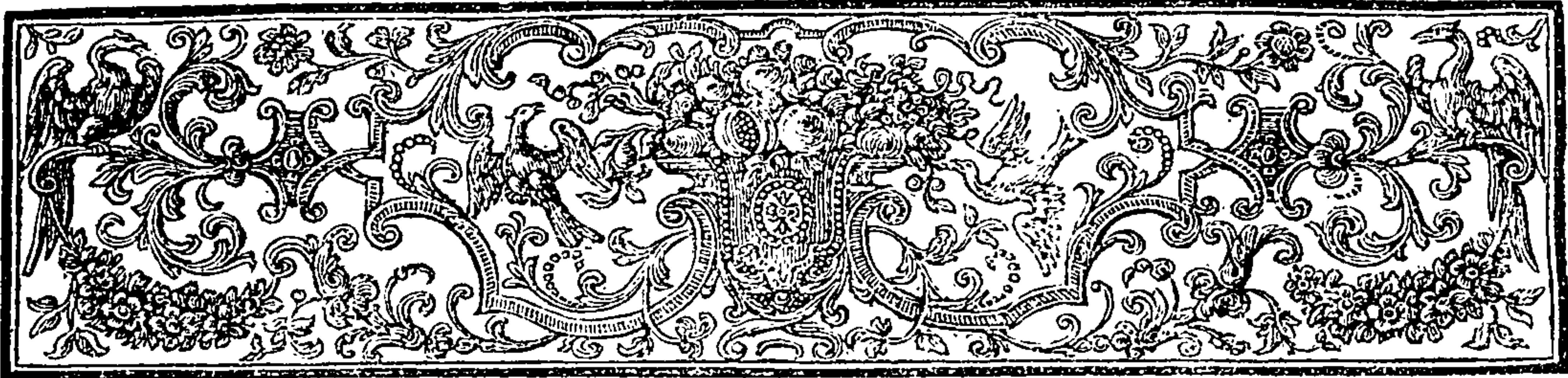
BUT there being no such objections as to *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, it is most probable that he was the person. The ancientest and best evidences that can be had of this matter, are from the *Greek* version of the sacred text called the septuagint, the apocryphal additions to the book of *Esther*, and *Josephus*, and all these agree for *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. For *Josephus*ⁿ positively tells us it was he; and the septuagint through the whole book of *Esther*, wherever the *Hebrew* text hath *Ahasuerus*, translate *Artaxerxes*; and the apocryphal additions to that book every where call the husband of *Esther* *Artaxerxes*, who could be none other than *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. For there are several circumstances related of him both in the canonical and apocryphal *Esther*, which can by no means be

^c Esther i. 19.^d Chap. x. 1.^e Herodot. lib. 3.^f Strabo, lib. 15. p. 735.^g De Emendatione, lib. 6.^h Lib. 9.ⁱ Esther ii. 16.^k Esther ii.^l Esther ii. 12.^m Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.ⁿ Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

applicable to the other *Artaxerxes* called *Mnemon*. And *Severus Sulpicius*, and many other writers, as well of the ancients as the moderns, come also into this opinion. And the extraordinary favour and kindness, which *Artaxerxes Longimanus* shewed the Jews, beyond all the other Kings that reigned in *Persia*, first in sending *Ezra*, and after *Nehemiah*, for the repairing of the broken affairs of that people in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, and the restoring of them again to their ancient prosperity, is what can scarce be accounted for on any other reason, but that they had in his bosom such a powerful advocate as *Esther* to solicit for them. But these and the other transactions of this King will be the subject of the next ensuing book.

• There were two other Kings of Persia that shewed kindness to the Jews, *Cyrus* and *Darius Hystaspis*. Each of them granted a decree in favour of the Jews, but *Artaxerxes* went beyond them both. For he granted two decrees, by virtue of which both the ecclesiastical and political state of the Jews were thoroughly restored, and therefore where the Scripture names those Kings of Persia, by whose favour this restoration was made, he is named among them in the order as he reigned. For it is said (*Ezra* vi. 14.) that this was done by the commandment of *Cyrus*, *Darius*, and *Artaxerxes*, i. e. *Cyrus* the founder of the Persian empire, *Darius Hystaspis*, and *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. For of these, and none other, is that text undoubtedly to be understood, and no doubt when the church and state were restored, much was done for the restoration of the temple also.





THE
Old and New TESTAMENT
Connected in the
HISTORY
OF THE
Jews and Neighbouring Nations,
FROM THE
Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
to the time of CHRIST.

BOOK V.



ARTAXERXES having by the death of *Artabanus* re-
moved one grand obstacle to his quiet possessing of the
throne, had still two others to struggle with, his brother
Hystaspes in *Bactria*, and *Artabanus*'s party at home. And
this last being nearest at hand gave him the first trouble.
For ^a although *Artabanus* was dead, he had left behind
him seven sons, and many partisans, who immediately
gathered together to revenge his death ; whereon a fierce conflict ensued
between them, and those who stood by *Artaxerxes*, in which many noble

An. 464.
Artax-
erxes I.

^a Ctesias.

Persians were slain; but at length *Artaxerxes* having prevailed did cut off all that were concerned in this conspiracy; and especially he took a signal revenge of every one of those who had an hand in the murder of his father, and particularly of the eunuch *Mithridates* that betrayed him, whom he caused to be boated to death. The ^bmanner of this punishment was thus: The person condemned to it being laid on his back in a boat, and having his hands stretched out and tied fast to each side of it, had another boat put over him, his head only being left out thorough a place made fit for it. In this posture they fed him, till the worms which were bred in the excrements, that he voided as he thus lay, did eat out his bowels, and so caused his death, which was usual this way twenty days in effecting, the criminal lying all this while in exquisite torments.

ARTAXERXES having mastered this difficulty, was at leisure to send an army into *Bactria* ^cagainst his brother. But there he did not meet with so easy success, ^dfor a fierce battle ensuing, tho' *Hystaspes* did not get the victory, yet he did so well make good his ground, that no advantage was gotten against him, but both armies parted with equal success, and each retired to make better preparations for a second encounter.

An. 463.
Artax-
erxes 2.

BUT the next year ^e*Artaxerxes* having drawn together a much stronger army, as having the greatest part of the empire at his devotion, overpowered *Hystaspes*, and utterly overthrew him in a second battle; whereby having removed all difficulties and oppositions, he now became fully possessed of the whole empire, ^fand the better to secure himself in it, he removed all those governors of cities and provinces, of whom he had any suspicion, that they had been concerned with, or any way well affected to either of the parties which he had suppressed, and put into their places only such as he had a thorough confidence in. After this he did set himself to reform all the abuses and disorders of the government, whereby he gained to himself much credit and authority throughout all the provinces of the empire, and thoroughly established himself in the affections of the people, wherein lyeth the surest interest of princes.

An. 462.
Artax-
erxes 3.

AFTER *Artaxerxes* had obtained these successes, and thereby firmly settled himself in the peaceable possession of the whole *Persian* empire, ^ghe appointed a solemn rejoicing on this account, and caused it to be celebrated in the city of *Shushan* or *Susa* in feastings and shews, for the term of an hundred and eighty days, on the conclusion of which he made a great feast for all the princes and people that were then in *Shushan*. for seven days. And *Vashti* the Queen, at the same time, made a like feast in her apartment for the women. On the seventh day the King's heart being merry with wine, he commanded his seven chamberlains to bring Queen *Vashti* before him, with the crown royal on her head, that he might shew to the princes and people her beauty; for she was exceeding fair. But for her thus to shew herself in such an assembly being ^hcontrary to the usage of the *Persians*, and appearing to her (as indeed it was) very undecent, and much unbecoming the modesty of a lady, as well as the dignity of her station, she refused to comply herewith, and would not come; whereon the

^b Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.
^c is attested by Diodorus Siculus, lib. 11. p. 53.

^d Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.
Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

^e That Hystaspes was governor of Bactria at his father's death,

^f Ctesias.

^g Ctesias.

^h Esther i. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.

ⁱ Joseph.

King being very much incensed, called his seven counsellors to take advice with them about it, who fearing this might be of ill example through the whole empire, in encouraging women to contemn and disobey their husbands, advised that the King should put *Vashti* away for ever from him, and give her royal state to another that should be better than she; and by his royal edict give command throughout the whole empire, that all wives should pay honour and obedience to their husbands, and that every man should bear rule in his own house. Which advice pleasing the King, he commanded it accordingly to be put in execution, and *Vashti* never more after that came again into the King's presence. For the decree whereby she was removed from him was registred among the laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, and therefore it could never again be altered. After this, orders were given out through the whole empire, for the gathering together to the palace at *Shushan* all the fair virgins in every province, that out of them one might be chosen, whom the King should best like, to be made Queen in her place.ⁱ

At the time when this collection of virgins was made, there lived in *Shushan* a certain Jew named *Mordecai*, who was of the descendents of those who had been carried captive to *Babylon* with *Jeconiah* King of *Judah*, and by his attendance at the King's gate seems to have been one of the porters of the royal palace. He having no children, did breed up *Hadassah* his uncle's daughter, and adopted her for his own. This young woman being very beautiful and fair, was made choice of among other virgins on this occasion, and was carried to the King's palace, and there committed to the care of *Hegai* the King's chamberlain, who was appointed to have the custody of these virgins; whom she pleased so well by her good carriage, that he shewed her favour before all the other virgins under his care; and therefore he assigned her the best apartment of the house, and provided her of the first with those things that were requisite for her purification. For the custom was, that every virgin thus taken into the palace for the King's use, was to go through a course of purification, by sweet oils and perfumes, for a whole year; and therefore *Hadassah* having been by the favour of the chamberlain of the earliest provided with these things, was one of the first that was prepared and made ready for the King's bed, and therefore was one of the soonest that was called to it.

THE term therefore of her purification being accomplished, her turn came to go in unto the King, who was so well pleased with her that he often again called for her by name, which he used not to do, but to those only of his women whom he was much delighted with. From this time she seems to have had the name of *Esther*, for it is of a *Persian* original; the signification of it is not now known.

THE ^k*Egyptians* being very impatient of a foreign yoke, in order to deliver themselves from it rebelled against *Artaxerxes*, and making *Inarus* prince of the *Libyans* their King, called in the *Athenians* to their assistance, who having then a fleet of two hundred sail at *Cyprus* gladly laid hold of the invitation, and forthwith sailed for *Egypt*, looking on this as a favourable opportunity for the crushing of the *Persian* power, by driving them out of that countrey.

ⁱ Esther ii. Joseph. Antiq. lib. ii. c. 6.

^k Thucydides, lib. i. Ctesias.

ARTAXERXES, on the hearing of this revolt, ¹made ready an army of three hundred thousand men for the suppressing of it, purposing himself to march into *Egypt* at the head of them; but being dissuaded from hazarding his person in this expedition, he committed it to the care of *Achæmenides*, one of his brothers. ^m*Herodotus* and ⁿ*Diodorus Siculus* say, that it was *Achæmenes* the brother of *Xerxes*, and uncle of *Artaxerxes*, the same who afore had the government of *Egypt* in the beginning of the reign of *Xerxes*, that had the conduct of this war, but herein they were deceived by the similitude of the names. For it appears by *Ctesias*, that he was the son of *Hamestris*, whom *Artaxerxes* sent with this army into *Egypt*.

An. 459.
Artax-
erxes 6.

ACHÆMENIDES being arrived in *Egypt* with his numerous army, encamped on the river *Nile*. In the interim ^othe *Athenians* having beaten the *Persian* fleet at sea, and destroyed or taken fifty of their ships, sailed up the *Nile*, and having landed their forces under the command of *Charitimus* their general, joined *Inarus* and the *Egyptians*; whereon falling on *Achæmenides* with their joint forces they overthrew him in a great battel, killing an hundred thousand of his men, and among them *Achæmenides* himself. The remainder fled to *Memphis*, where the victors pursuing them took two parts of the town; but the *Persians* securing themselves in the third, called the *White Wall*, which was by much the largest and the strongest part, there suffered a siege of near three years; during all which time they valiantly defended themselves against their assailants, till at length they were succoured by those who were sent to their relief.

An. 458.
Artax-
erxes 7.

ARTAXERXES having received an account of the defeat of his army in *Egypt*, and what part the *Athenians* bore in the effecting of it, in order to divert their forces from being thus employed against him, ^phe sent an embassador to the *Lacedæmonians*, with great sums of money, to induce them to make war upon the *Athenians*, but they not being by any means to be wrought to it, *Artaxerxes* resolved to endeavour this diversion another way, by sending himself an army into *Attica* with *Themistocles* at the head of it; which he thought could not fail of making them recal their forces out of *Egypt*, because then they would need them at home for their own defence. And ^qaccordingly orders were sent to *Themistocles* to prepare for the expedition, and an army and a fleet was drawing towards the *Ionian* coast, to be committed to his conduct for this purpose. But *Themistocles* not knowing how to decline the command, by reason of the great benefits he had received from the King, and the promises he had made of serving him on any such occasion; and, on the other hand, abhorring the bringing of a war upon his countrey; to extricate himself from this difficulty resolved to put an end to his life; and therefore inviting all his friends together, and having sacrificed a bull, he drank a large draught of his blood, and so died. But ^rthere are others that say this was done not so much out of a love to his countrey, as out of a fear of encountering the valour and good fortune of *Cimon*, who being then general of the *Athenians* carried victory with him wherever he went. But had this been all the matter, so wise and va-

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. Ctesias. ^m Herodot. lib. 3. & lib. 7. ⁿ Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.
^o Thucydides, lib. 1. Ctesias. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11. ^p Thucydides, lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.
^q Plutarchus in Themistocle. ^r Thucydides, lib. 1. Plutarchus in Themistocle & Cimone.]

liant a man would have seen enough in this case not to have run upon so fatal a resolution. It's possible he might have beaten *Cimon*; if not, it would have been time enough for him to have saved his credit this way, by dying in battle when vanquished, and therefore he needed not to have anticipated it by a poisonous draught. In the interim *Artabazus* governor of *Cilicia*, and *Megabyzus* governor of *Syria* were ordered to get ready an army for the relief of those who were besieged in the *White Wall*, and for the carrying on of the *Egyptian* war. This *Megabyzus* was the son of *Zopyrus*, and had been one of the generals that commanded in the army which *Xerxes* led into *Greece*, whose daughter *Amytis* he had married; but she having very much abused his bed by her frequent adulteries, which she was very infamously addicted to, he grew very much disgusted at it, and that not only with her, but also with the whole royal family, where perchance she found too much countenance in her crime, especially from her mother, who was as infamously guilty of it as herself. This induced *Artabanus* to communicate to him the plot which he had contrived against the life of *Artaxerxes* after the murder of his father, hoping while he was under this discontent to draw him into his party. But *Megabyzus* abhorring the treason made discovery of the whole to *Artaxerxes*, and gave him that counsel, which put him in the way to get rid of this danger. And after the death of *Artabanus*, he headed the King's forces against the partizans of the traitor; and it was chiefly by his valour and conduct that they were suppressed, and *Artaxerxes* secured on the throne, and in the accomplishing of this he received a dangerous wound, of which he very difficultly recovered. By all which merit he very deservedly obtained the first place in the King's favour, and therefore was chiefly confided on in this important commission for the reduction of *Egypt*.

IN the beginning of this year *Ezra* obtained of King *Artaxerxes* and his seven chief counsellors, a very ample commission for his return to *Jerusalem*, with all his nation that were willing to accompany him thither, giving him full authority there to restore and settle the state, and reform the church of the *Jews*, and to regulate and govern both according to their own laws. This extraordinary favour not being likely to have been obtained but by some more than ordinary means, it seems to have been granted at the solicitation of *Esther*, who was now become the best beloved of all the King's concubines, though not yet advanced to the dignity of Queen. For it was usual for the Kings of *Persia*, on some particular days and occasions, to allow their women to ask what boons they pleased, and upon some such time or occasion it's most likely *Esther* by the direction of *Mordecai*, though she had not yet discovered her kindred and nation, asked this of the King. This *Ezra* was of the descendants of *Seraiah* the high-priest, who was slain by *Nebuchadnezzar*, when he burnt the temple and city of *Jerusalem*. That he was the immediate son of *Seraiah* is wholly improbable; for supposing him to have been but one year old at the death of this *Seraiah*, he must now have been one hundred and thirty and two, and yet we find him alive in the time of *Nehemiah* fifteen years after, when according to this account he must have been one hundred forty and seven years old, tho' he was then of that vigour as to bear the fatigue of reading the law for a whole fore-

[†] Thucydides, lib. 1. Diodor. lib. 11. Ctesias.
Ctesias. [†] Ezra 7. [†] Herodot. lib. 9.

[†] Herodot. lib. 3. in fine, & lib. 7.
^{*} Nehem. viii.

noon together to all the people of the *Jews*, which is a thing wholly unlikely in those days; and therefore where he is said to be the son of *Seraiah*, it must be understood in that large sense, wherein commonly in Scripture any descendent is said to be the son of any ancestor from whom he was derived; and we need seek no farther for an instance of this than the very text, where *Ezra* is said to be the son of *Seraiah*. For in the same place *Azariah* is said to be son of *Meraioth*, though there were^y six between. As *Ezra* was a very holy, so also was he a very learned man, and especially he was very excellently skill'd in the knowledge of the holy scriptures, and therefore he is said to have been a very ready scribe in the law of God, which he was so eminent for, that *Artaxerxes*^z takes particular notice of it in his commission. * He began his journey from *Babylon* on the first day of the first month called *Nisan*, (which might fall about the middle of our *March*) and having halted at the river of *Abava* till the rest of his company was come up to him, he there in a solemn fast recommended himself and all that were with him to the divine protection, and then on the twelfth day set forward for *Jerusalem*, where they all safely arrived on the first day of the fifth month, having spent four whole months in their journey from *Babylon* thither. On his arrival he delivered up to the temple the offerings which had been made to it by the King and his nobles, and the rest of the people of *Israel* that stayed behind, which amounted to an hundred talents of gold, with twenty basons of gold of the value of a thousand^a *Darics*, and six hundred and fifty talents of silver, with vessels of silver of the weight of an hundred talents more. And then having communicated his commission to the King's lieutenants and governors throughout all *Syria* and *Palestine*, he betook himself to the executing of the contents of it; whereby^b he was fully empowered to settle both the church and the state of the *Jews* according to the law of *Moses*, and to appoint magistrates and judges to punish all such as should be refractory, and not become obedient to it, and that not only by imprisonment and confiscation of goods, but also with banishment and death, according as their crimes should be found to deserve. And all this power *Ezra* was invested with, and continued faithfully to execute it for the space of thirteen years, till *Nehemiah* arrived with a new commission from the *Persian* court for the same work.

ESTHER^c growing farther still in the King's favour, and gaining his affection beyond all the rest of his women, he advanced her to higher honour, and on the tenth day of the tenth month, which falls about the end of our year, did put the royal diadem upon her head, and declared her Queen in the stead of *Vashti*; and thereon made a solemn feast for his princes and servants, which was called *Esther's* feast, and in honour of her at the same time made a release of taxes to the provinces, and gave donatives and presents to all that then attended him, according to the grandeur and dignity of his royal estate; which gave *Ezra* the greater encouragement under her protection and patronage to go on with the work of reforming and settling the *Jewish* church and state in *Judea* and *Jerusalem*, which he had there undertaken.

AND from his entring on this work the beginning of the seventy weeks

^y See 2 Chron. vi. 7, 8, 9.

^z Ezra vii. 12.

* Ezra viii.

^a A Daric was a piece

of gold of the value of one of our Jacobus's, see above book 2.

^b Ezra vii. 25, 26.

^c Esther ii.

of the famous prophecy, which is delivered to us in the ixth chapter of *Daniel* concerning the coming of the *Messiah*, is to be computed. The words of the prophecy in our *English* translation are as followeth.

Ver. 24. *SEVENTY weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most holy.* Ver. 25. *Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks the street shall be built again, and the wall even in troublous times.* Ver. 26. *And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself, and the people of the Prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and to the end of the war desolations are determined.* Ver. 27. *And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week, and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured out upon the desolate.*

AND it being of great moment for the conviction of *Jews* and other infidels, who reject the faith of Christ, to have this prophecy well cleared and made out, in order hereto it is to be observed,

I. THAT this prophecy doth relate primarily and especially to the *Jews*. For it expresseth the time that was determined upon the people of *Daniel*, that is, the *Jews*, and upon the holy city, that is, *Jerusalem*, the whole of which was seventy weeks; that is, that this was the time which God had fore-ordained and determined upon the *Jews* for their being his peculiar people, and upon *Jerusalem* for its being his holy city, after the expiration of which an end being to be put to the *Mosaic* œconomy, they should be no longer God's peculiar people, and the worship which he had established at *Jerusalem* being to be abolish'd, that city should be no longer a city holy unto him.

II. THAT these seventy weeks are weeks of years. For among the *Jews* as there were sabbatical days, whereby their days were divided into weeks of days, so there were ^dsabbatical years, whereby their years were divided into weeks of years, and this last sort of weeks is that which is here mentioned, so that every one of the weeks of this prophecy contains seven years, and the whole number of seventy weeks contain four hundred and ninety years, at the end whereof this determined time expired; after which the *Jews* were no more to be the peculiar people of God, nor *Jerusalem* his holy city, because then the œconomy which he had established among them was to cease, and the worship which he had appointed at *Jerusalem*, was wholly to be abolished. And,

III. ALL this was accomplished at the death of *Christ*. For then the *Jewish* church, and the *Jewish* worship at *Jerusalem* were wholly abolished, and the christian church and the christian worship succeeded in their stead; then the time which was determined upon the *Jews* for their being God's peculiar people, and upon *Jerusalem* for its being his holy city, being fully expired, thenceforth began the kingdom of the *Messiah*, and

^d Levit. xxv. 8.

instead of the *Jews* all the nations of the world were called thereunto, and instead of *Jerusalem* every place through the whole earth, where God should be worshipped in spirit and in truth was made holy unto him. And therefore then the seventy weeks of this prophecy must have their ending. For they were determined and decreed for this purpose, and therefore in this they must have their conclusion. And this all the events which are in this prophecy predicted to be brought to pass at the conclusion of these weeks, do necessarily prove. In the xxivth verse we have six of them, for the accomplishing of which these seventy weeks are there said to be determined; and therefore at the accomplishing of them these weeks must have their ending. They are these following, 1st, *To finish* (or ^crestrain) *transgression*; 2^d, *To make an end of sins*; 3^d, *To make* ^e(expiation or) *reconciliation for iniquity*; 4th, *To bring in everlasting righteousness*; 5th, *To seal up* (or ^hcomplete and fulfil) *vision and prophecy*; and 6th, *To anoint the most holy*. And all these were accomplished in that great work of our salvation, which *Christ* our Lord undertook for us, and fully completed by his death and passion, and his resurrection from the dead. For being born without original sin, and having lived without actual sin, he was truly *the most holy* of all that bore our nature. And being thereby fully fitted for this great work, *he was anointed* with the Holy Ghost, and with power to be our King, and our priest, and our prophet, for the effecting and accomplishing of it. And having as our priest offered up himself a sacrifice upon the cross to make expiation and atonement for all our sins, and did thereby *make an end of them*, by taking away their guilt, and in so doing *he did work reconciliation* for us with our God. And having as our prophet given unto us his gospel, the law of *everlasting righteousness*, which was not a temporary law, as was that of *Moses*, but to last for ever, and to be our guide into all righteousness, as long as the world should last; and also having as our King sent his Holy Spirit into our hearts to influence and govern us according to this law, he hath done all for us that is necessary, thereby *to restrain and extinguish in us all manner of transgressions*, and fully deliver us from the power of them. And in doing all this *he hath sealed up, that is fulfilled, and thoroughly finished all that, which by visions and prophecies had been before revealed concerning him*. And therefore all these events being thus brought to pass, and accomplished at the time of *Christ's* death, this necessarily determines us there to fix the end of these weeks, which were appointed for the accomplishing of them.

IV. THE end of these weeks being thus fixed at the death of *Christ*, it doth necessarily determine us where to place the beginning of them, that

^c The word *lecalle* in the Hebrew signifieth to restrain, as well as to shut up or finish; and the former rather than the latter. ^e Here is a various reading in the Hebrew text, as to the word which we translate to make an end of. For whereas the true reading is *lehatem*, that is, to finish or make an end of; and in the next line after there is the word *lachtom*, which there signifieth to seal up; and these two words as to the letters differing only in this, that the former is written with an *He* in the middle, and the other with a *Cheth*, the similitude that is between these two letters in the Hebrew alphabet, (for they differ very little the one from the other) led transcribers into this mistake, that they wrote the word as if it were *lachtom* in both places. But it is corrected in the margin. However this would not have altered the sense, because the same word which signifieth to seal up in Hebrew, is also used to signify to finish or complete; because the putting of the seal to any instrument or writing completes the matter about which it is, and finisheth the whole transaction. ^h The word in the Hebrew text properly signifieth to expiate as by sacrifice, and by such an expiation did *Christ* our Lord work reconciliation for us with our God. ^h See note f.

is, four hundred and ninety years before. And therefore the death of *Christ*, as most learned men agree, fallingⁱ in the year of the *Julian* period 4746, and in the *Jewish* month^k *Nisan*, if we reckon four hundred and ninety years backward, this will lead us up to the month *Nisan*, in the year of the *Julian* period 4256, which was the very year and month^l in which *Ezra* had his commission from *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Persia*, for his return to *Jerusalem*, there to restore the church and state of the *Jews*. For that year of the *Julian* period, according to *Ptolemy's* canon, was the seventh year of that King's reign,^m in which the scriptures tell us his commission was granted. The beginning therefore of the seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years of this prophecy, was in the month *Nisan*, of the *Jewish* year, in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Persia*, and in the 4256th year of the *Julian* period, when *Ezra* had his commission; and the end of them fell in the very same month of *Nisan* in the 4746th year of the *Julian* period; in which very year, and very month, *Christ* our Lord suffered for us, and thereby completed the whole work of our salvation, there being just seventy weeks of years, or four hundred and ninety years from the one to the other.

V. It's evident from the prophecy it self, that these weeks must have this beginning, that is, from the date of the commission granted *Ezra*. For 1st, They are pinn'd down thereto by an express character in the text; and 2^{dly}, They cannot agreeably to that, and other scriptures, and the authentic histories of the times to which they relate, have it any where else.

AND 1st, These weeks must have their beginning from the date of the commission granted *Ezra*, because they are pinn'd down thereto by an express character in the text, and that character is, *the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem*. For that from thence the seventy weeks must have their beginning, ⁿ the text is very express; and to excite us the more to observe it, introduceth it with this remarkable preface, ^o *know therefore and understand*. But this commandment, or decree, was that which was granted to *Ezra* in that commission, with which he was sent into *Judea*, in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Persia*; and therefore from thence the beginning of these weeks must commence. For the words in the text, *to restore and build Jerusalem*, are not to be understood literally, but figuratively for the restoring of the state of the *Jews*, as well the political as the ecclesiastical, and the resettling of both according to the law of *Moses*; and what is more usual in prophecies, than to be given out in figurative expressions? and what is more common in scripture, than by *Jerusalem* to mean the whole political and ecclesiastical state of that people? and for the re-establishing of both these, and the settling of them again upon the former basis, from whence they had been overthrown by the *Babylonians*, and were not as yet but very imperfectly restored, the commission granted to *Ezra* was very full. For ^p it gave him thorough power to restore the law of *Moses*, and fully re-establish the observance of it both in church and state, and to appoint ma-

ⁱ Scaliger de emendatione temporum, lib. 6. p. 562. Usherus in annalibus sub anno J. P. 4746. Strauchius aliique.

^k *Christ* suffered at the time of the passover, which was always celebrated in the middle of the month *Nisan*.

^l *Ezra* vii. 9. *There it is said in the first month, and the first month of the Jewish year was Nisan.*

^m *Ezra* vii. 7.

ⁿ *Daniel* ix. 25.

^o See the commission in the viith chapter of *Ezra*, ver. 11---26.

gistrates and judges to govern the people according to it, and to punish all such as should be disobedient thereto, either with death, banishment, imprisonment, or confiscation of goods, according as their crimes should be found to deserve. And all this *Ezra* accordingly executed, in manner as will hereafter be related. Before his coming to *Jerusalem* with this commission the scriptures were in a manner lost, the people in a profound ignorance of the law, and the worship of God neglected, and every thing else, both in church and state, in great disorder and confusion. But on his coming he restored the scriptures, instructed the people in the law, brought the worship of God into due order, and proceeded, as long as his commission lasted, to work a full reformation in all things else. And after his commission was at an end, he gave not over his endeavours herein, but as a priest, as a skilful scribe in the law of God, and as president of the *Sanhedrim*,^p he still carried on the same work; and having a successor equally zealous in the same design, he did as much in it under his authority, as formerly he did by his own. So that he hath been esteemed as another *Moses*, and deservedly reckoned as the second founder of the *Jewish* church and state. And therefore the beginning of this work is a noble *Epocha*, from whence to begin the calculation of these weeks, and doth most agreeably accord with the intent and purpose of this prophecy in which they are predicted. For the whole intent and purpose of it is to foreshew and set forth the age of the restored church of the *Jews*, how long it was to continue, and when to cease and be abolish'd; and from whence is it more proper to reckon this, than from the time when the thorough restoration of it began? and this was then only begun, when *Ezra*, by virtue of the commission granted to him by *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Persia*, in the seventh year of his reign, did set about this work; and therefore from hence the computation of these weeks, according to the prophecy that predicts them, must begin. And that this figurative interpretation of the words, and none other, must be the true meaning of them, appears from hence, that they cannot be understood in a literal sense. For if they are so to be understood, they can be applicable to no other restoring and rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, than that which was decreed and commanded by *Cyrus*, at the release of the captivity. For this prophecy was revealed to *Daniel* before this release, and therefore when it is said therein, that the *Epocha* of these weeks was to begin from the going forth of the command or decree to restore and build *Jerusalem*, of what decree can it be more properly understood, than of that which should first be granted next after this prophecy for that purpose, and by virtue whereof this city was accordingly rebuilt after its having been destroyed by the *Babylonians*, and was again re-peopled, and inhabited by the same people who had been its former inhabitants? And that this was done by virtue of *Cyrus's* decree appears from many places of scripture. We are told in *Isaiab* (ch. xlv. 28.) that *it was Cyrus, that should say to Jerusalem, be thou built, and to the temple, thy foundations shall be laid*. And again, (ch. xlv. 13.) it is said of the same *Cyrus*, that *God would raise him up, and direct him that he should build his city, and release his captives*; where it is to be observed, that he that released God's captives, and laid the foundation of the temple, was to be the person that was to rebuild *Je-*

Jerusalem; so that he is not only by name, but also by this character and description, plainly pointed out to be the person that was to do this work. For that *Cyrus* did release the captive *Jews* who were God's people, and that he did no more than lay the foundation of the temple (for it was not perfected till in an after-reign) is well known. And therefore, according to these passages of holy scripture, it must be he only that did restore and rebuild *Jerusalem*. And so accordingly it was done by virtue of the decree, which he granted for the return of the *Jews* thither. For can it be imagined that *Cyrus* should grant license for the *Jews* to return to *Jerusalem*, and rebuild the temple there, without allowing them to rebuild that city also? *Ezra* plainly tells us, that as soon as the *Jews* were returned into *Judea* by virtue of *Cyrus*'s decree, ^a they dispersed themselves into the several cities to which they belonged, and again dwelt in them; and can it be thought that they did not then again rebuild them? for without rebuilding of them how could they dwell in them? And if those who belonged to the other cities of *Judah*, rebuilt and dwelt in them again, how can we think that those who belonged to *Jerusalem* did not do the same, and that especially since it was the metropolis of the whole nation, the place where the temple stood, where all went up continually to worship, and where three times a year every male appeared before the Lord at the solemn festivals, and where also the governor dwelt, where the council sat, and all matters of judgment were ultimately decided? The matter is beyond all dispute; when the *Jews* on their return rebuilt their other cities, they must then most certainly have rebuilt *Jerusalem* also. The great concourse, which the reasons I have mentioned constantly drew thither, must have necessitated this, had there been no other inducement for it. It is easier to suppose all the rest of the cities of *Judah* to have been left still in their rubbish, after the return of the *Jews* from their captivity, than that this city alone should remain unbuilt. The rebuilding of it is not indeed expressly included in the commission of *Cyrus*. As we have it recorded in the first chapter of *Ezra*, that only gives licence *to the Jews to return into Judea, and there rebuild the house of God, which is in Jerusalem*. But the licence to rebuild the house of God, which is in *Jerusalem*, must either imply a licence to rebuild *Jerusalem* also, or else (which seems most probable) *Ezra* gives us, in the place mentioned, only an abstract of the chief things granted by that licence, and not a recital of the whole, in which most likely many other things, and among them the rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, and the other cities of *Judah*, might be fully and expressly mentioned. For it is certain, by virtue of that licence they had power so to do, and accordingly executed it. For the complaint of the neighbouring nations to the *Persian* court, against them that were returned, was, ^r *that they builded Jerusalem, that rebellious and bad city, and had set up the walls thereof, and joined the foundations of it*; and the order from King *Artaxerxes* (so the *Magian*, who then reigned, it seems called himself) was ^t *to cause the Jews to cease, that this city be not builded*. However, from the first of *Cyrus* till the time of this order fourteen years having elapsed, the rebuilding of *Jerusalem* had by that time gone a great way. For within two years after, we find the prophet *Haggai* complaining of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, ^s *that they dwell in cieled houses, while they let the house of God lie waste*.

^a *Ezra* ii. 1. and iii. 1.

^r *Ezra* iv. 12.

^t *Ezra* iv. 21.

^s *Haggai* i. 4.

From all this it plainly appears, that *Jerusalem*, after its having been destroyed by the *Babylonians*, was again rebuilt by virtue of the decree, which *Cyrus* granted in the first year of his reign for the release and restoration of the *Jews*. And therefore if these words of the prophecy, *To restore and build Jerusalem*, are to be understood in a literal sense, they can be understood of no other restoring and building of that city, than that which was accomplished by virtue of that decree, and the computation of the seventy weeks must begin from the granting and going forth thereof. But if the computation be begun so high, the four hundred and ninety years of the said seventy weeks cannot come low enough to reach any of those events which are predicted by this prophecy. For from the first of *Cyrus* to the death of *Christ* were five hundred sixty eight years; and therefore if the said four hundred and ninety years be computed from thence, they will be expired a great many years either before the cutting off, or the coming of the *Messiah*, which ought both to fall within the compass of them, according to the express words of this prophecy. It evidently therefore follows from hence, that the words of this prophecy, *to restore and build Jerusalem*, cannot be understood in a literal sense. For the sum of the whole argument is thus. If the words are to be understood in a literal sense, they must be understood of that rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, which was accomplished by virtue of *Cyrus's* decree, and the computation of the seventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years thereof, must begin from the going forth or issuing out of that decree. But it cannot begin from thence for the reason mentioned, and therefore these words cannot be understood in a literal sense, but must be interpreted to mean figuratively the restoring and rebuilding the church and state of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*. And this *Ezra* effected by virtue of the command or decree, which was granted to him for this purpose in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and therefore here the beginning of these weeks must be placed; and this will be farther proved if we consider,

2^{dly}, THAT it can be placed no where else, so as to make the ending comport with the intent and purpose of the prophecy, and the accomplishing of the events predicted by it. For there were four commandments or decrees issued out by the Kings of *Persia* in favour of the *Jews*, from one of which, according to the express words of the prophecy, the computation of these weeks is to be begun; the first granted by *Cyrus* in the first year of his reign, the second by *Darius* about the fourth year of his reign, the third by *Artaxerxes* to *Ezra* in the seventh year of his reign, and the fourth by the same *Artaxerxes* to *Nehemiah* in the twentieth year of his reign. But this computation could not begin from that of *Cyrus*, nor from that of *Darius*, nor from that of the twentieth of *Artaxerxes*, and therefore it must begin from this of the seventh of *Artaxerxes* granted to *Ezra*. That it could not begin from any of the other three I shall shew in their order.

AND 1st, As to the decree of *Cyrus*, the four hundred and ninety years of these weeks cannot be computed from thence for the reason already said, that is, because if they begin from thence they cannot by a great many years reach the events predicted by this prophecy, and therefore none, who understand this prophecy to relate either to the cutting off or

^c Ezra i.

^d Ezra vi.

^e Ezra vii.

^w Nehemiah ii.

the coming of the *Messiah*, do begin them from hence. For according to this computation no chronology can ever reconcile them to either of them.

2dly, NEITHER can the computation of these weeks be begun from the decree granted by *Darius*. But there having been three *Darius*'s that reigned in *Persia*, *Darius Hystaspis*, *Darius Nothus*, and *Darius Codomannus*, it is to be first enquired, which of these three it was that granted this decree; and then secondly, it shall be shewn, that the computation of these weeks cannot be begun from it. And first of these three *Darius*'s, it's certain it could not be *Darius Codomannus*. For if the four hundred and ninety years of these weeks be reckoned from any part of his reign, they will overshoot all the events predicted by this prophecy by many more years, than they will fall short of them if reckoned from the first of *Cyrus*, and therefore no one hath ever said, that he was the *Darius* that granted this decree. But *Scaliger*, and many others following his authority, have said it of *Darius Nothus*. But there are invincible arguments against it, which unanswerably demonstrate, that it could not be *Darius Nothus*, but it must necessarily be *Darius Hystaspis*, the first of these three that reigned in *Persia*, and none other, by whom this decree was issued out. For he who according to *Ezra* granted this decree, is the same *Darius* of whom mention is made * in *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, but that *Darius* could not be *Darius Nothus*, but must necessarily be *Darius Hystaspis*. For first from the destruction of the temple of *Jerusalem* by the *Chaldeans* to the reign of *Darius Nothus* were one hundred sixty and five years. But from the destruction of it to the time of the second decree, by virtue of which the rebuilding of it was finished, were no more than seventy years according to the prophet *Zechariah*. For we find † in the book of his prophecies, that in the fourth year of the same *Darius* who granted this decree to the *Jews*, (which was also the year in which it was published at *Jerusalem*) the fast of the fifth month, ‡ in which they had mourned for the destruction of the temple, and the fast of the seventh month, § in which they had mourned for the utter desolation of the land, which had been brought upon it by the death of *Gedaliah*, had been observed just seventy years; and no one can doubt, who thoroughly considers that text, but that their mourning for these calamities, had been from the very time that they had suffered them; and that therefore it could not be *Darius Nothus*, but it must be some other *Darius* then reigning in *Persia* within the reach of the said seventy years, who granted this decree; and that since the fourth year of *Darius Hystaspis* was just seventy years from the time, in which the city and temple of *Jerusalem* were destroyed by the *Chaldeans*, (as hath been before observed) this other *Darius* must necessarily be *Darius Hystaspis*. It must be acknowledged that the same prophet speaks also in another place of the like number of seventy years in the second of *Darius* two years before. But these were not the seventy years of mourning for the destruction of the city and temple

* See *Ezra* v. 1. vi. 14. *Haggai* i. 1---15. *Zech.* i. 1---7. and vii. 1.

† *Zech.* vii. 5.

‡ 2 Kings xxv. 8. *Jerem.* lii. 12. The Jews observe this fast on the ninth of Ab, which is their fifth month, even to this day. § 2 Kings xxv. 25. *Jerem.* xli. 1. The Jews observe this fast on the third day of Tisri, which is their seventh month, even to this day, and both these fast days, that of the third of Tisri, and the other of the ninth of Ab, are marked on those days in all their calendars.

of *Jerusalem*, but ^b the seventy years in which God had expressed his indignation against *Jerusalem* and the cities of *Judah*, which are to be computed from the time that *Nebuchadnezzar* ^c came up against *Judah* and besieged *Jerusalem*, for which the *Jews* fasted in the tenth month, and this was two years before that city was taken and destroyed by him. For the taking and destroying of *Jerusalem* was in the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, but the first besieging of it was in the ^e ninth year of *Zedekiah*, and in the tenth month of that year. But ^d *Scaliger*, instead of being convinced by this argument, turns it to speak for him, and his reasonings upon it for this purpose are, that these fasts, which are spoken of in *Zechariah* ^e to have been observed on the fourth and fifth month, and on the seventh month, and the tenth month, could not be appointed but by the church of the *Jews*, (by which I suppose he meaneth the *Sanhedrim*, or some other convention of priests and elders representing that church) but neither the *Sanhedrim*, nor any other convention representing that church, could come together, or make any such constitution after the calamities which these fasts commemorated, till the *Jews* were returned from their captivity, and again settled in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*. And therefore these fasts could not begin to be observed, nor the seventy years observing of them, which *Zechariah* speaks of, commence till after that time. But seventy years from any time after the return of the *Jews* from the *Babylonish* captivity will carry us much beyond the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*, and therefore it could not be the fourth year of *Darius Hystaspis*, but it must be the fourth year of the *Darius*, the next of that name reigned after him in *Persia*, (and that was *Darius Nothus*) in which these fasts were spoken of by that prophet. But the answer to all this is, that there was no need of any such formal constitution of the whole *Jewish* church for the observing of these fasts. The calamities which they commemorated, while fresh in memory, might be reason enough to introduce the use of them by common consent. And if not, yet what should hinder, but that the priests and elders might meet together in *Babylon* while there in captivity, and in that place, as well as if they had been at *Jerusalem*, hold conventions for the making of such a constitution? If the book of *Baruch* be to be credited in any thing, ^f that tells us of such a convention in *Babylon*, held there in the time of the captivity, and of a fast appointed by it. And we find in the book of *Ezekiel*, which is of undoubted, because of divine authority, that ^g the elders of *Israel* in *Babylon* met more than once to ask counsel of God from the mouth of the prophet. And when ^h *Sherazer* and *Regem-Melech* came to *Jerusalem* to ask counsel of the prophets and priests there, in the name and behalf of the *Jews* of *Babylon*, about these fasts, can we think that they were sent by any other, than a convention of the priests and elders in that place met together for this purpose? It's certain, that most of the constitutions that are now observed by the

^b Zech. i. 12. ^c 2 Kings xxv. 1. Jerem. xxxix. 1. and lii. 4. The Jews observe this fast on the tenth day of Thebets, (which is their tenth month) even to this day, and call it the fast for the first siege of Jerusalem in all their calendars. ^d De Emendatione Temporum, lib. 6. p. 602.

^e Zech. vii. 5. and viii. 19. ^f Baruch i. Altho' perchance this book be no more than a religious romance, yet such romancers do usually so accommodate their fables to the usages and customs of the people, of which they treat, as not to ascribe any other to them, than such as have been of known use and practice in them; and therefore these books may be of some authority for usages and customs, altho' not for history. ^g Ezek. vii. 1. and xiv. 1. ^h Zech. vii. 1, 2, 3.

Jews,ⁱ were made in the land of *Babylon* by conventions of their elders after the last destruction of *Jerusalem*, (for all that are in the *Babylonish Gemara* were there made.) And why then might not a constitution for these fasts be made there also by a like convention, after the first destruction of that city? And why there might not be a *Sanhedrim* in *Babylon* during the captivity of the *Jews* I cannot see. The temple service was indeed confined to *Jerusalem*, but the *Sanhedrim* was no part of it. That was a national council, which might be assembled wherever the nation was. And therefore when the whole nation of the *Jews* was removed into the land of *Babylon*, who can give a reason why this national council should not be there also, and there meet and consult together for the common interest of the nation in that land, as well as they did when they were in their own? We are told by the *Jewish* writers, that from the time of *Alexander the Great* there was^k a *Sanhedrim* in *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, for the sake only of a colony of the *Jews* that was there planted, even while *Judea* and *Jerusalem* were fully inhabited. And how much more then might there have been one at *Babylon*, when the whole nation was removed thither during their captivity in that land? It's plain from hence, that in every part of this argument *Scaliger* begs his principles, and therefore they can be of no force for the proof of any thing that he would infer from them. But, secondly, That the *Darius* who granted this second decree could not be *Darius Nothus*, but must necessarily be *Darius Hystaspis*, will farther appear from the part which *Jeshua* the high-priest and *Zerubbabel* the governor acted in it. For they^l were the persons who were sent to *Jerusalem* with the first decree, that which was granted by *Cyrus*, and they also^m executed the second decree, that which was granted by *Darius*. But if this *Darius* were *Darius Nothus*, supposing *Jeshua* to have been forty years old at the granting of *Cyrus's* decree, (and less at that time he could not be, he having thenⁿ sons in the work of the temple of twenty years old and upward) and supposing *Zerubbabel* to be thirty years old, (and a less age could not comport with his office) the former must have been one hundred fifty seven, and the other one hundred forty seven years old, when this second decree granted by *Darius* was executed by them, which is utterly improbable. * *Scaliger* to make out the probability of it, brings instances of several long-livers. I deny not, it's possible one in a century may be found, who may have reached the first of these ages, that is, that of one hundred fifty seven. For we have had^p a *Par* who hath come nigh it, and a *Jenkinson* who hath outlived it. But that two together, and colleagues in the same work and business, should live so long is not likely. But, thirdly, the improbability of this will appear much farther, if we consider the words spoken by God himself in the second year of this *Darius*, which we have in the second chapter of *Haggai*, ver. 3. *Who is left among you that saw this house in its first glory? And how do you see it now? is it not in your eyes in comparison of it as nothing?* For

ⁱ The Jews had in the land of *Babylon* three universities, *Sora*, *Naherda*, and *Pumbeditha*, where they had their publick schools and publick conventions of their principal doctors and learned men, and in those the constitutions that are in the *Babylonish Gemara* were all made. ^k *Gemara Hierosol.* in *Succah*, fol. 55. *Gemara Babylonica* in *Succah*, fol. 51. ^l *Ezra* ii. 2. and iii. 8, &c.

^m *Ezra* v. 6. *Haggai* i. 2. *Zech.* iii. and iv. ⁿ *Ezra* iii. 8, 9. ^o *De emendatione temporum*, lib. 6. p. 603. & in *Animadversionibus ad Chronologica Eusebii* sub anno 1497. p. 97.

^p *Par* lived to the age of 152, and *Jenkinson* to that of 169. See *Sir William Temple's Tracts*.

this text doth plainly exprefs, that fome were then alive who had feen the firft temple, and well remembered the beauty and glory of it; and therefore if this *Darius* were *Darius Nothus*, they muft have been of an age much more beyond belief, than either that of *Jefhua*, or that of *Zerubbabel* above-mentioned. For from the eleventh year of *Zedekiah*, in which the temple was destroyed, to the fecond of *Darius Nothus*, had paffed an hundred fixty fix years; and therefore fupposing thefe perfons, who are here faid to have feen the firft temple, and remembered the glory of it, had been then feven years old, (which is the loweft that can be allowed for fuch a remembring) they muft have been of the age of one hundred feventy three in the fecond year of *Darius Nothus*. And who can think it likely, that many (as the text feems to exprefs) or any at all, among the people, fhould then be found of fo great an age? *Scaliger* himfelf thinks this improbable, and therefore to evade the ftrength of the argument, which is from hence brought againft him, ^a he would turn the words of the facred text to fpeak thus, *Oh! if any among you had feen the glory of the firft houfe, &c.* But the text will not bear this interpretation. 4thly, The feries of the Kings of *Persia*, as mentioned in *Ezra*, plainly makes the *Darius*, who granted this fecond decree in favour of the *Jews*, to be the fourth that reigned in that empire, and the fourth King therein, all agree, was *Darius Hystaspis*. For after *Cyrus*, who was the firft, fucceeded *Cambyfes* the fecond, and after him was the *Magian* the third, and then was *Darius Hystaspis* the fourth. And in the fame order are thefe Kings mentioned in *Ezra*, in refpect to the temple and the rebuilding of it. For ^r he tells us, that during the reign of *Cyrus*, though he had granted a decree for the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerufalem*, yet the work was difcouraged all his reign through the fraud of his officers, corrupted by the bribes of the *Samaritans*; that in the beginning of the reign of *Ahafuerus*, who next fucceeded (i. e. *Cambyfes*) the King himfelf, being wrote to, difcouraged the work, but made no decree againft it, out of refpect, it's fupposed, to his father's decree, which was for it. But *Artaxerxes*, the next that reigned, (i. e. the *Magian*) having no fuch regard to what *Cyrus* had ordered, made a decree againft the work, whereon it wholly ceafed (which it had not done before) for the fpace of ^r two years, until the fecond year of *Darius*. This *Darius* therefore muft be *Darius Hystaspis*, and none other. For he it was, that was the fourth of thofe Kings that reigned over the *Persian* empire. And the prophefy of *Daniel* (chap. xi.) helps to make this out. For there (ver. 2.) the words are, *There fhall ftand up yet three Kings in Persia, and the fourth fhall be far richer than they all, and by his ftrength, through his riches, he fhall ftir up all againft the realm of Grecia*. By which it appears, that the four Kings here fpoken of, were thofe who were to reign in *Persia*, after him that was then reigning. And he that was King of *Persia*, at that time was *Cyrus*. And it is from the fame words moft manifef, that the fourth was *Xerxes*, and therefore ac-

^a De emendatione temporum, lib. 6. p. 603.

^r Ezra iv. 5, 6, 7.

^r So faith the writer of the firft apocryphal book of *Efdras*, ver. 73. And although he be an apocryphal writer, and is in moft things, where he doth not tranflate from the canonical book of *Ezra*, very fabulous; yet in this particular he may well be fupposed to deliver himfelf according to the received tradition of the age in which he lived, and the hiftories then extant, and this was very ancient. For it's certain he wrote before *Josephus*, and an ancients evidence than this we cannot have from any writer, fince the fcriptures of the Old Testament, concerning this matter.

according to this place of scripture, there were between *Cyrus* and *Xerxes* three Kings in *Persia*; and *Herodotus*, and other historians say the same, and thus name them, 1. *Cambyfes*, 2. *Smerdis the Magian*, and 3. *Darius Hystaspis*; and therefore since the scripture doth name in the same order after *Cyrus* these three as Kings of *Persia*, 1. *Abasuerus*, 2. *Artaxerxes*, and 3. *Darius*, no doubt they were the same persons, and this *Darius*, the third of them, was he that granted the second decree for the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem*. But against all this, the short time that was between the granting of the first decree by *Cyrus*, and the second year of *Darius Hystaspis*, is made an objection; and they being men of great name, who have thought it of weight, it must not be passed over without an answer, although otherwise it seems not worthy of any. They urge it thus: From the time of the granting of *Cyrus's* decree to the second of *Darius Hystaspis*, were no more than sixteen years; and therefore if it were then, that the resuming of the work of the temple gave occasion^{*} for the searching of the records for this decree, and it were that *Darius*, who on the finding of the decree granted a confirmation of it, there would then have been no reason for any such search to have been made at all. For, say they, what need was there of searching of the records for this decree, before its confirmation, after so short a time as that of sixteen years? The thing might then have been well enough remembred, without going to the records for the proof of it. *Darius Hystaspis* was himself (they proceed to argue) bred in *Cyrus's* court, and therefore might himself well enough have remembred this thing, without ordering the records to be searched for it; and if not, yet many of his counsellors and courtiers might. And therefore from hence they infer, that it could not be *Darius Hystaspis* that granted this decree, but it must necessarily have been another *Darius* reigning after him, in whose time the granting of *Cyrus's* decree was grown to be a thing past the memory of man, and that could be none other than *Darius Nothus*. The whole therefore of this argument goes upon this supposition, That publick records are never to be appealed to, but for things past the memory of man; than which, what can be more absurd? Can any that attend the *Chancery* here in *England* remember all the grants and decrees that have passed the seals for sixteen years past? Can the chancellor himself do this, if he hath been so long in office? Or if any decree be to be made upon the foundation of a former decree, though passed but sixteen days before, will any chancellor, upon memory only, seal the latter decree, or pass any thing in it, without having the former first laid before him? Although some may have a confused remembrance in general of some things there transacted, even for sixteen years past, yet amidst the variety and multiplicity of business which pass in such a court, and where the quick succession of new matters frequently crowd out of the mind all thoughts of those that preceded; whose memory can be sufficient to be depended upon for an exact account of any thing there decreed, without having recourse to the records, where all is exactly set down and registred? And how can any thing be there rightly settled without it? And if this cannot be done for so small a realm as this of *England*, how could it be done for so large and vast an empire as that of *Persia*,^{*} which was

* Ezra vi.

* The scriptures tell us that it reached from India to Æthiopia, and contained in the time of *Cyrus* an hundred and twenty provinces, and afterwards seven more were added to them. See Daniel vi. 1. and Esther i. 1.

above forty times as large, and therefore must have afforded occasion for grants and decrees forty times as many. It's scarce possible to conceive how such a multitude of things, as must in this case have been decreed and granted for all that empire, could have been all distinctly remembred by any one after a week past; and how much less after sixteen years? As to the memory of *Darius* himself, *Herodotus* ^u tells us, he was but twenty years old when *Cyrus* died, and therefore could not have been above fourteen when his decree was granted for the return of the *Jews*; and what could he know or observe of it at that age? And as to the courtiers of *Darius*, the argument is not at all stronger. For is every courtier called to be witness of all the public acts and decrees of the kingdom? Do all such know whatever passeth the royal signature! Or rather are they not the fewest of all that observe or take notice of such matters? And if otherwise, yet doth not sixteen years usually make great revolutions in King's courts, especially in those of arbitrary princes, where not only mens places, but also their lives, depend wholly upon will and pleasure, as was most notoriously the case of the *Persian* court at that time? *Cambyfes*, who succeeded *Cyrus*, ^v cruelly and wantonly, upon freak, humour, and very trivial occasions only, destroyed a great many of his father's officers. And after him reigned the *Magian*, who no doubt upon that usurpation provided himself with such a new set of officers and attendants, as would best serve to support him in it, and conceal the imposture by which he reigned. And on his death there being a new revolution, and a new King chosen, most likely this produced another change of officers and ministers at the court, and by that time many must have gone off the stage by natural death; so that whether any at all, that had been officers in *Cyrus's* court, when he granted his decree in favour of the *Jews*, were in *Darius's* court in the second year of his reign then to remember it, and give evidence thereof, is at best very uncertain; but it's most likely, that none of them were. And therefore nothing that is said from this head, for the proving that it could not be *Darius Hystaspis* that granted the decree above-mentioned, can amount to as much as an argument of the lowest probability for it. But on the contrary, they who, for the sake of this argument, put the granting of this decree as low as the time of *Darius Nothus*, do thereby afford a much stronger argument against themselves than this can be for them. For this will put the finishing of the second temple at the distance of one hundred and eighteen years from the beginning of it. Whereon it may be asked, when it was that the decree of *Artaxerxes* made it cease? If they allow this *Artaxerxes* to be the third *Persian* King, as he is reckoned ^w in scripture, that is, the *Magian* who reigned next after *Cambyfes*, then from the ceasing of the work to the resuming of it again will be full one hundred years; and in so long a time of intermission, how could they so preserve the beams from being rotten, and the whole building from being so damaged and decayed, as not to be forced to begin all again anew from the very foundation? which it is certain they did not; for after the granting of the decree for the proceeding of the work, all was finished in a little more than three years time. But if they say it was not the *Magian*, who was the *Artaxerxes* in the scriptures, that caused the work to cease,

^u Herodot. lib. 1. non longè a fine.^v Herodot. lib. 3.^w Ezra iv. 7.

but he that is first named in the catalogue, which we have of the *Persian* Kings in prophane historians, that is, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*; then from the beginning of the work to that ceasing of it will be seventy one years. And in this case it may be asked, how came it to pass, if they had so long been permitted to have gone on with the work, that in all that time it had not been finished? Neither of these questions can be answered, and therefore taking either of these ways, the argument worketh strong against them, and farther proves that it could not be *Darius Nothus*, but that it must necessarily be *Darius Hystaspis*, who granted the decree, whereby the rebuilding of the second temple was finished. And upon this supposition all will be easy, and free of difficulty, and the whole proceeding of the matter will be thus. *Cyrus*, in the first year of his reign over the whole *Persian* empire, granted his decree to the *Jews* for the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem*; the next year after they begun the work, and went on with it for about thirteen years, till the *Magian* caused it to cease. But two years after, in the second year of *Darius Hystaspis*, who slew the *Magian* and succeeded him in the throne, it was on the preaching of the prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah* again resumed, and about a year and half after they obtained a decree from *Darius* to authorize them therein; and then in a little more than three years time after they finished the whole work. And thus far having shewn that the *Darius*, who granted the second decree in favour of the *Jews*, by virtue of which the rebuilding of the temple at *Jerusalem* was finished, could be none other than *Darius Hystaspis*, the remaining part of the argument is, that therefore the seventy weeks of this prophecy could not have their beginning from this decree, which is demonstrated by the same reason, whereby it hath been above shewn that they could not begin from the decree of *Cyrus*, that is, because the four hundred and ninety years of these weeks, reckoned from the granting of this decree, cannot reach the chief events which are by this prophecy predicted to fall within the compass of them, that is, the coming and the cutting off of the *Messiah*. For this decree, I reckon, was brought to *Jerusalem* in the fourth year of *Darius*. The *Jews* indeed began again with the rebuilding of the temple in the latter end of the second year of *Darius*, but they had no decree to warrant them herein till the beginning of the fourth year of his reign. But from the fourth year of *Darius Hystaspis* to the death of *Christ* were five hundred and fifty years, and therefore reckoning the seventy weeks, or their four hundred and ninety years from thence, they will expire sixty years before the death of *Christ*, and twenty four years before the birth of *Christ*, and therefore can reach neither the cutting off of the *Messiah*, nor the coming of the *Messiah*, in any sense whatsoever that his coming can be taken in. And these two are the grand events predicted by this prophecy, and it can never be rightly interpreted but in the accomplishing of them. And it may be farther added on this head, that this decree of *Darius* seems not to accord or agree with the description of that commandment or decree which is mentioned in the prophecy. For the words of the text are, *From the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem*, which plainly imply an original decree, which this of *Darius* was not. For it was no more than an * exemplification and confirmation of that, which was before granted by *Cyrus*.

* Ezra vi.

And if it be not such a decree as the prophecy intended, it's certain the seventy weeks, or their four hundred and ninety years cannot begin from thence.

3dly, NEITHER can the computation of these weeks be begun from the decree granted to *Nehemiah* by *Artaxerxes*, in the twentieth year of his reign. And in the clearing of this particular I must take the same method as in the former. For as there were three *Darius's*, so also were there three *Artaxerxes's*, which according to ancient historians reigned over the empire of the *Persians*, *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and *Artaxerxes Ochus*. And therefore first it must be enquired, which of these three it was that granted this decree, and then secondly it shall be shewn, that the computation of these weeks cannot begin from it. And first, as to which of these three *Artaxerxes's* it was, that granted this decree to *Nehemiah*, it's certain it must be *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, who reigned immediately after *Xerxes* over the *Persian* empire. For it was that *Artaxerxes*, who was contemporary with *Eliashib* the high-priest of the *Jews*, he being high-priest^y at the time when *Nehemiah* came to *Jerusalem* with this decree, which was in the twentieth year of that King. But no other *Artaxerxes*, but he that was called *Longimanus*, could be contemporary with *Eliashib*, and therefore none other but he could be the *Artaxerxes* that granted this decree. For the age, which *Joiakim* the father of *Eliashib* must then have been of at the time of his death, makes it utterly improbable that it should be *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and it would make it much more so, as to *Artaxerxes Ochus*, who succeeded him. For supposing *Eliashib*, who was high-priest in the twentieth year of that *Artaxerxes* who granted this decree to *Nehemiah*, had then been twenty years in that office, his father *Joiakim*, if this *Artaxerxes* were *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, must then upon this supposition have died in the last year of *Darius Nothus*, at which time *Joiakim* must have been at least one hundred fifty one years old, which is utterly improbable. For we find in *Ezra*, that *Jeshua*^z the father of *Joiakim*, at the first return of the *Jews* to *Jerusalem* after the *Babylonish* captivity^a had sons of twenty years old and upward, employed in the work of the temple. And since the high-priesthood among the *Jews* went by succession according to the primogeniture, and *Joiakim* succeeded *Jeshua* in it, it cannot be doubted but that *Joiakim* was one of those his sons who were thus employed, and the eldest of them. And if he were twenty years old at this time, he must then have been one hundred fifty one in the last of *Darius Nothus*. For^b from the first of *Cyrus* to the last of *Darius Nothus* were one hundred thirty one years. The improbability of this sufficiently proves that it could not be *Artaxerxes Mnemon* who granted this decree to *Nehemiah*. And the improbability would be much greater, if we should suppose it to be *Artaxerxes Ochus* who succeeded him, because then *Joiakim* must have been forty six years older. Besides, there is this farther argument that *Artaxerxes Ochus* could not be the person, because in scripture there is mention made of the^c thirty second year of that *Artaxerxes* who granted this decree to *Nehemiah*, but *Artaxerxes Ochus* reigned^d only twenty one years in all. And if it were not *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, nor *Artaxerxes Ochus*, it must then

^y Nehem. iii. 1.

^c Nehem. xiii. 6.

^z Nehem. xii. 10, 22.

^d Can. Ptol.

^a Ezra iii. 8, 9.

^b Can. Ptol.

necessarily

necessarily follow that it was *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and none other, that granted the decree to *Nehemiah* in the twentieth year of his reign. And thus far the first part of the argument being cleared, the second is, That the computation of the seventy weeks cannot be begun from this decree, which will fully be manifested by the calculation of the years. For reckoning from the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to the death of *Christ*, there will be no more than four hundred seventy seven years; and therefore if the four hundred and ninety years of the seventy weeks be computed from thence, they will overshoot the death of *Christ* thirteen years; which being the grand event to be brought to pass, at the conclusion of these weeks, it is certain they can never there have their beginning, from whence they cannot be brought to this ending.

BUT several great and learned men having a particular fancy to begin the computation of these weeks from the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, notwithstanding this objection, they have devised several ways and methods for the removal of it, and the reconciling the ending of these weeks, as calculated from this beginning, with the time of the events predicted.

THE first way, which hath been proposed for this purpose, is to reckon the seventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years of this prophecy, by lunar years; and this hath been of a very ancient date, for it hath *Africanus* for its author, who flourish'd in the beginning of the third century; and he is followed by *Theodoret*, *Beda*, *Zonaras*, *Rupertus*, and others; and the generality of the *Romish* doctors strike in with this opinion; into which they are chiefly led by the vulgar *Latin* translation, which they have decreed in their *Trentine* council to be authentic. For instead of what we read in the beginning of the prophecy, *Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, &c.* this translation renders it, *Septuaginta hebdomades abbreviatae sunt super populum tuum*, i. e. *Seventy weeks are abbreviated upon thy people*; from whence they argue, this abbreviation of the years must be either in their number or their quality. It cannot be in their number; for the text absolutely determines that to seventy weeks of years, that is, four hundred and ninety years; and therefore it must be in their quality or form, that is, they must be lunar years, which are short years, and not solar years, which are long years. But the *Hebrew* word *Nechtac* in the text will not bear this interpretation. For the true meaning or signification of it in that place is, *are decided or determined*, as in our *English* version; and in this sense it is used in the *Chaldee* paraphrase, and no where in any other. I confess the word doth not occur any where else in the whole *Hebrew* bible, or any other word of that root, and in the *Septuagint* it is rendered *συνεῖ μὴνσαν*. But this is not sufficient to justify either the meaning which they would put upon the word, or the inference which they would deduce from it; and if it could, the difficulty would not be removed by it. For lunar years would carry us beyond the mark, as well as solar years fall short of it. For whereas the four hundred and seventy seven solar years, which were from the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to the death of *Christ*, fall thirteen years short of the four hundred and ninety years, at the end of which this prophecy doth put it; the same four hundred and seventy seven years, when converted into lunar years,

making four hundred ninety one years, and two hundred forty six days over, do carry us one year and two hundred forty six days (which is a great part of another year) beyond the said four hundred and ninety years. And therefore this way of computation doth by no means adjust the difference, but still leaves it wide of an agreement, altho' not so wide as it was before. Besides, when *Daniel* had this prophecy revealed unto him by the angel *Gabriel*, there was not any form of a year purely lunar then any where in use. The *Chaldean* year at that time was most certainly the *Nabonassar* year ^f consisting of three hundred and sixty five days, and the ^g *Egyptian* year was the same, and so was also ^h the *Persian*. The ⁱ *Jews* indeed had their common years purely lunar consisting of twelve lunar months, and so had ^k the *Greeks*, only with this difference, that whereas the *Jews* lunar months were strictly lunar, as being observed by the phasis, the *Greeks* mistaking a lunar month to consist exactly of thirty days, in compounding of their year of twelve of them made it amount to three hundred and sixty days, which exceeded its true astronomical measure almost six days. But besides the common years they had also intercalated years intermixed with their common years, which reduced all to the solar form. For what was defective of it in the common years was restored in the intercalated years. And this the *Jews* as well as the *Greeks* were necessitated to by their festivals. For the *Nisan* of the *Jewish* year, ^l which begun their ecclesiastical year, being pinn'd down by their passover (which was always celebrated ^m in the middle of it) to the ⁿ time of the beginning of their harvest; and the month of *Tisri*, ^o which begun their civil year, being likewise pinn'd down by the feast of *Tabernacles*, (which was always celebrated ^p in the middle of that month) to the time ^q of the ending of their vintage, this necessitated them ^r to sling in an intercalary month, whenever their year fell short of these seasons. And the *Greeks* were likewise necessitated to do the same thing for the sake of their festivals, especially for the sake of their *Olympiads*. For the fixed time for their celebrating of those games, being ^s the first full moon after the summer solstice, it always fell within the compass of one lunar month, either sooner or later in the solar year, and there being just four years between *Olympiad* and *Olympiad*, this necessarily made these years to be solar years; and cycles and rules of intercalation were invented of purpose to bring them to it, and the same is to be said of all other nations which used the like form. Although they might measure their months by the motion of the moon, they always regulated their years according to that of the sun. The *Arabs* indeed, from the time of *Mahomet*, have used a year purely lunar, and the *Turks*

^f Vide Scaligerum, Petavium, aliosque. Edit. Lips.

^h Q. Curtius, lib. 3. cap. 3.

^g Vide Marshami Canonem Chronicum, p. 245.

ⁱ Talmud in Rosh Hashanah. Maimonides in Kiddosh Hachodesh. Marshami Canon Chron. p. 290, 291. Edit. Lips. ^k Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 1. cap. de Anno. Marshami Canon Chron. 657, 658, 659.

^l Maimonides, ibid. Exod. xii. 2. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 4. ^m Exod. xii. 18. Levit. xxiii. 5. Numb. xxviii. 16. ⁿ Levit. xxiii. 10. Deuteron. xvi. 9. ^o Exod. xxiii. 16.

Talmud in Tract. Rosh Hashanah. ^p Levit. xxiii. 34, 39. Numb. xxix. 12. ^q Exod. xxiii. 16. Levit. xxiii. 39. Deuteron. xvi. 9. ^r Talmud in Rosh Hashanah. Maimonides in Kiddosh Hachodesh. Scaliger de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 2. cap. de Anno veterum Hebræorum Autumnali. Joseph. lib. 1. cap. 4. Marshami Canon Chron. p. 190. Edit. Lips.

^s Vide Scaligerum de Emendatione Temporum, lib. 1. cap. de Anno & cap. de Periodo Olympicâ; & Petavium de Doctrinâ Temporum in Paralip. p. 830. Et Rationar. Temp. Part. 2. lib. 3. cap. 1.

do the same in imitation of them, and so do all others of their sect. But of the ancients we find none that followed this form. All among them that had lunar years, had also intercalated years to make amends for their defects; and therefore whatsoever any of their years might be in their singular numbers, they were always solar in their collective sums. And who can think then that in the collective sum of seventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years of them, the Angel should intend a computation, which was then no where in practice the whole world over. This prophecy concerning principally the *Jews*, and being written to them, (for it is in the *Hebrew*, which was the *Jews* language, and not in the *Chaldee*, as some other parts of *Daniel* are) it is most likely that the computation of the time mentioned therein, should be according to the *Jewish* form and none other. And there is one argument, which I think undeniably proves it to be so. The weeks of years, by which the time of this prophecy is computed, are plainly and manifestly the same with the sabbaths of years mentioned *Leviticus* xxv. 8. and therefore must be reckoned by the same sort of years; but it's certain, that those sabbaths of years were reckoned by solar years, and therefore these weeks of years must be so too. That these sabbaths of years were reckoned by solar years is manifest. For they all begun from the first of *Tisri*, which was pinn'd down by the feast of tabernacles, (which was always celebrated in the middle of that month) to a certain season of the year, (as hath been already observed) and from that season in one year to the same season in another, can only be measured by the course of the sun. And all this put together sufficiently shews, that lunar years are not the years which this prophecy is to be computed by.

ANOTHER way taken for the reconciling of this difference, is by beginning the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* nine years sooner than where it is above placed, and ending the said seventy weeks three years and a half later, that is, by putting the death of *Christ* into the middle of the last week, and continuing the remainder of that week beyond it. For according to this account, the first year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* will fall in the year of the *Julian* period 4241, and his twentieth year in the year of the *Julian* period 4260, from which numbering sixty nine weeks and an half, it will carry down the computation to the year of the *Julian* period 4746, which was the very year in which *Christ* suffered. And thus far *Petavius* and archbishop *Usher* agree, as to the time both of the beginning and ending of the prophecy; but they differ in one circumstance about the beginning, that is, whether this twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, from whence they both reckon this beginning, and which they both put in the same year of the *Julian* period, were his twentieth from the death of *Xerxes* his father, or his twentieth year from the time when it's supposed he was admitted to reign in copartnership with him nine years before.

FOR *Petavius* supposeth, that *Xerxes*, nine years before his death, admitted his son *Artaxerxes* to reign in copartnership with him, and that from this admission is to be computed the twentieth year of his reign, in which he issued out the decree, from whence the first year of this prophe-

* Rationar. Temp. Part 2. lib. 3. cap. 10. p. 154. Et de Doctrina Temporum, lib. 12. c. 32. & seqq.

fy did commence. And he builds this supposition chiefly upon the authority of *Thucydides*, ^v who tells us, that *Themistocles* in his flight into *Persia* addressed himself to *Artaxerxes* then newly reigning. But *Diodorus Siculus* ^w tells us, that *Themistocles* fled into *Persia* in the second year of the seventy seventh olympiad, several years before the death of *Xerxes*; and therefore to reconcile these two authors *Petavius* infers; that *Artaxerxes* must have been admitted to reign with his father several years before his death, and these years he determines to nine, because this will best serve his purpose. And to support this supposition, he insists on the usage anciently in practice among the *Persian* Kings of naming their successors, before they went to any dangerous war, and will have it, that when *Xerxes* ^x again renewed the war against the *Greeks* after the death of *Pausanias*, he then named *Artaxerxes* according to this usage, in the same manner as his father had named him on the like occasion, and took him into copartnership with him in the government of the empire. But there is nothing in the history of those times, that can give any countenance to this conjecture. ^y *Herodotus* indeed tells us of such a usage among the *Persians*, as is above mentioned; but this was only to name a successor, not to take a partner into the government, and this according to that usage was then only to be done, when there was a controversy about the succession, as was the case when *Darius* named *Xerxes* his successor in his life time. But we are told of no such controversy about the succession in *Xerxes*'s time. And it is plain from the passage in *Thucydides*, where the words are, on which the main stress of *Petavius*'s opinion is laid, that he there speaks of *Artaxerxes*, as then newly reigning after his father's death; and till his father's death he could scarce be of an age proper for the receiving of such an address as *Themistocles* is said then to have made unto him. For he was but a ^z lad when his father died, and therefore must have been a mere child, when according to this reckoning *Themistocles* came into *Persia*. And if he were admitted to be successor, and also partner in the empire before his elder brother *Darius*, upon the same reason that *Xerxes* was before his elder brother *Artabasan*, that is, because he was born after his father came to be King, and the other before, it must follow then, that in the second year of the seventy seventh olympiad, when *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, *Themistocles* came to the *Persian* court, he could be at the most but fourteen years old. For ^a *Xerxes* began his reign but fourteen years before. And there are besides many other inconsistencies in this opinion, but what hath been said is sufficient to shew, that it can afford no sure foundation for the solution of any part of this prophecy upon it.

AND therefore ^b archbishop *Usher* takes the other way, and although he placeth the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in the same year that *Petavius* doth, in order to the solution of this prophecy, yet he doth not compute it any otherwise than from the death of *Xerxes* his father; so that he anticipates the true twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* in the same manner as *Petavius* doth, tho' not by joyning him in copartnership with his father, but by putting him in due succession after him nine years sooner, than either *Ptolemy* or any other author doth; and the

^v Lib. I.

Plutarchus in Cimone.

lib. II.

^w Lib. II.^a Canon Ptolemæi.^x Justin. lib. 2. c. 15. Thucydides, liy. 1. Diod. Sic. lib. II.^y Lib. 7. in initio libri.^z Justin. lib. 3. c. 1. Diod. Sic.^b In Annalibus veteris Testamenti sub Anno J. P. 4259.

same

same testimony of *Thucydides*, which is above mentioned, is the ground which he goes upon for it. And therefore to reconcile this testimony with the time assigned by *Diodorus Siculus* for the flight of *Themistocles*, which is above mentioned, he puts the death of *Xerxes*, and the succession of his son *Artaxerxes* nine years higher up, than any other writer doth; and to patch this up, takes nine years from the reign of *Xerxes*, and adds them to the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* his son, contracting the former to twelve years, and enlarging the latter with that of his son *Xerxes* to fifty. In allowing no other beginning to the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, than from the death of his father, the most learned archbishop is most certainly in the right. For all those among the ancients, who put the flight of *Themistocles* in the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, suppose it to be after the death of his father, but in no other particular can this opinion be justified. For, 1st, in contracting the reign of *Xerxes* to twelve years, and enlarging that of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* and his son *Xerxes* to fifty, he goes contrary to all that have wrote of those times, whether ancients or moderns; and especially to *Ptolemy*, who in his canon assigns twenty one years to *Xerxes*, and no more than forty and one to *Artaxerxes*, ^c including the short reigns of *Xerxes* and *Sogdianus* his sons in the last of them. And altho' the authority of *Thucydides* be great, and ^d *Plutarch* tells us, that he hath *Charon* of *Lampsacus* also on his side, yet the same *Plutarch* from a great number of other ancient writers, and of as good authority, concludes the contrary. But, 2^{dly}, although the authority of *Thucydides* and *Charon* of *Lampsacus* should be allowed to be uncontestable, and all other authorities must be set aside to make place for theirs; yet this will not infer, that the beginning of the reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* must therefore be put nine years higher than all others have put it, since the matter may be as well adjusted by bringing the flight of *Themistocles* nine years lower; and this way ^e Mr. *Dodwell* hath followed, and it is much the better of the two. For this only lays aside the authority of *Diodorus Siculus*, who fixeth the flight of *Themistocles* to the year above mentioned; whereas the other runs counter to that of all others that have wrote of the matter which it relates to. But that which looks hardest in this opinion, is for the sake of any historical writer to lay aside the authority of *Ptolemy's* canon, which is built upon astronomical demonstrations. Although *Thucydides* be a grave author, and of uncontestable authority in those matters of the *Peloponnesian* war, which he writes of, (for they were done in his time, and he was near at hand to be well informed of them, and he himself was an accurate observer) yet it's possible he might be mistaken in what he tells us of the *Persian* affairs, which were done at a distance, (as this was) and before his time. For he was just born ^f when this flight of *Themistocles* hapned. But *Ptolemy's* canon being fixed by the

^c *Xerxes the son of Artaxerxes Longimanus reigned after his father's death only 45 days, and Sogdianus, another of Artaxerxes's sons, who succeeded his brother, reigned no more than six months and fifteen days, so the time of both their reigns amounting to no more than eight months; they are in the canon of Ptolemy cast into the last year of Artaxerxes, and neither of them is therein made mention of.*

^d *Plutarchus in Themistocle.*

^e *In Annalibus Thucydidis.*

^f *According to Aulus*

Gellius, Thucydides was forty years old when the Peloponnesian war began (A. Gellius, lib. 15. c. 23.) And the Peloponnesian war beginning towards the end of the first year of the eighty seventh Olympiad, reckoning forty years upward from thence, the first of them will end in the very year, in which Diodorus tells us Themistocles made his flight, i. e. in the second year of the seventy seventh Olympiad.

eclipses, the truth of it may at any time be demonstrated by astronomical calculations; and no one hath ever calculated those eclipses, but hath found them fall right in the times where placed; and therefore this being the surest guide which we have in chronology, and it being also verified by its agreement every where with the holy scriptures, it is not, for the authority of any other human writing whatsoever, to be receded from.

AND as these two great men have been thus far out in placing the beginning of these seventy weeks, so have they been no less mistaken in fixing the end of them. For to make up the thirteen years which this reckoning fell short of, they have not only anticipated the beginning of these weeks nine years, but have also cut them short three years and an half in the ending, by placing the death of *Christ* in the middle of the last week, and there concluding this part of the prophecy three years and an half before these seventy weeks are fully completed, which hath this great objection against it, that it drops the latter half part of the last week as void, and of no significancy. But no word of God is given in vain; every part of it hath its significancy, and every word of prophecy therein contained must have its completion. For what our ^s Saviour saith of the law is also true of the prophets; and as not one jot or tittle of the former was to pass without being fulfilled, so neither can any one jot or tittle of the latter ever pass away without being accomplished. And therefore every part of the last week of this prophecy, that is, the last half part, as well as the first half part, must have its significancy, and also its completion, and accordingly, every part of it had, as well as the rest, as shall be hereafter shewn.

By all this it appears, that none of those ways which have been taken for the computing of those seventy weeks from the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, can make it agree with the prophecy, and therefore it cannot be begun from thence. That which hath made so many fond of beginning the computation of these weeks from the twentieth year of this King, and the issuing out of the commission then granted by him to *Nehemiah*, is the agreeableness which they think is between the prophecy and this commission, beyond what they find in any of the three other grants or commissions above mentioned. For the prophecy placeth the beginning of the seventy weeks at the going forth of the commandment to restore and build *Jerusalem*, and afterwards makes mention of the building of the streets and the walls thereof, and both these, say they, were rebuilt by *Nehemiah*, by virtue of the grant made to him in the twentieth year of this *Artaxerxes*. To this I answer, 1st, That *Ezra*, thirteen years before this grant made to *Nehemiah*, ^h speaks of a wall in *Jerusalem* given to the *Jews* by the favour of the King of *Persia*; and therefore this, if literally taken, may imply, that the grant made to *Ezra* included a licence or commission to build such a wall, as well as that made to *Nehemiah*. But if it be said, that the wall mentioned by *Ezra* in the place which I refer to, is to be taken figuratively, (as I acknowledge it is) my reply hereto is: And why may not then the word *wall* in the prophecy be taken figuratively also, there being as much reason for it in the one place, as there is in the other? But, 2^{dly}, There is no such word as the *wall* to be found in the original text of the prophecy. For what we there render in our *English* translation

the wall is in the *Hebrew* original *the ditch*. 3^{dy}, That tho' *Nehemiah* did much enlarge *Jerusalem* by bringing new colonies of the *Jews* thither out of the countrey, and obliging them to build themselves houses and dwell there, yet this enlarging of the city cannot be called the restoring and rebuilding of it: For it was restored and rebuilt long before, and had many streets and ⁱ cied houses again erected in it by virtue of the decree granted by *Cyrus*, as hath been above shewn. And after that, from time to time, many more were added to them by virtue of the same decree confirmed by *Darius Hystaspis*, many years before *Nehemiah* came to be governor of *Judea*. 4^{thly}, The rebuilding or repairing of the walls of *Jerusalem*, accomplished by *Nehemiah*, was a work ^k but of fifty two days, and the enlarging of *Jerusalem* with new colonies ^l was within a year after, but the restoring and rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, predicted by the prophesy, was to be a work of seven weeks, or forty nine years, and so long first *Ezra*, and after *Nehemiah*, laboured successively in the work of restoring and rebuilding the church and state of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, as will hereafter be shewn. And therefore of this restoring and rebuilding only can the prophesy be understood.

AND thus far having shewn that the commandment or decree mentioned in the prophesy, for the restoring and rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, cannot be understood either of the decree of *Cyrus*, or of that of *Darius*, or of that granted to *Nehemiah* in the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes*, it remains, that it must then be understood of that granted to *Ezra* by the same *Artaxerxes*, in the seventh year of his reign, and of none other. For besides the three commandments or decrees above-mentioned, there was no other commandment or decree ever granted by any of the Kings of *Persia*, for the restoration of the *Jews* in *Judah* and *Jerusalem* after the *Babylonish* captivity, but this only, that was granted to *Ezra*. And therefore, if it cannot be understood of any of the other three, it must then necessarily be this fourth, and none other. And from thence to the death of *Christ*, are exactly four hundred and ninety years to a month. For in the month *Nisan* was the decree granted to *Ezra*, and ^{*} in the middle of the same month *Nisan* *Christ* suffered, just four hundred and ninety years after.

VI. AND thus much being said for the fixing of the beginning and ending of these seventy weeks, it remains that for the fuller explication of all other particulars, that are in this prophesy contained, I farther observe that the whole of it, as delivered to us in the 24th, 25th, 26th, and 27th verses of the ixth chapter of *Daniel*, contains three branches or parts. The first foretels events to be accomplished within seventy weeks in general, and to be fully completed and brought to pass at the end of them; the second, events to be accomplished precisely at the end of three particular periods, into which the said general number of seventy weeks is divided; and the third, events to be brought to pass after the expiration of the said seventy weeks, in the times immediately following thereupon.

I. THE first branch or part of this prophesy, is that which is contained in the 24th verse, and foretells the six events above-mentioned, which were

ⁱ Haggai i. 4.

^k Nehem. vi. 15.

^l Nehem. vii.

^{*} For *Christ* was crucified in the beginning of the Jewish passover, and that always began in the middle of the month *Nisan*.

to be accomplished within the said seventy weeks in general, and to be fully completed and brought to pass at the end of them.

II. THE second branch, or part of this prophecy, is that which is contained in the 25th verse, and in the former part of the 26th verse, and in the former part of the 27th verse. This divides the general number of seventy weeks into three particular periods, and assigns particular events to be precisely accomplished at the end of each of them. These three particular periods are seven weeks, sixty two weeks, and one week, that is, forty nine years, four hundred thirty four years, and seven years. And the particular events to be accomplished at the end of each of them, are, 1st, The restoring and building of the street and ditch of *Jerusalem* in troublous times; 2^d, The coming of the *Messiah*; and 3^d, His confirming of the covenant of the gospel with many of the *Jews* for one week, his causing sacrifice and oblation to cease in the half of that week, and his being cut off at the end thereof. And therefore applying these particular events to their proper periods, the prophecy will be clearly thus: That numbring the said seventy weeks from the going forth of the commandment or decree to restore and build *Jerusalem*, (that is, to restore and establish the church and state of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*) there should be first seven weeks of that number, that is, forty nine years, and then the said church and state (here figuratively expressed by the streets of the city) should be thoroughly reformed and restored, and all such † good constitutions and establishments (here figuratively expressed by the ditch) should be made and settled, as should be necessary for the fortifying and preserving of the same, and that all this should be done in troublous times, and amidst great opposition from enemies. That after sixty and two weeks from the end of the said seven weeks, that is, four hundred and thirty four years, the *Messiah* should come. And that after this, having for one week, the last of the said seventy weeks, (that is, for the space of seven years,) confirmed the covenant of the gospel with many of the *Jews*, he should in the half part of that week (that is, in the latter half part of it) cause the sacrifices and oblations of the temple to cease; and in the conclusion of the whole, that is, in the precise ending of the said seventy weeks, be cut off and die. And accordingly all this was exactly fulfilled and brought to pass.

1st, As to the period of seven weeks, it must be acknowledged, that the particular event of restoring and building of *Jerusalem*, with its streets and ditch, in troublous times, (by which I understand the restoring and settling of the church and state of the *Jews*) is not distinctly applied thereto in the prophecy. For in the end of the 25th verse, both the two first periods being mentioned together, *i. e.* that of the seven weeks, and that of the sixty two weeks, the event of restoring and building of *Jerusalem* with its street and ditch is subjoined to both of them without any distinct application to either; but the words immediately following in the next verse appropriating the time of the *Messiah* to the period of sixty two weeks, this necessarily leaves the other, that is, the restoring and building

† It is a celebrated saying among the Jews, and of ancient date among them, (for it is in *Pirke Aboth*, which is one of the tracts in their *Mishna*) That the constitutions of their elders are an hedge to the law; that is, to fence, preserve, and keep it from being broken in upon, and violated. But a ditch is as much made use for a fence, as is an hedge; and therefore the constitutions, which fence the law from being violated; may be figuratively expressed by the one, as well as by the other.

of *Jerusalem*, with its streets and ditch, to be appropriated to the period of seven weeks. And accordingly within the compass of the said period of seven weeks, or forty nine years, this event was accomplished, in the full restoring and establishing of the church and state of the *Jews* in *Judah* and *Jerusalem* after the *Babylonish* captivity. For this was begun by *Ezra*, by virtue of that commandment or decree which was granted to him for it in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* King of *Persia*, and afterwards carried on by *Nehemiah*, by virtue of another decree granted to him for this purpose by the same *Artaxerxes*, in the twentieth year of his reign. And from the beginning of this restoration of the church and state of the *Jews* by *Ezra*, to the ending and perfecting of it by *Nehemiah*, in that last act of this reformation which is spoken of in the xiiith of *Nehemiah*, (that is, from the 23^d verse to the end of the chapter) were forty nine years, as will be clearly made out in its proper place, in the sequel of this history. For during all that time this work was a carrying on, and the great opposition which these two good men met with herein, not only from the *Samaritans*, and other enemies abroad, but also from false brethren and wicked men at home, who hated all reformation, was the true cause that it was so long a doing; and that there were such oppositions in the doing of it, this sufficiently verifieth the prophesy in its prediction, that it was to be done in troublous times. And it is observable, that at the same juncture of time, where the restoration of the *Jewish* church and state ended, there the holy scriptures of the Old Testament do end also. For this last reformation of *Nehemiah*, which I have mentioned, and where I place the full completion of the said restoration, is the last act which is recorded therein, and therefore this ending of the period is of sufficient remark for this reason, as well as the other, to be taken notice of in the prophesy, which can scarce be said of any other that is assigned for it. And

2^{dly}, FROM these seven weeks, or forty nine years, reckoning sixty two weeks, or four hundred thirty four years more, (which is the term of the second period) this will lead us down to the coming of *Christ the Messiah*, who is here in the prophesy predicted to come at the end of the said sixty two weeks. For the words of the prophesy are, *From the going forth of the commandment, to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince, shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks*, that is, there shall be seven weeks for the completing and finishing of the work, for which that commandment or decree was granted, and from thence sixty two weeks more to the coming of *Christ*, the *Messiah* here intended, that is, to the time of his first appearance on the ministry of the gospel. For his coming, here predicted, must be interpreted either of his coming at his birth, or of his coming on his ministry. No one saith it of the former, neither will the term of years predicted of it ever meet it there; and therefore it must be understood of the latter, that is, his coming, and first appearing in his ministry; and here the years predicted in the prophesy will exactly find it. For the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, from whence these weeks do begin, being coincident with the year of the *Julian* period 4256, if we reckon from thence seven weeks and sixty two weeks, that is, sixty nine weeks, or four hundred eighty three years; this will lead us down to the year of the *Julian* period 4739, which was the very year in which the ministry of the gospel first began. This *Christ* executed

cuted at first, and therein made his appearance as the *Messiah*, by his forerunner *John the Baptist*, for the space of three years and a half, and after that by himself in his own person for three years and an half more. And these two being put together make up the last week of this prophecy, which begun exactly at the ending of the said sixty two weeks. And therefore here this prophecy concerning the coming of the *Messiah* had its completion. St. *Luke*^m tells us, *The word of God first came to John in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, Emperor of Rome.* And from the coming of that word to *John*, and his preaching of it to the *Jews*,ⁿ was the beginning of the gospel of *Jesus Christ*, and the first appearance of his kingdom here on earth. And this *Christ* himself tells us. For his words are, (Luke xvi. 16.) *The Law and the Prophets were until John, since that the kingdom of God is preached.* That is, the *Jewish* œconomy under the law and the prophets lasted until the coming of *John*, and his preaching of the baptism of repentance for the remission of sins. But from the time of his coming on this ministry, which was the ministry of the gospel, the kingdom of the *Messiah* began. For as in the gospel of St. *Matthew* by the kingdom of heaven, so here by the kingdom of God, ^o is meant the kingdom of the *Messiah*, the church of *Christ*, which he hath here established among us. And therefore this kingdom thus beginning with the preaching of *John*, there must we necessarily place the first coming of that King, *Christ our Lord*, who founded this his kingdom here among us. And this was, as hath been said, in the fifteenth year of the reign of *Tiberius Cæsar*. But here it is to be observ'd, that this fifteenth year of *Tiberius* could not be his fifteenth year from the death of *Augustus* his predecessor. For then there would have been but four years for the ministry of *John the Baptist*, and the personal ministry of *Jesus Christ* put both together, which time would have been too narrow a space for the actings which are recorded of them in the gospel. Besides, in so short a time, as must be allowed to the ministry of *John* in this case, it is not likely that he could have acquired that great fame, as appears not only ^p by gospels, but also from the writing ^q of *Josephus* the historian, that he had obtained, not only in *Judea* and *Galilee*, but also through all the circumjacent regions before his death. The fifteenth year therefore of the reign of *Tiberius*,^r in which *John the Baptist* began to preach, must be reckoned from that time, when he began to reign jointly with *Augustus*, and was, according to ^s *Velleius Paterculus* and ^t *Suetonius*, admitted by him into copartnership with him in the empire; and by a law (which *Augustus* caused to be proposed and enacted by the consuls) had conferred on him an equal power in the government of the provinces with *Augustus* himself. For from that time the publick acts went in his name, as well as in that of *Augustus*, especially in the imperial provinces,^v of which *Syria* was one. And therefore from that time the years of his reign were reckoned in those provinces. And this hapned,^w as

^m Ch. iii. 1, 2. ⁿ Mark i. 1. ^o Vide Grotii Annotationes in secundum caput Matthæi, & Lightfooti Horas Hebraicas ad eundem locum. ^p Matth. iii. & xiv. 5. & xxi. 26.

^q Antiq. lib. 18. c. 7. ^r Luke iii. 1. ^s Lib. 2. cap. 121. ubi verba faciens de Tiberio hæc habet: *Senatus populusq; Romanus, postulante patre ejus (sc. Augusto) ut æquum ei jus in omnibus Provinciis exercitibusq; esset, quam erat ipsi, Decreto complexus est.* ^t In Tiberio,

c. 21. ubi de Tiberio dicit--- *Lege per Consules latâ, ut Provinciâs cum Augusto communiter administraret, simulq; censum ageret, condito lustro in Illyricum profectus est.* ^v Dio Cassius.

^w In Annalibus sub Anno J. P. 4725.

the most learned archbishop *Usher* observes, in the year of the *Julian* period 4725, and the fifteenth year from thence brings us to the year of the *Julian* period 4739, in which (as is above noted) the word of God came to *John the Baptist*, and the preaching of the gospel first began. And then it was, that *Christ* by this his fore-runner manifested his coming, and made his first appearance in that great work of our salvation, on which he was sent. And from the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, when the commandment went forth from that King for the restoring of the church and state of the *Jews*, to this time were just seven weeks and sixty two weeks, that is, sixty nine weeks, or four hundred and eighty three years in all, exactly as this prophecy predicted.

3^{dly}, FROM this coming of our Saviour began the third period of these seventy weeks, that is, the one week which is spoken of in the 27th verse, the events whereof, as there predicted, are, that *for that week the Messiah should confirm the covenant with many, and in the half part thereof* (for *thus it ought to be rendred, where in our *English* translation we read *the midst*) *should cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease*; and so accordingly it came to pass. For during these seven years of his evangelical ministry, he did first by his fore-runner, † the messenger whom he had sent before him, and then by himself in his personal ministry confirm the covenant of the gospel with many of the *Jews*, who were converted, and admitted thereto; and then in the half part of the said week, that is, in the last half part thereof, when he appeared in his own person in the same ministry, on which *John* was sent before him, he caused the sacrifices and the oblations of the temple to cease, that is, first by his preaching of the gospel, which was to supersede them, and then, lastly, by that great sacrifice of himself, which he once offered for all in his death upon the cross at the end of this week, whereby they were all absolutely and finally extinguished for ever. For all other sacrifices and oblations till then being only antetypes, and figurative representations of this great sacrifice after to be offered, and of no virtue or efficacy, but as they referred to it; when this was offered all others vanished of course, as the representative doth at the appearance of the principal, or the type or figure at the presence of the thing that is typified or expressed by it; and the virtue and propitiation of this one sacrifice hath sufficed for all ever since. The whole latter part of the last week being the time of *Christ's* personal ministry here on earth, as the whole of it was employed in the preaching of the gospel, which was to cause the law to cease, so the whole of it may very properly be said to be employed in causing all those sacrifices and oblations to cease, which the law enjoined, tho' the whole was not completed, till at the end of this half part by his death and passion. For then at the offering up of this great sacrifice, the virtue and efficacy of all others ceased for ever. But here it may be objected, that my placing the death of *Christ* at the end of this last period, is against the express words of the prophecy. For that placeth the cutting off of the *Messiah* at the end of the second period, that is, of the sixty two weeks. For the words of it are, (ver. 26.) *After threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off*. To this I answer, the word *after* in this place cannot be understood to mean strictly the time immediately af-

* The word in the original Hebrew is *Chatzi*, which signifieth the half part and not the midst.

† Malachi iii. 1. Matth. xi. 10. Luke i. 76. and vii. 27.

ter, but in a large and indefinite sense to denote the whole next week which after followed. For otherwise his coming and his cutting off must have happened at the same time both together, and no intermediate space would have been left for his ministry. For in the verse preceding it is positively said, *that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince, should be seven weeks and threescore and two weeks*; and therefore if at the end of the same sixty two weeks he should be cut off also, then his coming and his cutting off must have happened both together at the same time; and the consequence which I have mentioned must necessarily follow, *i. e.* that no intermediate space would have then been left for his ministry, which cannot be said. The word *after* must therefore mean the whole week after, at the end of which *Christ*, the *Messiah* named in that prophecy, was cut off by his death on the cross. And there is no need of expressing it otherwise in that place, because the cutting off and death of the *Messiah* had been exactly determined to that time, by what was said before in the 24th verse. For it is manifest, that according to the true intent and meaning of that part of the prophecy his death must be there placed. For according to that it must be there placed, where it placeth the events that were to be accomplished and brought to pass by it; but the events which were to be accomplished and brought to pass by the cutting off of *the Messiah*, are by that part of the said prophecy (ver. 24.) placed at the end of the seventy weeks, and consequently at the end of the last of them, and therefore the cutting off of the *Messiah* must there be placed also, and there it accordingly hapned in the death and passion of *Christ* our Saviour, and this part of the prophecy was exactly fulfilled by it.

THE whole therefore of this second part or branch of the prophecy is thus; the seventy weeks being divided into three periods, that is, into seven weeks, sixty two weeks, and one week, the first reacheth from the time of the going forth of the commandment to *Ezra* for the restoring of the church and state of the *Jews* in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, to the finishing of that work by *Nehemiah* forty nine years after; the second from the end of that period to the coming of the *Messiah* four hundred and thirty four years after; and the last from that his coming to his cutting off by his death on the cross, which was one week or seven years after. And all these put together fully make up the seventy weeks, or the four hundred and ninety years of this prophecy, and according to this computation every particular of it hath been fully verified in a completion exactly agreeable thereto, and the whole number of years pointed out thereby exactly answered to a month. For as the going out of the commandment to *Ezra*, from whence they began, was in the month of *Nisan*, so the crucifixion of *Christ* was also in the same month just four hundred and ninety years after.

III. AFTER what is predicted of these three periods follows the third branch, or part of the prophecy, which is contained in the latter end of the 26th, and in the latter end of the 27th verse, and foretells events to be brought to pass after the expiration of the said seventy weeks in the times immediately following thereupon, that is, *the destruction of the city and sanctuary by the people of the prince that was to come*, who with their armies and desolating abominations should invade *Judea*, as with a flood, and by a terrible and consuming war bring utter ruine and desolation upon it, and

and all the people of the *Jews* that should dwell therein, and consummate the same upon them in an absolute destruction: All which accordingly came to pass, and did in a very signal manner verify the prophecy in a full completion of every particular hereof. For on the end of these seventy weeks, which were determined upon that people, and their holy city, they having slain the Lord of life, they were thereon cast off by God from being his peculiar people, and the Gentiles were called in their stead, so that thenceforth they were no more his people, nor their city *Jerusalem* any longer holy unto him, but both were given up and destined to utter ruin and destruction. For immediately on their having executed the sentence of death upon *Christ* our Lord, this ^a sentence of condemnation passed upon them, and from that time all second causes operated towards the hastening the execution of it, till at length the *Roman* armies, *the people that were to come*, under the command of *Titus* their Prince, invaded them as with a torrent, and begirt *Jerusalem* with their ensigns, *the abomination of desolation*, ^b which our Saviour from this prophecy forewarns his disciples of. For ^c they were idolatrous images ^d abominated by the *Jews*, under which those people marched against them, invaded their land, besieged their holy city, and by a most calamitous war brought utter desolation upon both; which according to the relations of *Josephus*, (who was an historian of their own nation, and present in all the actions of the war) they executed in the most terrible and tragical manner of destruction that was ever brought upon any nation, and consummated it to such a degree upon them, that they have never been able to recover themselves ever since even to this day, though now one thousand six hundred forty five years have passed, since these judgments were by the just hand of God thus executed upon them.

BUT for the full clearing of all that hath hitherto been said in the explication of this prophecy, there still remains one great objection to be answered. For it is urged, that the *Artaxerxes* who granted the commission to *Ezra* in the seventh year of his reign, from whence we begin the computation of the seventy weeks, was the same *Artaxerxes* who in the twentieth year of his reign granted another commission to *Nehemiah*. For the scriptures ^e making *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* contemporary, render this beyond dispute. But that this *Artaxerxes* should be *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, the age, which *Nehemiah*, and *Sanballat* must then have lived to, makes it, they say, wholly improbable. For *Nehemiah*, in the book of holy scripture called by his name, (which all acknowledge to have been written by him) ^f speaking of the reign of *Darius Codomannus* King of *Persia*, and of the days of *Jaddua* the high-priest of the *Jews*, as of times past, he must

^a *Christ* foreknowing the wickedness, foretells that this sentence should be thereon passed upon them for it, and accordingly be executed. Matt. xiv. Mark xiii. Luke xxi. ^b Matth. xxiv. 15. Mark xiii. 14.

^c Vide Grotii Annotationes ad 24 cap. Matthæi com. 15.

^d *Josephus* tells us, (Antiq. lib. 18. c. 7.) That when Vitellius, governor of Syria, was going to pass through Judæa with a Roman army, to make war against the Arabians, the chief of the Jews met him, and earnestly entreated him to lead his army another way. For they could not bear the sight of those images which were in the ensigns under which they marched, they were so abominated by them. These ensigns therefore for the sake of those images in them were abominations to the Jews, and by reason of the desolations which were wrought under them by the Roman armies in conquered countries, they were called desolating abominations, or abominations of desolation; and they were never more so, than when under them the Roman armies besieged, took and destroyed Jerusalem. ^e *Nehemiah* viii.

^f Chap. xii. 22.

have been alive after the death of both of them, but *Jaddua* not dying till two years after the death of *Alexander the Great*, in the year of the *Julian* period 4392, from the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to that time had passed one hundred twenty three years, to which, if we add thirty years more for the age of *Nehemiah*, when he came to be governor of *Judea*; (which is the least that can be allowed to qualify him for such a trust) he must have been at the least an hundred and fifty three years old when he wrote that book, if the *Artaxerxes* from whom he had his commission, were *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. And tho' we suppose the writing of this book to have been while *Darius Codomannus* and *Jaddua* were both alive, and put it up as high as we can, that is, into the first year of the reign of that *Darius*, yet this will not much mend the matter. For on this supposition *Nehemiah* must have been an hundred and forty years old when he wrote that book, which is still a very improbable age in those times, and consequently infers the supposal, on which it is built, (*i. e.* that it was *Artaxerxes Longimanus* from whom he had his commission) to be very improbable also. And the age of *Sanballat*, upon the same supposal, will not only be as improbable, but also much more so. For when *Nehemiah* came into *Judea*, in the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes*, he found him[†] governor of *Samaria* under the King of *Persia*, and he was alive, as *Josephus* tells us, till the besieging of *Gaza* by *Alexander the Great*, in the fourth year of *Darius Codomannus*, at which time he died. And therefore if that *Artaxerxes* were *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *Sanballat* at the time of that siege could not be less than an hundred and forty eight years old. For from the twentieth of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to the fourth of *Darius Codomannus*, according to *Ptolemy's* canon, were one hundred and thirteen years; and when *Nehemiah* came to *Jerusalem*, *Sanballat* having been for some time, perchance for several years, fixed in the government of *Samaria*, he cannot be well supposed to have been less than thirty five years old at that time, and putting both these numbers together they make an hundred and forty eight years; and both these ages, that is, that of *Nehemiah*, and this of *Sanballat*, it must be acknowledged, seem very improbable, and most especially that of the latter. For as to *Nehemiah*, an extraordinary blessing upon that good man may be alledged for such an extraordinary age in him, but this cannot be said of the other. Each of these instances apart look very improbable, but coming both together are much more so. And therefore, as we have argued above, that the *Darius* who granted the decree for the finishing of the temple, could not be *Darius Nothus*, because of the great and improbable age which *Jeshua* and *Zerubbabel* must have been of at the executing of that decree; so it is argued here in the same manner, that the *Artaxerxes*, from whom *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* had their commissions, could not be *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, because of the great and improbable age which *Nehemiah* and *Sanballat* must then have been of at the time of their death. And therefore as we have said of the former difficulty, that it can be no otherwise solved, but by making the *Darius*, who granted the decree for the finishing of the temple to be another *Darius*, that is, *Darius Hystaspis*, who reigned ninety eight years before that *Darius* who was called *Nothus*; so in like manner it is said of this latter

^{*} Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8. Chronicon Alexandrinum.

[†] Nehem. iv. 2.

^{*} Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

difficulty, that it can be no otherwise cleared but by making the *Artaxerxes*, who in the seventh and in the twentieth years of his reign granted his commissions to *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, to have been another *Artaxerxes*, that is, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, whose seventh year, and whose twentieth year of his reign, were just sixty years after the seventh year and the twentieth year of the reign of the other *Artaxerxes*, that was called *Longimanus*. Thus far the objection, and if it holds good, I must acknowledge it overthrows the computation, on which hath been built all which I have hitherto said for the explication of this prophecy.

IN answer hereto it hath been said by some, 1st, As to *Nehemiah*, that in that passage of his book (*chap. xii. 22.*) where the reign of *Darius* the *Persian*, and the days of *Jaddua* the high-priest of the *Jews* are mentioned, that reign of *Darius* was the reign^b of *Darius Nothus*, and those days of *Jaddua*^c were his days from his birth, which might very well have happened in the reign of the said *Darius Nothus*. And 2^{dly}, As to *Sanballat*, that^k there were two of that name, the first of which was the *Sanballat* spoken of by *Nehemiah*, and the second the *Sanballat* spoken of by *Josephus*; but neither of these answers can possibly hold good. For,

1st, It's manifest, that the text of *Nehemiah* (*chap. xii. 22.*) where the *Levites* are spoken of that were in the days of *Eliashib*, *Joiada*, *Johanan*, and *Jaddua*, cannot be understood to mean any other days than those wherein they were high-priests. For the high-priest among the *Jews* was the head of the priests and *Levites*, and after the captivity, when there was no King in *Judah*, he had the absolute supremacy over them in all affairs relating to their office. And therefore it was then as proper for them to reckon all such affairs by the times of their high-priests, as it is now with us to reckon all actions in the state by the times of our Kings; and consequently, when any thing is said to have been done in such an high-priest's time, it is altogether as improper to understand it of any other time than that of his high-priesthood, as it would be, when any thing is said to have been in such a King's time, to understand it of any other time than that of his reign. And therefore to refer what is here said of the days of *Jaddua*, as far back as to his days from his birth, is a very forced sense which the text cannot naturally bear. When such a thing is said to have been in the time of King *Henry VIII*, will any one understand it of the time before his reign, or think it any other than an absurdity so to construe it? And is it not altogether as absurd to understand what is here said of the *Levites* to have been in the days of *Jaddua*, of any other days than of those wherein he was high-priest? And it is to be here observed, that the text joins with the days of *Jaddua*, the days of *Eliashib*, *Joiada*, and *Johanan*. For it is said^d *In the days of Eliashib, Joiada, Johanan, and Jaddua, &c.* And therefore if it should be here asked, whether the days of *Eliashib*, *Joiada*, and *Johanan*, are to be understood of the days of their high-priesthood, or of the days of their life from their birth, no doubt it will be answered by every body, of the days of their high-priesthood. And why then must not the days of *Jaddua* be understood so too? It may farther be added, what need is there in this case to name *Jaddua's* days at all? Because if they be understood of those before he was high-priest, they were co-incident with

^b Usserius in Annalibus sub anno J. P. 4298. Chronologia sacra, p. 149.

^c Usserius, ibid.

^k Isaacus Vossius in

^d Nehem. xii. 22.

the days of *Joiada* and *Johanan*, which were nam'd before. And therefore if we understand those days of *Jaddua* in the text, of any other days, than of those wherein he was high-priest, they must have been named twice in the same text, which would be such a faulty repetition as it must not be charg'd with. Nothing seems more plain, than that the text speaks of the days of these four men, as in succession one after another, and therefore we must not run the days of one into the days of the other. Besides, the whole design of interpreting the days of *Jaddua*, in this text, of the days before he was high-priest, is to support a notion that the said text was written before he was high-priest, and so far back as the time immediately after his birth, about the latter end of the reign of *Darius Nothus*, they who are the patrons of this notion having no other way to make them contemporary. But then to name his days with the days of the other high-priests, so many years before he came to be high-priest, and when it must be on ^m many respects uncertain, whether he would ever be so or no, is what all the writings in the world besides cannot give us an instance of. From all this it plainly follows, that those days of *Jaddua* in the text above-mentioned, can be meant of no other days than the days of his high-priesthood, and that therefore he must have been in that office before this text was written. And also it is as evident, that the *Darius* in the same text mentioned, can be none other than *Darius Codomannus*, ⁿ in whose reign *Jaddua* was high-priest. For the ^o text bringing down the reckoning through the succession of several high-priests, terminates the whole in the days of *Jaddua*, and the reign of *Darius the Persian*, which clearly makes them contemporary. And therefore *Darius the Persian*, in that next mentioned, could be none other than *Darius Codomannus*, because no other *Darius* but he was King of *Persia* while *Jaddua* was high-priest at *Jerusalem*. And if so, it must be in the reign of this *Darius*, of the soonest, that this text was written, and consequently *Nehemiah*, if he were the writer of it, must then have been living. And supposing it to have been in the reign of this *Darius*, and in the first year of it, *Nehemiah*, if then living, must have been an hundred and forty years old; but if it were after the death both of *Darius* and *Jaddua*, as the obvious sense of the text seems to imply, he must then have been much older, that is, one hundred fifty three at the least, as I have above-said, but neither of these is likely, and therefore it must be acknowledged, that this answer doth not remove the difficulty. Neither,

2^{dly}, CAN the other answer remove that which ariseth from the age of *Sanballat*. For to solve that objection by making two *Sanballats* is plainly giving up the cause, it being only a shift, which can never go down with any one that duly considers the matter. For it is not to be doubted but that the *Sanballat*, who is said in the last chapter of *Nehemiah* to have married his daughter to one of the sons of *Joiada* the high-priest, is the same *Sanballat* who is mentioned so often in the former part of that book, as the great opposer of *Nehemiah* in all his undertakings for the welfare of the children of *Israel*. For he is in this last place called by ^p the same proper name of *Sanballat* as in the former places of that book, and hath there

^m It was uncertain not only from the uncertainty of life, but also because he might in the interim have incurred an incapacity by being maimed, or otherwise, and also might be excluded by the Persian King.

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

^o Nehem. xii. 22.

^p Nehem. xiii. 28.

also given unto him the same additional name of the *Horonite*, taken from the name of *Horonaim* ^a a city of *Moab*, whereof it's supposed he was a native. And it is not likely that both these names should concur in any other, within the time of the same governor of *Judea*, but in the same person only. And that this same *Sanballat the Horonite* is the same *Sanballat*, which *Josephus* treateth of, is as evident. For the *Sanballat* of *Nehemiah* ^b was governor of *Samaria*, and ^c so was the *Sanballat* of *Josephus*; the *Sanballat* of *Nehemiah* ^d was a great enemy of the *Jews*, and ^e so was the *Sanballat* of *Josephus*; the *Sanballat* of *Nehemiah* ^f married his daughter to one of the sons of an high-priest of the *Jews*, and ^g so did the *Sanballat* of *Josephus*; and who then is there, that will not from hence conclude that they were both the same person?

AND thus far I have shewn, that neither part of the objection above-mentioned is removed by either of these answers. And I have been the longer herein, because they have been men of great name, and great learning, who have been the authors of them, and others as great have acquiesced in them as sufficient. But to come to the truth of the matter, I answer,

1st, As to the age of *Nehemiah*, that the text from whence this objection is made doth not infer it. For notwithstanding what is said therein, *Nehemiah* might have been dead, as no doubt he was, a great number of years before it was written. For all that is contained in the said xiith chapter of *Nehemiah*, from the beginning of it to the 27th verse of the same, was never written by *Nehemiah*, but is an interpolation there inserted long after his death, by those who received this book into the canon of scripture. For ^h as *Ezra*, as far as he went in that collection which he made of the holy scriptures, inserted in several places such interpolations as he thought necessary for the clearer understanding of them, so they who laboured after him, in the perfecting of the said collection, did the same in the books which they afterwards added to it, till they had completed the whole about the time of *Simon the Just*. For he being the last of those whose labours were employed in the settling of the canon of the scriptures of the *Old Testament*, and this book being the last that was received into it, as being the last that was written, it's justly reckoned to have been in his time, that it was first thus received into the number of the sacred books, and then this interpolation was added by him, and those who were assisting to him in this work. Of all which particulars a fuller account will be hereafter given in their proper places. And that this is an interpolation, the interruption which is made thereby, in the sense and connection of that part of the book, doth sufficiently shew, and ⁱ most learned men that have considered this matter, are now convinced that it is so.

BUT 2^{dly}, As to the other objection which is drawn from the age of *Sanballat*, the answer is much easier. For here there is no opposition between scripture and scripture, but only between scripture and the writings of a prophane author. *Nehemiah* placeth *Sanballat the Horonite* in the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*; ^j *Josephus* makes him live down to the

Isaiah xv. 5. Jer. xlviii. 3, 5, and 34.
lib. ii. c. 7, and 8.

^b Nehem. ii, iv, vi.

^c Nehem. iv. 2.

^d Joseph. ibid.

^e Joseph. Antiq.

^f Nehem. xii. 28.

^g See below, in the sequel of this history.

^h Isaacus Vossius in Chronologia sacra, cap. 16.

p. 149: Cary's Chronology, part 2. book 2. chap. 6. p. 197.

ⁱ Antiq. lib. ii. c. 8.

time of *Alexander the Great* above an hundred years after. Here there is no necessity of reconciling one with the other. For if both cannot consist together (as the great age which *Sanballat* in this case must have lived to doth sufficiently prove they cannot) the prophane writer must give place to the sacred. And therefore the true answer in this matter is, *Josephus* was mistaken. The sacred writ, as being dictated by the holy spirit of God, must ever be of infallible truth, which cannot be said of the writings of *Josephus*. For they have in them many great and manifest mistakes, and no part of them more than the eleventh book of antiquities, in which is written what gives the ground for this objection. For therein he frequently varies from scripture, history, and common sense, which manifestly proves it to have been the least considered, and the worst digested, of all that he has written. Therein ^a he makes *Cambyses*, who was the first that reigned after *Cyrus*, to have been the *Persian* King, that by his decree forbad the going on with the rebuilding of the temple, whereas ^b the scripture plainly tells us it was *Artaxerxes*, who is there named in the third place after *Cyrus*. He ^c inserts into this book, out of the *apocryphal Esdras*, the fabulous and absurd story of the three chamberlains contending before *Darius Hystaspis* about what was strongest; and making *Zerubbabel* to be one of them, and to obtain the victory. In this contest, he introduceth *Darius* giving him for the reward of this victory, a decree for another return of the captive *Israelites* to *Judea*, which is neither spoken of in scripture, nor consisting with it, and placeth at the head of those, who he saith then returned, *Zerubbabel* the governor, and *Jeshua* the high-priest, whereas it's certain from *Ezra*, *Haggai*, and *Zechariah*, that they were then both at *Jerusalem*, and there on the exhortations of the two prophets last mentioned setting forward the rebuilding of the temple. And then he goes on out of the same romance, to relate, as consequential to this second return, (which is wholly fictitious) all that which the scriptures tell us was done after the first, and in some particulars very much exceeds the fictions of the romancer himself. For he makes those who came from *Babylon* to *Judea* in this fictitious return, to be four millions eight thousand six hundred eighty four men, a monstrous number! and the women and children that belonged to them to be no more than forty thousand seven hundred forty and two, a disproportion which is utterly incredible, especially among those who had plurality of wives. And ^d he makes *Xerxes*, who succeeded *Darius Hystaspis*, to have been that *Artaxerxes* of the holy scriptures, who sent *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* to *Jerusalem*, whereas ^e the thirty second year of that *Artaxerxes* is mentioned in scripture, and it's certain the reign of *Xerxes* did not exceed ^f one and twenty. He brings not *Nehemiah* to *Jerusalem* ^g till the twenty fifth year of that *Artaxerxes*, whereas the scriptures ^h tell us, he came thither in the twentieth; and he makes him to be employed there three years and an half in the building of the walls of the city, whereas we read in the sacred text, ⁱ that it was done in fifty two days. And since *Josephus* hath in this book made all these mistakes,

^a Antiq. lib. II. c. 3.

^b Ezra iv. 6, 7. For there he makes *Darius* to be the first after *Cyrus*; and *Artaxerxes*, who forbad the going on with the rebuilding of the temple and city of *Jerusalem*, to be the second.

^c Antiq. lib. II. c. 4.

^d Antiq. lib. II. c. 5.

^e Nehem.

xiii. 6

^f Canon, Ptol.

^g Antiq. lib. II. c. 5.

^h Nehem. ii. 1.

ⁱ Nehem. vi. 15.

besides many more which it would be too long to relate, I hope it will not be thought strange, that I assert what he saith in this same book in reference to *Sanballat*, is a mistake also. For * therein he tells us of him, " That being made governor of *Samaritania* for the last *Darius*, he married his daughter to one whose father had been high-priest of the *Jews*, and that this son-in-law having for this marriage, as being contrary to the *Jewish* law, been deprived of his priesthood and driven out of *Jerusalem*, he obtained from *Alexander* (to whom he revolted while at the siege of *Tyre*) licence to build on mount *Gerizim* near *Samaritania* a temple like that at *Jerusalem*, and to make his son-in-law high-priest of it, and that after having attended *Alexander* at this siege of *Tyre*, and also at that of *Gaza* with eight thousand men, about the time of the taking of the last of these he died." Thus far this historian. That *Sanballat* thus married his daughter to a son of an high-priest of the *Jews*, and built a temple on mount *Gerizim* for him, I readily acknowledge; but that he built this temple by licence from *Alexander*, or lived down to those times, is as great a mistake in the relator as any that I have above-mentioned. That he should build this temple by licence from *Alexander* is inconsistent with what *Josephus* himself tells us of the matter. For according to him *Sanballat* did not revolt to *Alexander* till he was set down before *Tyre*, and that siege and the siege of *Gaza* both together lasted only nine months. And therefore if we suppose *Sanballat* to have obtained this licence from *Alexander* in the very beginning of these nine months, he could have had but nine months wherein to build a temple like that at *Jerusalem*, which cost the labour of many years, and the work of a multitude of hands to erect it. And how is it possible such a structure could be built in so short a time, and that especially, since all that while neither *Sanballat* himself could be present to attend it, nor those by whose hands and help the work was to be effected? for during all that time *Josephus* tells us, *Sanballat* attended *Alexander* in the camp, and had eight thousand of his *Samaritans* there with him, who being the main strength and flower of that people, it is wholly improbable, that in their absence those who were left behind should have capacity enough to undertake, or hands enough to go thorough with such a work, especially when the chief projector *Sanballat* himself, by whose direction all was to be done, was absent also. It being therefore utterly improbable, if not altogether impossible, that this temple could have been built by a licence from *Alexander* in the life-time of *Sanballat*, it must follow, that if it were built at all by virtue of such a licence from *Alexander*, it must have been built by the *Samaritans* after *Sanballat* was dead. But the ill circumstances on which the *Samaritans* were with *Alexander* immediately after the time, when *Josephus* saith *Sanballat* died, and the great misfortunes which they thereon fell into, make this as improbable as the former. For *Alexander* was no sooner gone into *Egypt*, where he immediately marched after his taking of *Gaza*, but the *Samaritans* rising in a mutiny against *Andromachus*, a favourite of his, whom he had left governor of *Syria*, set fire to the house where he was, and burnt him to death; which justly provoked *Alexander* to so severe a revenge against them, that on his return he put a great number of them to death, expelled all the rest

* Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 7, & 8.
p. 137. in Græcis, p. 56. & p. 177. Edit. ult.

† Eusebii Chronicon ad annum 1685. In Lat. Hieronymi, Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 8.

of them out of their city, and gave it to be inhabited by a colony of his *Macedonians*, and ^m added their countrey to that of the *Jews*. And as to the eight thousand men which had followed his camp, ⁿ he sent them into *Thebais*, the remotest province of *Egypt*, and there settled them on such lands as he caused to be distributed among them in that province, without suffering them any more to return into their own countrey. The remainder that survived this ruine, were permitted to dwell in *Sechem*, a small village near *Samaria*, which hath from that time been the head seat of that people, and there they have remained ever since, even unto this day. And whether a people, who had in so high a degree provoked *Alexander*, should be allowed to build such a temple by his favour, or if they had, could at all be in a capacity, when thus broken and ruined, to accomplish it, is an easy question to answer. Whoever shall consider this in both its branches, will no doubt think it in each of them improbable, and that with a licence from *Alexander*, neither before the death of *Sanballat* nor after it, could any such temple have been built by the *Samaritans*. However, I deny not but that, as hath been already said, such a temple was built by *Sanballat* upon mount *Gerizim*, and upon the occasion mentioned, that is, of the marriage of his daughter with a son of the high-priest of the *Jews*, but this was done long before the time of the last *Darius*, who was called *Codomannus*, in the time of a former *Darius* surnamed *Nothus*, who was King of *Persia* eighty eight years before him. For it appears from scripture, that this marriage was consummated ^o while *Joiada* the son of *Elishib* was high-priest of the *Jews*, and he entered on his office in the eleventh year of this *Darius*; and four years afterwards (that is in the fifth year of the high-priesthood of the said *Joiada*, and in the fifteenth year of *Darius Nothus*) was it, that his son was thus married to the daughter of *Sanballat*, as will be hereafter shewn in its proper place. And upon this marriage followed all the rest, which *Josephus* relates of the building of the temple upon mount *Gerizim* by *Sanballat*, and the making of his son-in-law high-priest of it. So that all this was done, not in the time of *Darius Codomannus* in the last year of his reign, or by licence from *Alexander*, but in the time of *Darius Nothus*, and by licence from him only granted in the fifteenth year of his reign to *Sanballat* for this purpose; and this clears the whole objection. For *Darius Nothus* in *Ptolemy's* canon immediately succeeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, in whose twentieth year *Sanballat* is first made mention of, and supposing him to have been then thirty five years old, he would in the fifteenth year of *Darius Nothus* be no more than seventy one, which is an age that more than the tenth part of mankind commonly arrive unto, if we may make a judgment hereof from the bills of mortality in *London*, where commonly the aged make a tenth part of the burials, and none that die there use to be put into those bills under that title, unless they out-live seventy. That which led *Josephus* into this error, I take it, was the common notion, which hath long obtained among his countrey men, ^p that the *Darius* whom *Alexander* conquered, was the son of *Abasuerus* by *Esther*; and therefore on his making *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to be *Abasuerus*, he makes the *Darius* that succeeded him, that

^m Joseph. contra Apionem, lib. 2. p. 1063.

ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

^o Nehem. xiii. 28.

^p R. Abraham Levita in Historica Cabala. David Gantz in Zemach David. Abraham Zacutus in Juchasin, &c.

is, *Darius Nothus*, to be that last *Darius*, who was subdued by that conqueror. And that this was his opinion appears plainly from his history. For having therein given us an account of all the Kings of *Persia* from *Cyrus* to *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, in that exact series of succession, in which they reigned one after the other, without omitting so much as the *Magian* usurper, tho' he reigned only seven months; after *Artaxerxes Longimanus* he names none other but that last *Darius*, in whom the *Persian* empire ended. Which is a plain argument that he took that last *Darius* to have been the *Darius* that succeeded *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and if so, the age of *Sanballat* will then put no difficulty upon us. But ^a *Isaac Vossius*, by an emendation of the text of *Josephus*, introduceth thereinto another *Artaxerxes*, as mentioned by him to reign in *Persia*, between *Artaxerxes Longimanus* and the last *Darius*. For whereas in the seventh chapter of the eleventh book of his *Antiquities*, in all the printed copies we read of *Bagoses*, that he was general τῷ λαῷ Ἀρταξέρξε, that is, of the people of *Artaxerxes*; he would have it to be τῷ ἄλλῳ Ἀρταξέρξε, which may be rendred in *English* either of the other *Artaxerxes*, or of another *Artaxerxes*. And to justify the emendation, he brings the authority of *Ruffinus*, who, in his version of *Josephus*, translates this place as if the copy which he used had it τῷ ἄλλῳ Ἀρταξέρξε. But *Ruffinus's* *Latin* version is no sufficient standard, whereby to judge of the original, since in many places he phantastically varies from it. And since there were two *Artaxerxes's*, that reigned in *Persia* after *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, that is, *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and *Artaxerxes Ochus*, whether by this ἄλλῳ Ἀρταξέρξε we understand the other *Artaxerxes* or another *Artaxerxes*, the true propriety of speech will bear neither of them in that place; and if it could, a long received reading ought in no ancient author to be varied from, without the authority of some good manuscript to justify the emendation, and there is none alledged in this case. So that all that *Vossius* saith about it can amount to no more than a conjecture, which we can build nothing certain upon; and to alter old authors, upon conjectures only, is never to be allowed, especially where the context will bear the one reading as well as the other. For since the various fancies of men may lead to various conjectures, if there should be such a liberty allowed, whole books may be thus altered away, and utterly defaced by such conjectural emendations, and many good authors have already too much suffered by it.

AND thus far I have explained this important prophecy in all its parts and branches, and fully shewn all those events in which every particular of it had its completion. That there are several difficulties in it must be acknowledged. The perplexities, which many learned men have been led into in their explications of it, do sufficiently prove it. And the understanding in a literal sense, what is there meant in a figurative, hath not been the least cause hereof. Not to be delivered in plain terms is what is common to all prophecies, there being none of them without their difficulties and obscurities. There is too great an itch in mankind to look into futurities, which belong to God only to know. And although God hath been pleased so far to gratify our curiosity herein, as to give us prophecies for

^a In *Chronologia sacra*, cap. 10. p. 150.

the magnifying of his omniscience among us, yet they are most of them delivered in such dark and obscure terms, as not to be thoroughly understood till after they are fulfilled. Then the events become sure comments upon the text. And I hope when the reader hath fully considered all that is above proposed, concerning this very important prophecy, he will be thoroughly satisfied how every particular of it hath had its completion.

An. 457.
Artaxerxes 8.

BUT to return again to our history. *Ezra* having found in the second year of his government, that many of the people had taken strange wives contrary to the law, and that several of the priests and *Levites*, as well as other chief men of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, had transgressed herein, after he had in fasting and prayer deprecated God's wrath for it, he caused proclamation to be made for all the people of *Israel*, that had returned from the captivity, to gather themselves together at *Jerusalem*, under the penalty of excommunication and forfeiture of all their goods. And when they were met, he made them sensible of their sin, and engaged them in a promise and covenant before God, to depart from it, by putting away their strange wives, and all such as were born of them, that the seed of *Israel* might not be polluted with such an undue commixture; and thereon commissioners were appointed to enquire into this matter, and cause every man to do according to the law herein. And they sat down the first day of the tenth month to examine hereinto, and made an end by the first day of the first month; so that in three months time, that is, in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth months of the *Jewish* year, a thorough reformation was made of this transgression, which three months answer to *January*, *February*, and *March*, in our year.

ABOUT this time *Bigthan* and *Tereſh*, two eunuchs of the palace, entered into a conspiracy against the life of King *Artaxerxes*. Most likely they were of those who had attended Queen *Vashti*, and being now out of their offices by the degrading of their mistress, and the advancing of another into her place, took that disgust thereat, as to resolve to revenge themselves on the King for it; of which *Mordecai* having gotten the knowledge he made discovery hereof to Queen *Esther*, and she in *Mordecai's* name to the King; whereon enquiry being made into the matter, and the whole treason laid open and discovered, the two traitors were both crucified for it, and the history of the whole matter was enter'd on the publick registers and annals of the kingdom.

MEGABYZUS and *Artabafus*, who were appointed generals by *Artaxerxes*, for the *Egyptian* war had drawn together into *Cilicia* and *Phœnicia* an army of three hundred thousand men for that expedition; but wanting a fleet for the carrying of it on by sea, they were forced to tarry there all this year, while it was a preparing for them in *Cilicia*, *Cyprus* and *Phœnicia*, and other maritime parts of the *Persian* empire there adjoining, all which time they carefully employed in exercising their soldiers, and practising and instructing them in all military arts for the war, which conduced not a little to the victory which they afterwards obtained. In the interim, *Inarus* with his *Egyptians*, and the *Athenian* auxiliaries, pressed hard their assaults upon the *White Wall* at *Memphis*, but the *Persians* valiantly defending themselves, the siege continued all this year without any success.

^r *Ezra* ix. and x.

^s *Esther* ii. 21.

^t *Ctesias*. *Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.*

BUT ^v the next year after, the *Persian* fleet being ready, *Artabafus* took the command of it, and set sail for the *Nile*; and at the same time *Megabyzus* marched the army over land to *Memphis*, where on his arrival having raised the siege, and joined the besieged, he gave battel to *Inarus* and all his forces, and overthrew them with a great slaughter, which fell chiefly upon the *Egyptian* revoltors. After this defeat *Inarus*, though wounded in the fight by *Megabyzus*, made his retreat with the *Athenian* auxiliaries, and as many of the *Egyptians* as would follow him, to *Biblus*, a city standing in the island *Profopitis*, which being furrounded by the *Nile*, and the branches of that river encompassing it being both navigable, the *Athenians* drew up their fleet into one of them, in a station where it was safe from the enemy, and endured a siege of an year and half in that island. In the interim, the rest of the *Egyptians*, after that blow, all submitted to the conquerors, and returned again to their obedience to King *Artaxerxes*, excepting *Amyrtæus*, who still maintained a party against him in the fens, where he reigned many years; the *Persians*, by reason of the difficulty of access to those parts, having been never able to reduce him.

An. 456.
Artax-
erxes 9.

IN the mean time ^w the *Persian* army at *Profopitis* pressed on the siege, but finding that they could make no work of it, by the usual and common ways of war, by reason of the valour and resolution of the defendents, at length had recourse to craft and stratagem, whereby they soon accomplished what by open force they could not effect. For having by the making of many channels drained that branch of the *Nile*, in which the *Athenian* fleet had its station, they laid it on dry ground, and made a passage open for all their army to pass over into the island; whereon *Inarus*, seeing his case desperate, with all his *Egyptians*, and about fifty of the *Athenian* auxiliaries, came to composition with *Megabyzus*, and yielded to him on terms of safety for their lives. But the rest of the auxiliaries, being in number about six thousand, put themselves on their defence; and therefore having set their fleet on fire stood together in battel array, with resolution to die with their swords in their hands, and in imitation of the *Lacedemonians*, that fell at *Thermopylae*, fell their lives as dear as they could; which the *Persians* perceiving, and not being willing to engage with men so desperately resolved, offered them peace on terms, that they should leave *Egypt*, and have a free passage home into their own countrey, which way they should chuse for their return thither; which being accepted of, they delivered the island with the city of *Biblus* to the conquerors, and marched to *Cyrene*, where they took shipping for *Greece*. But the major part of those that went on this expedition perish'd in it.

An. 454.
Artax-
erxes 11.

AND this was not all the loss which the *Athenians* suffered in this war. ^x For another fleet of fifty sail being sent by them, for the relief of those who were besieged in *Profopitis*, they arrived at one of the mouths of the *Nile*, a little after the place was delivered, with intention to sail up the *Nile* for the assistance of their countreymen, to the place where they were besieged, not knowing the misfortune that had hapned to them. But they were no sooner entered the river, but they were set upon by the *Persian* fleet from the sea, and assaulted with darts by their land-army from the shore, so that they all perished, excepting a very few of their ships, which

^v Thucyd. lib. 1. Ctesias. Diod. Sic. lib. 11.

^w Ibid.

^x Thucyd. lib. 1.

broke thorough the enemy, and escaped. And here ended this unfortunate war, which the *Athenians* made in *Egypt*, in the sixth year after it was begun. And after this *Egypt* was again reduced under the *Persian* yoke, and so continued all the remaining time of the reign of *Artaxerxes*.

An. 453.
Artax-
erxes 12.

JOACHIM the high-priest of the *Jews* being dead, was ^y succeeded by *Eliashib* his son, who bore that office forty years.

HAMAN an *Amalekite*, of the posterity of *Agag*, who was King of *Amalek* in the time of *Saul*, ^z growing to be the chief favourite of King *Artaxerxes*, all the King's servants were commanded to pay reverence unto him, and bow before him; and all of them obeyed the royal order herein, excepting *Mordecai* the *Jew*, who sitting in the King's gate, according to his office, paid not any reverence to *Haman* at such times as he passed by into the palace, neither bowed he at all to him; of which being told he was exceeding wroth, but scorning to lay hands on one man only, and being informed that he was a *Jew*, he resolved in revenge of this affront to destroy not only him, but also his whole nation with him; and to this, perchance, he was not a little excited, by the ancient Enmity which was between them, and the people of whom he was descended. And therefore for the accomplishing of this design, on the first day of the first month, that is, the month *Nisan*, he called together his diviners, to find out what day would be the most lucky for the putting of it in execution; whereon they having, according to the way of divination then in use among those eastern people, cast lots first upon each month, and after upon each day of the month, did thereby determine for the thirteenth day of the twelfth month following, called *Adar*, as the day which they judged would be the most lucky for the accomplishing of what he purposed. Whereon he forthwith went in unto the King, and having insinuated to him, that there was a certain people dispersed all over his empire, who did not keep the King's laws, but followed laws of their own, diverse from the laws of all other people, to the disturbance of the good order of his kingdom, and the breach of that uniformity whereby it ought to be governed; and that therefore it was not for the King's profit that they should be any longer suffered, he proposed and gave counsel that they should be all destroyed, and extirpated out of the whole empire of *Persia*, and urged it as that which was necessary for the establishing of the peace and good order of his government. To which having obtained the King's consent, and an order, that on the thirteenth day of *Adar* following, according as was determined by the divination of the lots, it should be put in execution, he called the King's scribes together to write the decree; and it being drawn according as he proposed, on the thirteenth day of the same month of *Nisan*, copies thereof were written out and sent into all the provinces of the empire, commanding the King's lieutenants, governors, and all other his officers in every one of them, to destroy, kill, and cause to perish, all *Jews* both young and old, little children and women, in one day, even on the thirteenth day of *Adar* following, and to take the spoil of them for a prey; which day being full eleven months after the date of the decree, the lot which pointed out that day seems to have been directed by the special providence of God, that so long a space intervening there might be

^y Chronicon. Alexandrinum. Nehem. xii. 10. Joseph. Antiq. l. 11. c. 5. ^z Esther iii.

time

time enough to take such measures as might be proper to prevent the mischief intended.

BUT an objection being like to arise against this from those who had the management of the King's treasury, because the destroying of so great a number of the King's subjects, as the *Jews* through the whole empire amounted to, must necessarily cause a great diminution of the publick taxes, he offered ^a ten thousand talents of silver out of his own purse to make the King amends for it; which sum, if computed by *Babylonish* talents, amounts to two millions one hundred and nineteen thousand pounds of our sterling money; but if by *Jewish* talents, it will be above twice as much; a prodigious sum for a private man to be owner of! As this shews the greatness of his riches, so doth it also the greatness of his malice towards the *Jews*, that he could be content to give so great a price for the executing of his revenge upon them. But the King's favour was then so great toward him, ^b that he remitted to him all that sum, and granted him all that he desired without it; though the damage, which the King would have suffered by it in his revenue, would have been much greater than all that the enemy was able to give ^c could have been sufficient to countervail. We are not to wonder that private men had then such vast riches. There are instances to be given of much greater sums in the hands of such men in those ancient times. I shall at present make mention only of two of them, *Pythius the Lydian*, and *Marcus Crassus the Roman*. The former, when *Xerxes* passed into *Greece*, ^d was possessed of two thousand talents in silver, and four millions of darics in gold, which together amounted to near five millions and an half of our sterling money. And the latter, ^e after he had consecrated the tenth of all that he had to *Hercules*, feasted all the people of *Rome* at ten thousand tables, and had given them in a donative of corn to every citizen as much as would last him three months, found the remainder of his estate to be seven thousand one hundred *Roman* talents, which amounts to above a million and an half of our money. This may seem much to us at present; but the wonder will cease, when we consider that from the time of *David* and *Solomon*, and for above fifteen hundred years afterwards, gold and silver was in much greater plenty in the world, than either of them is at present. The immense riches ^f which *Solomon* had in gold and silver, the prodigious quantities of both these, ^g which *Alexander* found in the treasuries of *Darius*, and ^h the vast loads of them, which we find often to have been carried in triumph before *Roman* generals, when they returned from conquered provinces; and the excessive sums ⁱ which some of the *Roman* Emperors expended in their luxurious and phantastical enjoyments, and in donatives to their ar-

^a Esther iii. 9.

^b Esther iii. 10.

^c Esther vii. 4.

^d Herodot. lib. 7.

^e Plutarchus in Crasso.

^f The gold wherewith he overlaid the Sanctum Sanctorum only, a room in the temple, of thirty foot square and thirty foot high, besides what was expended on other parts of the temple, and in the utensils and vessels of it, amounted to six hundred talents, which, reduced to our money, is four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling; and the gold which he had in one year from *Orphir* amounted to four hundred and fifty talents, which, reduced to our money, is three millions two hundred and forty thousand pounds; and his annual tribute in gold, besides silver, was six hundred sixty and six talents, which amounts to four millions, seven hundred ninety five thousand, two hundred pounds, of our sterling money.

^g See Diodor. Sic. Atrian, and Q. Curtius.

^h See the *Roman* historians.

mies, and many † other instances in the histories of the times I have mentioned sufficiently prove this. But at length the mines which furnished this plenty, especially those of the southern *Arabia* (where we suppose was the *Ophir* of the ancients) being exhausted; and the burning of cities, and great devastations of countries, which after followed from the eruptions of the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Huns* and other barbarous nations in the west, and of the *Saracens*, *Turks*, and *Tartars* in the east, having wasted and destroyed a great part of the gold and silver which the world afore abounded with, this induced that great scarcity of both, which afterwards ensued, and which the mines of *Mexico*, *Peru*, and *Brasil*, have not as yet been able fully to repair.

It's hard to find a reason for *Mordecai's* refusing to pay this respect to *Haman*, which may be sufficient to excuse him for thus exposing himself and all his nation to that destruction, which it had like to have drawn upon them. That which is commonly said, is, that it was the same adoration which was paid to the King of *Persia*, and thatⁱ consisting in the bowing of the knee, and the prostration of the whole body, even to the ground, it was avoided by *Mordecai* upon a^k notion which he had of its being idolatrous. But this being the common complement, which was constantly paid to the Kings of *Persia* by all that were admitted into their presence, it was no doubt paid to this very King by *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, when they had access unto him, and after also by *Mordecai* himself. For otherwise he could not have obtained that admission into his presence, and that advancement in his palace which was afterwards there granted unto him. And if it were not idolatrous to pay this adoration to the King, neither could it be idolatrous to pay it to *Haman*. The *Greeks* would not pay this respect to the King of *Persia* out of pride; and excepting *Themistocles*, and^l two or three more, ^m none of them could ever be brought to it. I will not say that this was the case of *Mordecai* in respect of *Haman*. It seems most probable, that his refusing to pay him this reverence, was from a cause that was personal in *Haman* only. Perchance it was because *Haman* being of the race of the *Amalekites*, he looked on him as under the curseⁿ which God had denounced against that nation, and therefore thought himself obliged not to give such honour unto him. And if all the rest of the *Jews* thought the same, this might seem reason enough to him to extend his wrath against the whole nation, and to meditate the destruction of them all in revenge hereof. But whatsoever was the cause that induced *Mordecai*

† One of these instances may be in *Lucullus* a Roman Senator. For in one of his halls, which he called *Apollo*, he expended fifty thousand Roman *Denarii* every time he supped there, (which is near sixteen hundred pound of our money) and there he supped as often as any of the better sort supped with him. The words of *Plutarch*, who tells us this in the life of *Lucullus*, express no more than that the supper cost him five *Myriads*; but this, in strict propriety of speech, can in that author be meant of no other *Myriads* but of *Denarii*. If we carry the valuation down to that of *Sestertii*, five *Myriads* (that is, fifty thousand) of them will amount to a quarter the sum above-mentioned, that is, four hundred pound of our money; and this is prodigious enough to be spent in a supper for the entertainment of two Roman senators, (for no more were present at the supper particularly mentioned by that author) and is a great instance of the prodigious wealth of the entertainer.

ⁱ Vide *Briffonium de Regno Persarum*, lib. 1. §. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.

^k *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 6.* ^l One of these was *Timagoras* an Athenian, on whom the people of Athens passed sentence of death for it, thinking the honour of their whole city debased by this mean submission of one of their citizens to him, that was then the greatest King of the whole earth. *Valer. Max. lib. 6. cap. 3.*

^m Vide *Plutarchum* in *Themistocle & Pelopida & Artaxerxe. Herodotum*, lib. 7. *Justinum*, lib. 6. cap. 2. & *Cornelium Nepotem* in *Conone.*

ⁿ *Exod. xvi. 14. 1 Sam. xv. 2, 3.*

to refuse the payment of this respect to the King's favourite, this provoked that favourite to obtain the decree above-mentioned, for the utter extirpation of the whole *Jewish* nation in revenge for it.

WHEN ° *Mordecai* heard of this decree, he made great lamentation, as did also all the *Jews* of *Shushan* with him; and therefore putting on sackcloth he sat in this mournful garb without the King's gate, (for he might not enter within it in that dress) which being told *Esther*, she sent to him to know what the matter was; whereon *Mordecai* acquainted her with the whole state of the case, and sent her a copy of the decree, that thereby she might fully see the mischief that was intended against her people, absolutely to destroy them and root them out from the face of the earth; and therefore commanded her forthwith to go in unto the King, and make supplication for them. At first she excused herself because of the law, whereby it was ordained, that whosoever, whether man or woman, should come in unto the King into the inner court, who was not called for, should be put to death, excepting such only to whom the King should hold out the golden sceptre in his hand, that he might live, and she was afraid of hazarding her life in this case. Whereon *Mordecai*, sending to her again, told her, that the decree extended universally to all of her nation, without any exception, and that if it came to execution, she must not expect to escape more than any other of her people; that providence seemed to have advanced her of purpose for this work, but if she refused to act her part in it, then deliverance should come some other way, and she and her father's house should perish. For he was fully persuaded, God would not suffer his people to be thus totally destroyed. Whereon *Esther* resolving to put her life to hazard for the safety of her people, desired *Mordecai*, that he and all the *Jews* then in *Shushan* would fast three days for her, and offer up prayer and humble supplication to God to prosper her in the undertaking; which being accordingly done, on the third day *Esther* put on her royal apparel, and went in unto the King, where he was sitting upon his throne in the inner part of the palace. And as soon as he saw her standing in the court he shewed favour unto her, and held out his golden sceptre towards her, and *Esther* going near and touching the top of it had thereby her life secured unto her. And when the King asked her, what her petition was, at first she only desired, that he and *Haman* would come to a banquet which she had prepared for him. And when *Haman* was called, and the King and he were at the banquet, he asked her again of her petition, promising it should be granted her, even to the half of his kingdom; but then she desired only, that the King and *Haman* would come again the next day to the like banquet, intimating, that then she would make known her request unto him. Her intention, in desiring thus to entertain the King twice at her banquets before she made known her petition unto him, was, that thereby she might the more endear herself to him, and dispose him the better to grant the request which she had to make unto him.

HAMAN being proud of the honour of being thus admitted alone with the King to the Queen's banquet, went home to his house much puffed up here-with. But in his returning thither, seeing *Mordecai* sitting at the

° *Esther* iv. *Joseph. Antiq. lib. xi. c. 6.*

gate of the palace, and still refusing to bow unto him, this moved his indignation to such a degree, that on his coming to his house, and calling his friends about him to relate to them the great honour that was done him by the King and Queen, and the high advancement which he had obtained in the kingdom, he could not forbear complaining of the disrespect and affront offered him by *Mordecai*. Whereon they advised him to cause a gallows to be built of fifty cubits height, and next morning to ask the King to have *Mordecai* to be hanged thereon. And accordingly he ordered the gallows immediately to be made, and went early next morning to the palace for the obtaining of a grant from the King to hang *Mordecai* on it. But ^p that morning the King awaking sooner than ordinary, and not being able to compose himself again to sleep, he called for the book of the records and chronicles of the kingdom, and caused them to be read unto him; wherein finding an account of the conspiracy of *Bigthan* and *Teresb*, and that it was discovered by *Mordecai* the Jew, the King enquired what honour had been done to him for the same; and being told that nothing had been done for him, he enquired who was in the court, and being told that *Haman* was standing there, (for he attended early to speak to the King for the purpose I have mentioned) he ordered him to be called in, and asked of him, what should be done to the man whom the King delighted to honour. Whereon *Haman*, thinking this honour was intended for himself, gave advice, That the royal apparel should be brought which the King used to wear, and the horse which was kept for his own riding, and the crown royal which useth to be set upon his head, and that this apparel and horse should be delivered into the hands of one of the King's most noble princes, that he might array therewith the man whom the King delighted to honour, and bring him on horseback through the whole city; and proclaim before him, Thus shall it be done unto the man whom the King delighteth to honour. Whereon the King commanded him forthwith to take the apparel and horse, and do all this to *Mordecai* the Jew, who sat in the King's gate, in reward for his discovery of the treason of the two eunuchs. All which *Haman* having been forced to do in obedience to the King's command, he returned with great sorrow to his house, lamenting the disappointment and great mortification he had met with, in being thus forced to pay so signal an honour to his enemy, whom he intended at the same time to have hanged on the gallows which he had provided for him. And on his relating of this to his friends, they all told him, that if this *Mordecai* were of the seed of the Jews, this bad omen foreboded, that he should not prevail against him, but should surely fall before him. While they were thus talking, one of the Queen's chamberlains came to *Haman*'s house to hasten him to the banquet, and seeing the gallows which had been set up the night before, fully informed himself of the intent for which it was prepared. On the King and *Haman*'s sitting down to the banquet, ^a the King asked again of *Esther*, what was her petition, with like promise as before of granting of it to her, even to the half of his kingdom. Whereon she humbly prayed the King, that her Life might be given her at her petition, and her people at her request; for a design was laid for the destruction of her and all her kindred and nation;

^p Esther vi.^a Esther vii. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 6.

at which the King asking, with much anger, who it was that durst do this thing she told him that *Haman* then present was the wicked author of the plot, and laid the whole of it open to the King. Whereon the King rose up in great wrath from the banquet, and walked out into the garden adjoining, which *Haman* perceiving fell down before the Queen upon the bed, on which she was sitting, to supplicate for his life; in which posture the King having found him on his return, spoke out in great passion; What will he force the Queen before me in the house? At which words the servants present immediately covered his face, as was then the usage to condemned persons, and the chamberlain, who had that day called *Haman* to the banquet, acquainting the King of the gallows which he saw at his house, there prepared for *Mordecai*, who had saved the King's life in detecting the treason of the two eunuchs, the King ordered that he should be forthwith hanged thereon; which was accordingly done; and all his house, goods and riches were given to Queen *Esther*, and she appointed *Mordecai* to be her steward to manage the same. On the same day the Queen acquainted the King of the relation which *Mordecai* had unto her; whereon the King took him into his favour, and advanced him to great power, riches, and dignity in the empire, and made him the keeper of his signet in the same manner as *Haman* had been before.

BUT still the decree for the destruction of the *Jews* remaining in its full force, the Queen petitioned the King the second time to put away this mischief from them. But according to the laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*, nothing being to be reversed which had been decreed and written in the King's name, and sealed with the King's seal; and the decree procured by *Haman* against the *Jews* having been thus written and sealed, it could not be recalled. All therefore that the King could do in compliance with her request, was to give the *Jews*, by a new decree, such a power to defend themselves against all that should assault them, as might render the former decree ineffectual; And for that end he bid *Esther* and *Mordecai* draw such a decree in words as strong as they could devise, that so the former might be hindered from being executed, though it could not be annull'd. And therefore the King's scribes being again called on the twenty third day of the third month, a new decree was drawn just two months and ten days after the former, wherein the King granted to the *Jews*, which were in every city of the *Persian* Empire, full licence to gather themselves together, and stand for their lives, and to destroy, slay, and cause to perish, all the power of the people and province, that should assault them, with their little ones and women, and to take the spoil of them for a prey. And this decree being written in the King's name, and sealed with his seal, copies hereof were drawn out, and especial messengers were dispatched with them into all the provinces of the empire.

IN the interim *Megabyzus* having reduced the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, except the fenny part held by *Amyrtæus*, and there settled all matters again under the dominion of King *Artaxerxes*, he made *Sartamas* governor of that countrey, and returned to *Susa*, carrying with him *Inarus* and his *Grecian* Prisoners. And having given the King an account of the articles he had granted them of life and safety, he obtained of him a ratifi-

* Vide Briffonium de Regno Persarum. lib. 11. cap. 6.

† Dan. vi. 8, 15. Esther i. 19, and viii. 8.

‡ Esther viii. Joseph. w Ctesias.

cation of the same, although with difficulty, because of the King's anger against them for the death of *Achæmenides* his brother, who was slain in battel against them. But *Hamestris*, the mother of both these brothers, was so eagerly set for the revenging of the death of her son, that she not only demanded that *Inarus* and his *Greeks* should be delivered up to her to be put to death for it, contrary to the articles given them, but also required that *Megabyzus* himself, though her son-in-law, should undergo the same punishment, for granting them such articles as should exempt them from that just revenge, which in this case she ought to execute upon them. And it was with difficulty that she was for this time put off with a denial.

Am. 452.
Artaxerxes
1es 13.

THE thirteenth day of *Adar* drawing near, * when the decree obtained by *Haman* for the destruction of the *Jews* was to be put in execution, their adversaries every where prepared to act against them according to the contents of it. And the *Jews*, on the other hand, by virtue of the second decree above-mentioned, which was obtained in their favour by *Esther* and *Mordecai*, gathered themselves together in every city where they dwelt, throughout all the provinces of King *Artaxerxes*, to provide for their defence; so that on the said thirteenth of *Adar*, through the means of these two different and discordant decrees, a war was commenced between the *Jews* and their enemies throughout the whole *Persian* Empire. But the rulers of the provinces, and the lieutenants, and deputies, and other officers of the King, knowing in what power *Esther* and *Mordecai* were then with him, through fear of them so favoured the *Jews*, that they prevailed every where against all those that rose up against them, and on that day throughout the whole empire slew of their enemies seventy five thousand persons, and in the city of *Shushan*, on that day and the next, eight hundred more, among which were the ten sons of *Haman*, whom by a special order from the King they caused all to be hanged, perchance upon the same gallows on which *Haman* their father had been hanged before.

THE *Jews* being thus delivered from this dangerous design, which threatened them with no less than utter extirpation, they made great rejoicing for it on the two days following, that is, on the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the said month of *Adar*. † And by the order of *Esther* and *Mordecai*, these two days, with the thirteenth that preceeded them, were set apart and consecrated to be annually observed for ever after in commemoration hereof; the thirteenth as a fast, because of the destruction on that day intended to have been brought upon them; and the other two as a feast, because of their deliverance from it. And † both this fast and this feast they constantly observe every year, on those days, even to this time. The fast they call the fast of *Esther*, and the feast the feast of *Purim*, from the *Persian* word *Purim*, (which signifieth lots) because it was by the casting of lots that *Haman* did set out this time for their destruction. This feast is the *Bacchanals* of the *Jews*, which they celebrate with all manner of rejoicing, mirth, and jollity; and therein indulge themselves in all manner of luxurious excesses, especially in drinking of wine even to drunkenness; which they think part of the duty of the solemnity, because it was by the

* Esther ix. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 6.
lib. 11. c. 6.

† Esther ix. 20, 21, 22. Joseph. Antiq.
Talmud in Megillah. Maimonides in Megillah. Buxtorfi Synagoga
Judaica, c. 29.

means of the wine-banquet (they say) that *Esther* made the King's heart merry, and brought him into that good humour, which inclined him to grant the request which she made unto him for their deliverance; and therefore they think they ought to make their hearts merry also when they celebrate the commemoration of it. During this festival the book of *Esther* is solemnly read in all their synagogues, from the beginning to the end, at which they are all to be present, men, women, children, and servants, because all these had their parts in this deliverance which *Esther* obtained for them. And as often as the name of *Haman* occurs in the reading of this book, their usage is for them all to clap with their hands, and stamp with their feet, and cry out, *Let his memory perish*. This is the last feast of the year among them. For the next that follows is the passover, which always falls in the middle of the month, which begins the *Jewish* year.

THE *Athenians* having provided themselves with another fleet, after the loss of that in *Egypt*,^a sent *Cimon* with two hundred sail again into *Cyprus*, there to carry on the war against the *Persians*, where he took *Citium* and *Malum*, and several other cities, and sent sixty sail into *Egypt* to the assistance of *Amyrtaeus*. At the same time *Artabafus* was in those seas with a fleet of three hundred sail; and *Megabyzus*, the other general of King *Artaxerxes*, had a land-army of three hundred thousand men on the coasts of *Cilicia*, but neither of them had the success in this war which they had in the last. For

CIMON,^a on the return of his ships from *Egypt*, fell on *Artabafus*, and having taken an hundred of his ships, and destroyed several others, pursued the remainder to the coasts of *Phœnicia*; and being flush'd with this success, on his return landed upon *Megabyzus* in *Cilicia*, and overthrew him also, making a very great slaughter of his numerous army, and then sailed back again to *Cyprus* with a double triumph.

ARTAXERXES hearing of these great losses, sustained both at sea and land,^b became weary of so destructive a war, and therefore upon thorough advice taken with his counsellors and ministers, came to a resolution of putting an end to the calamities of it, by coming to an accommodation with the enemy; and accordingly sent to his generals and commanders, who had the charge of the *Cyprian* war, to make peace with the *Athenians* on the best terms they could. Whereon *Megabyzus* and *Artabafus* sending ambassadors to *Athens* to make the proposal, plenipotentiaries were appointed of each side to treat of the matter, and they came to an agreement on these terms: 1st, That all the *Grecian* cities in *Asia* should have their liberty, and be left free to live according to their own laws; 2^{dly}, That no *Persian* ship of war should any more appear on any of those seas, which lie from the *Cyanean* to the *Chelidonian* islands, that is, from the *Euxine* sea to the coasts of *Pamphylia*; 3^{dly}, That no *Persian* commander should come with an army by land, within three days journey of those seas; 4^{thly}, That the *Athenians* should no more invade any of the territories of King *Artaxerxes*. Which articles being ratified and sworn to on both sides, Peace was concluded. And so this war ended, after it had continued from the time that the *Athenians* burnt *Sardis* (which was the first beginning of it) full one and fifty years; to the destruction of a vast num-

^a Plutarchus in Cimone. Thucyd. lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.
Plutarchus in Cimone.

^b Diodor. Sic. lib. 11.

ber of men on both sides. In the interim, *Cimon* died at *Citium*, and the *Athenians* returned with his corps to *Athens*, and after this came no more into those seas.

An. 448. KING *Artaxerxes* ^c being continually sollicitated by his mother, to deliver
Artax- to her *Inarus*, and the *Athenians* who were taken with him in *Egypt*, that
erxes 17. she might revenge on them the death of her son *Achæmenides*, after having for five years resisted her unwearied and restless importunities, was at last tired out by them to yield to her request, and the prisoners were delivered to her; whereon the cruel woman, without having any regard to the publick faith which had been plighted for their safety, caused *Inarus* ^d to be crucified, and the heads of all the rest to be struck off, at which *Megabyzus* was exceedingly grieved and offended. For it being on his engagement for their safety that they had rendred themselves, he thought it a great dishonour done him, that he was thus violated, and therefore retired in discontent into *Syria*, the province of which he was governor, and to revenge the wrong there raised an army, and rebelled against the King.

An. 447. To repress this rebellion ^e *Artaxerxes* sent *Osrus*, a primenobleman of
Artax- his court, with two hundred thousand men into *Syria*. But *Megabyzus*
erxes 18. having met him in battel, wounded him, and took him prisoner, and put his whole army to flight. But *Artaxerxes* having sent a messenger to demand him, *Megabyzus* forthwith released him, and as soon as his wounds were healed sent him back again to the King.

An. 446. THE next year following the King ^f sent another army against him, un-
Artax- der the command of *Menostanes* son to *Artarius* governor of *Babylon*, and
erxes 19. one of his brothers. But he had no better fortune this year than the former general had in the last; for being in the same manner vanquished and put to flight, *Megabyzus* gained a great victory over him; whereby *Artaxerxes* perceiving that he could not prevail against him by force of arms, sent *Artarius* his brother, and *Amytis* his sister, who was wife to *Megabyzus*, with several other persons of quality, to reconcile him unto him, and bring him by fair means to return to his duty, by whose interposition the difference being made up, the King granted him his pardon, and he returned again to court. But while the King was in hunting, a Lion having raised himself up upon his hinder legs against him, *Megabyzus*, who was then present, out of his zeal to extricate the King from this danger, threw a dart at the lion and slew him. But *Artaxerxes* laying hold of this light pretence to express the bitter rancor which he still retained against him for his late revolt, ordered his head to be struck off for presuming to strike at the beast before him, and it was with difficulty that *Amytis* his wife, and *Hamestris* her mother, with their joint petitions, prevailed so far in his behalf, that his sentence of death was changed into that of banishment; whereon he was sent to *Cyrta*, a place on the *Red Sea*, there to lead the rest of his life under confinement. But after he had lived there five years, having made his escape from thence, and under the habit and disguise of a leper got safe to his own house at *Susa*, he was there by the means of his wife and her mother again restored to the King's favour, and continued in it ever after to the time of his death, which hapned some

^c Ctesias.^d Thucyd. lib. 1. Ctesias.^e Ctesias.^f Ibid.

years after, in the seventy sixth year of his age, and was then very much lamented by the King and all his court. For he was the ablest man both in council and war, that was in the whole empire, and to him *Artaxerxes* owed his life, as well as his crown, at his first accession to the government. But it is a dangerous thing for a subject to have too much obliged his prince, and this was the cause of all the misfortunes that hapned unto him.

E Z R A ^s continued in the government of *Judea* till the end of this year, and by virtue of the commission he had from the King, and the powers granted him thereby, he reformed the whole state of the *Jewish* church according to the law of *Moses*, in which he was excellently learned, and settled upon that bottom, upon which it afterwards stood to the time of our Saviour. The two chief things which he had to do, were to restore the observance of the *Jewish* law, according to the ancient approved usages which had been in practice before the captivity, under the directions of the prophets, and to collect together, and set forth a correct edition of the holy scriptures; in the performance of both which, the *Jews* tell us, he had the assistance of what they call the great synagogue, ^h which, they tell us, was a convention consisting of one hundred and twenty men, who lived all at the same time under the presidency of *Ezra*, and were assisting to him in both these two works; and among these they name *Daniel* and his three friends, *Shadrach*, *Mesach*, and *Abednego*, as the first of them, and *Simon the Just* as the last of them; though from the last mention which we have of *Daniel* in the holy scriptures to the time of *Simon the Just*, there had passed no less than two hundred and fifty years. But all this they reconcile by that absurd and wretched account which they give of the history of those times. For they tell us, that the whole *Persian* empire lasted only fifty two years, (as hath been afore taken notice of) and that the *Darius* whom we call *Darius Hystaspis* was the *Darius* whom *Alexander* conquered, and that the same was the *Artaxerxes* (which they will have to be the common name of all the Kings of *Persia* in those times) who sent *Ezra* first, and afterwards *Nehemiah*, to *Jerusalem*, to restore the state of the *Jews*, and that *Simon the Just* was the same with *Jaddua* the high-priest, who received *Alexander* at *Jerusalem*. And according to this account they might indeed all have lived together in the seventh year of this *Darius*, or *Artaxerxes* (as they would call him) when they say *Ezra* first went to *Jerusalem*; for that was in the middle of the said fifty two years, according to their computation, at which time *Jaddua* might very well have been of an age capable to assist in those councils, and it is not impossible but *Daniel* might have lived down to it, for the scriptures give us no account of his death. The truth of this matter seemeth most likely to have been, that these one hundred and twenty men were such principal elders, as lived in a continued succession from the first return of the *Jews* after the *Babylonish* captivity, to the death of *Simon the Just*, and laboured in their several times, some after others, in the carrying on of the two great works above-mentioned, till both were fully completed in the time of the said *Simon the Just*, (who was made high-priest of the *Jews* in the twenty fifth year after the death of *Alexan-*

^s *Ezra* viii, ix, x. *Nehemiah* ii. & *Buxtorfii Tiberiadem*, cap. 10.

^h Vide *Davidem Ganz*, aliosque *Judeorum historicos*,

der the Great) and *Ezra* had the assistance of such of them as lived in his time. But the whole conduct of the work, and the glory of accomplishing it, is by the *Jews* chiefly attributed to him, under whose presidency (they tell us) it was done. And therefore ^a they look on him as another *Moses*. For the law, they say, was given by *Moses*, but it was revived and restored by *Ezra*, after it had been in a manner extinguished and lost in the *Babylonish* captivity. And therefore they reckon him as the second founder of it, and it is a common opinion among them, ^b that he was *Malachi* the prophet; that he was called *Ezra* as his proper name, and *Malachi* (which signifyeth an angel or messenger) from his office, because he was sent as the angel and messenger of God to restore again the *Jewish* religion, and establish it in the same manner as it was before the captivity, on the foundation of the law and the prophets. And indeed, by virtue of that ample commission which he had from King *Artaxerxes*, he had an opportunity of doing more herein than any other of his nation, and he executed all the powers thereof to the utmost he was able, for the resettling both of the ecclesiastical and political state of the *Jews*, in the best posture they were then capable of, and from hence his name is in so high esteem and veneration among the *Jews*, that it is a common saying among their writers, That if the law had not been given by *Moses*, *Ezra* was worthy by whom it should have been given.

As to the ancient and approved usages of the *Jewish* church, which had been in practice before the captivity, they had by *Jeshua* and *Zerubbabel*, with the chief elders their contemporaries, and by others that after succeeded them, been a gathering together from their first return to *Jerusalem*, as they could be recovered from the memories of the ancients of their nation, who had either seen them practis'd themselves before the captivity, or had been informed concerning them by their parents or others, who had lived before them. All these, and whatsoever else was pretended to be of the same nature, *Ezra* brought under a review, and having, after due examination, allowed such of them as were to be allowed, and settled them by his approbation and authority, they gave birth to what the *Jews* now call their oral law. For they ^c own a twofold law, the first the written law, which is recorded in the holy scriptures, and the second the oral law, which they have only by the tradition of their elders. And both these, they say, were given them by *Moses* from mount *Sinai*, of which the former only was committed to writing, and the other delivered down to them from generation to generation by the tradition of the elders. And therefore holding them to be both of the same authority, as having both of them the same divine original, they think themselves to be bound as much by the latter as the former, or rather much more. For the written law is, ^d they say, in many places obscure, scanty, and defective, and could be no perfect rule to them without the oral law, which containing, according to them, a full, complete and perfect interpretation of

^a Vide Buxtorfii Tiberiadem, c. 10.

Chaldaeus Paraphraſtes in Malachiam. Buxtorfii Tiberias, cap. 3.

^b Abraham Zacutus in Juchasin. David Ganz.

^c Vide Buxtorfium de Opere Talmudico, & Synagogam Judaicam ejusdem, & Maimonidis præſationem ad Seder Zeraim.

^d Maimonidis Præſatio ad Seder Zeraim. Buxtorfii Synagoga Judaica, cap. 3. & ejusdem Recensio operis Talmudici. Schickardi Bechinath Happerushim Diſp. 1. §. 1. Hottin-geri Theſaurus, lib. 2. cap. 3. §. 3. Lightfoot's Harmony of the four evangelists, Sect. 23.

all that is written in the other, supplies all the defects, and solves all the difficulties of it. And therefore they observe the written law no other-wise, than according as it is expounded and interpreted by their oral law. And hence it is a common saying among them, that the covenant was made with them, not upon the written law, but upon the oral law. And therefore they do in a manner lay aside the former, to make room for the latter; and resolve their whole religion into their traditions, in the same manner as the *Romanists* do theirs, having no farther regard to the written word of God, than as it agrees with their traditionary explications of it, but always preferring them thereto, though in many particulars they are quite contradictory to it; which is a corruption that had grown to a great height among them even in our Saviour's time; for he chargeth them with it, and tells them, *Mark* vii. 13. That *they made the word of God of none effect through their traditions*. But they have done it much more since, professing a greater regard to the latter than the former. And hence it is, that we find it so often said in their writings, that the words of the *Scribes* are lovely above the words of the law; that the words of the law are weighty and light, but the words of the *Scribes* are all weighty; that the words of the elders are weightier than the words of the prophets, (whereby the words of the *Scribes*, and the words of the elders, they mean the traditions delivered to them by their *Scribes* and elders.) And in other places; that the written text is only as water, but the *Mishnah* and *Talmud* (in which are contained their traditions) are as wine and hippocras. And again, that the written law is only as salt, but the *Mishnah* and *Talmud* as pepper and sweet spices. And in many other sayings, very common among them, do they express the high veneration which they bear towards the oral or traditionary law, and the little regard which they have to the written word of God in comparison of it, making nothing of the latter, but as expounded by the former, as if the written word were no more than the dead letter, and the traditionary law alone the soul, that gives the whole life and essence thereto. And this being what they hold of their traditions, which they call their oral law, the account which they give of its original, is as followeth.

FOR they tell us, that the same time * when God gave unto *Moses* the law in mount *Sinai*, he gave unto him also the interpretation of it, commanding him to commit the former to writing, but to deliver the other only by word of mouth, to be preserved in the memories of men, and to be transmitted down by them from generation to generation by tradition only; and from hence the former is called the written, and the other the oral law. And to this day, all the determinations and dictates of the latter, are term'd by the *Jews* constitutions of *Moses* from mount *Sinai*, because they do as firmly believe, that he received them all from God in his forty days converse with him in that mount, as that he then received the written text it self: That on his return from this converse, he brought both of these laws with him, and delivered them unto the people of *Israel* in this manner. As soon as he was returned to his tent, he called *Aaron* thither unto him, and first delivered to him the text, which was to be the written law, and after that the interpretation of it, which was the oral

* Perke Avoth, cap. 1. Præfatio Maimonidis in Seder Zeraim. in Pocockii Porta Moſis, p. 5. 6, &c. Buxtorfii recensio Operis Talmudici. David Ganz: Zacutus in Juchasin, &c.

law, in the same order as he received both from God in the mount. Then *Aaron* arising, and seating himself at the right hand of *Moses*, *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* his sons went next in, and being taught both these laws at the feet of the prophet, in the same manner as *Aaron* had been, they also arose and seated themselves, the one on the left hand of *Moses*, and the other on the right hand of *Aaron*, and then the seventy elders, who constituted the *Sanhedrim*, or great senate of the nation, went in, and being taught by *Moses* both these laws in the same manner, they also seated themselves in the tent, and then entered all such of the people as were desirous of knowing the law of God, and were taught it in the same manner; after this *Moses* withdrawing, *Aaron* repeated the whole of both laws, as he had heard it from him, and also withdrew, and then *Eleazar* and *Ithamar* repeated the same, and on their withdrawing the seventy elders made the same repetition to the people then present; so that each of them having heard both these laws repeated to them four times, they all had it thereby firmly fixed in their memories: And that then they dispersed themselves among the whole congregation, and communicated to all the people of *Israel* what had been thus delivered unto them by the prophet of God: That they did put the text into writing, but the interpretation of it they delivered down only by word of mouth to the succeeding generations: That the written text contained the six hundred and thirteen precepts, into which they divide the law, and the unwritten interpretations all the manners, ways and circumstances, that were to be observed in the keeping of them: That after this, towards the end of the fortieth year from their coming up out of the land of *Egypt*, in the beginning of the eleventh month, (which fell about the middle of our *January*) *Moses* calling all the people of *Israel* together, acquainted them of the approaching time of his death, and therefore ordered, that if any of them had forgot aught of what he had delivered to them, they should repair to him, and he would repeat to them anew what had flipp'd their memories, and farther explain unto them every difficulty and doubt which might arise in their minds concerning what he had taught them of the law of their God: And that hereon they applying to him, all the remaining time of his life, that is, from the said beginning of the eleventh month till the sixth day of the twelfth month, was employed in instructing them anew in the text, which they call the written law, and in the interpretations of it, which they call the oral law: And that on the said sixth day having delivered to them thirteen copies of the written law, all copied out with his own hand, from the beginning of *Genesis* to the end of *Deuteronomy*, one to each of the twelve tribes, to be kept by them throughout their generations, and the thirteenth to the *Levites*, to be laid up by them in the tabernacle before the Lord, and having moreover then anew repeated the oral law to *Joshua* his successor, he went on the seventh day up into mount *Nebo*, and there died: That after his death *Joshua* delivered the said oral law to the elders, who after succeeded him, and they delivered it to the prophets, and the prophets transmitted it down from each other till it came to *Jeremiah*, who delivered it to *Baruch*, and *Baruch* to *Ezra*, by whom it was delivered to the men of the great synagogue, the last of whom was *Simon the Just*: That by him it was delivered to *Antigonius* of *Socho*, and by him to *Jose* the son of *Jochanan*, and by him to *Jose* the son of *Joezer*, and by him to *Nathan* the *Arbelite*, and *Joshua* the son of *Perachiah*, and by

by them to *Judah* the son of *Tabbai*, and *Simeon* the son of *Shatah*, and by them to *Shemaiah* and *Abtalion*, and by them to *Hillel*, and by *Hillel* to *Simeon* his son, who is supposed to have been the same that took our Saviour into his arms, when he was brought to the temple to be there presented to the Lord at the time of his mother's purification, and by *Simeon* it was delivered to *Gamaliel* his son, (the same at whose feet *Paul* was brought up) and by him to *Simeon* his son, by him to *Gamaliel* his son, and by him to *Simeon* his son, and by him to *Rabbi Judah Hakkadosh* his son, who wrote it into the book which they call the *Mishnah*.

BUT all this is mere fiction, spun out of the fertile invention of the *Talmudists*, without the least foundation, either in scripture, or in any authentic history for it. But since all this is now made a part of the *Jewish* creed, and they do as firmly believe their traditions to have thus come from God in the manner I have related, as they do the written word it self, and have now, as it were, wholly resolved their religion into these traditions, there is no understanding what their religion at present is without it. And it is for this reason that I have here inserted it.

BUT the truth of the matter is this. After the death of *Simon the Just* there arose a sort of men, whom they call the *Tannaim* or the *Mishnical* doctors, that made it their business to study, and descant upon those traditions which had been received and allowed by *Ezra*, and the men of the great synagogue, and to draw inferences and consequences from them, all which they ingrafted into the body of these ancient traditions, as if they had been as authentic as the other; which example being followed by those who after succeeded them in this profession, they continually added their own imaginations to what they had received from those that went before them, whereby these traditions becoming as a snow ball, the farther they rouled down from one generation to another, the more they gathered, and the greater the bulk of them grew. And thus it went on to the middle of the second century after Christ, when *Antoninus Pius* govern'd the *Roman* empire, by which time they found it necessary to put all these traditions into writing. For they were then grown to so great a number, and enlarged to so huge a heap, as to exceed the possibility of being any longer preserved by the memory of men. And besides, on the second destruction which their countrey had undergone from the *Romans* a little before, in the reign of *Adrian* the preceding emperor, most of their learned men having been cut off, and the chiefest of their schools broken up and dissolved, and vast numbers of their people dissipated and driven out of the land, the usual method of preserving their traditions had then in a great measure failed. And therefore there being danger, that under these disadvantages they might be all forgotten and lost, for the preventing hereof it was resolved, that they should be all collected together and put into a book; and *Rabbi Judah* the son of *Simeon*, who from the reputed sanctity of his life was called *Hakkadosh*, that is, the holy, and was then rector of the school, which they had at *Tiberias* in *Galilee*, and president of the *Sanhedrim* that there sat, undertook the work, and compiled it in six books, each consisting of several tracts, which all together make up the

† Zemach David. Juchasin Shalsheleth Haccabbala. Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 2610, & 2611.

number of sixty three; in which, under their proper heads, he methodically digested all that hitherto had been delivered to them of their law, and their religion, by the tradition of their ancestors. And this is the book called the *Mishnah*, which book was forthwith received by the *Jews* with great veneration throughout all their dispersions, and hath ever since been held in high esteem among them; for their opinion of it is, that all the particulars therein contained were dictated by God himself to *Moses* from mount *Sinai*, as well as the written word it self, and consequently must be of the same divine authority with it, and ought to be as sacredly observed. And therefore, as soon as it was published, it became the subject of the studies of all their learned men, and the chiefest of them, both in *Judea* and *Babylonia*, employed themselves to make comments on it, and these with the *Mishnah* make up both their *Talmuds*, that is, the *Jerusalem Talmud* and the *Babylonish Talmud*. These comments they call the *Gemara*, i. e. The complement, because by them the *Mishnah* is fully explained, and the whole traditionary doctrine of their law and their religion completed. For the *Mishnah* is the text, and the *Gemara* the comment, and both together is what they call the *Talmud*. That made by the *Jews* of *Judea* is called the *Jerusalem Talmud*, and that made by the *Jews* of *Babylonia* is called the *Babylonish Talmud*. The former was completed about the year of our Lord three hundred, and is published in one large folio; the latter was published about two hundred years after, in the beginning of the sixth century, and hath had several editions since the invention of printing; the last published at *Amsterdam* is in twelve folio's. And in these two *Talmuds* (the law and the prophets being in a manner quite jumbled out by them) is contained the whole of the *Jewish* religion that is now professed among them. But the *Babylonish Talmud* is that which they chiefly follow. For the other, that is, the *Jerusalem Talmud*, being obscure and hard to be understood, is not now much regarded by them. But this and the *Mishnah* being the ancientest books which they have, (except the *Chaldee* paraphrases of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*) and both written in the language and style of the *Jews* of *Judea*, our countreyman Dr. *Lightfoot* hath made very good use of them in explaining several places of the *New Testament*, by parallel phrases, and sayings out of them. For the one being composed about the one hundred and fiftieth year of our Lord, and the other about the three hundredth, the idioms, proverbial sayings, and phraseologies used in our Saviour's time, might very well be preserved in them. But the other *Talmud* being written in the language and style of *Babylonia*, and not compiled till about the five hundredth year of our Lord, or as some will have it, much later, this cannot so well serve for this purpose. However it is now the *Alcoran* of the *Jews*, into which they have resolved all their faith and all their religion, although framed (almost with the same imposture as that of *Mahomet*) out of doctrines falsely pretended to be brought from heaven. And in this book all, that now pretend to any learning among them, place their studies; and no one can be a master in their schools, or a teacher in their synagogues, who is not well instructed and versed herein, that is, not only in the text, which is the *Mishnah*, but also in the comment thereon, which is the *Gemara*. And this comment they so highly esteem beyond the other, that the name of *Gemara* is wholly engrossed by it; the *Gemara* of the *Babylonish Talmud* being that only which they now usually understand by that word. For this, with
the

the *Mishnah* to which it is added, they think, doth truly complete and make up the whole of their religion, as fully and perfectly containing all the doctrines, rules, and rites thereof, and therefore it is in their opinion the most deserving of that name, which signifieth what completes, fills up, or perfects, for this is the meaning of the word in the *Hebrew* language. Out of this *Talmud Maimonides* hath made an abstract, containing only the resolutions or determinations made therein on every case, without the descants, disputes, fables, and other trash, under which they lay buried in that vast load of rubbish. This work is entituled by him *Tad Hachazakah*, and is one of the completest digests of law that was ever made; I mean not as to the matter, but in respect only of the clearness of the style and method in which it is composed, the filthy mass of dirt from under which he dug it, and the comprehensive manner in which he hath digested the whole. Others among them have attempted the like work, but none have been able to exceed or come nigh him herein. And for this and other of his writings he is deservedly esteemed the best author among them. They who professed this sort of learning, that is, taught and propagated these traditionary doctrines among them, have been distinguished by several different titles and appellations, according to the different ages in which they lived. From the time of the men of the great synagogue to the publishing of the *Mishnah*, they were called ^e *Tannaim*, and they are the *Mishnical* doctors, out of whose doctrines and traditions the *Mishnah* was composed. And from the time of the publishing of the *Mishnah*, to the publishing of the *Babylonish Talmud*, they were called ^h *Amoraim*, and they are the *Gemarical* doctors, out of whose doctrines and traditions the *Gemara* was composed. And for about an hundred years after the publishing of the *Talmud* they were called ⁱ *Seburaim*, and after that ^k *Geonim*. And these were the several classes in which their learned men have been ranked, according to the several ages in which they formerly lived. But for these later times the general name of *Rabbi* is that only whereby their learned men are called, there being no other title whereby they have been distinguished for near seven hundred years past. For about the year 1040, all their schools in *Mesopotamia*, where only they enjoyed these high titles, being destroyed, and all their learned men thence expelled and driven out by the *Mahometan* princes, who then governed in those parts, they have since that with the greatest number of their people flocked into these western parts, especially into *Spain*, *France*, and *England*. And from that time all these pompous titles, which they affected in the east, being here dropp'd, they have retained none other for their learned men from that time, but that of *Rabbi*, excepting only that those of them who minister in their synagogues are called ^l *Chacams*, *i. e.* wise men.

BUT the ^m great work of *Ezra* was, his collecting together and setting

^e The word *Tannaim* hath its derivation from *Tanah*, which signifieth to deliver by tradition, and is the same in Chaldee with *Shanah* in the Hebrew, from whence the word *Mishnah* is derived.

^h *i. e.* Dictators; because they dictated those explications upon the *Mishnah* which are contained in the *Gemara*.

ⁱ *i. e.* Opinionists, for they did not dictate any Doctrines, but only inferr'd opinions by disputation, and probable arguments, from what had been afore dictated and received in the *Mishnah* and *Gemara*.

^k *i. e.* The sublime or excellent doctors; they were so called from the sublimity and excellency of their learning.

^l *Chacam* in the Hebrew language signifieth a wise man.

^m Vide Buxtorffii *Tiberiadem*, cap. 11.

forth a correct edition of the holy scriptures, which he laboured much in, and went a great way in the perfecting of it. This both Christians and *Jews* give him the honour of, and many of the ancient fathers attribute more to him, in this particular, than the *Jews* themselves. For they hold that all the scriptures were lost and destroyed in the *Babylonish* captivity, and that *Ezra* restored them all again by divine revelation. Thus saith ^a *Irenæus*, and thus say ^b *Tertullian*, ^c *Clemens Alexandrinus*, ^d *Basil* and others. But they had no other foundation for it, than that fabulous relation which we have of it in the 14th chapter of the second apocryphal book of *Esdra*, a book too absurd for the *Romanists* themselves to receive into their canon. Indeed in the time of *Josiah*, through the impiety of the two preceding reigns of *Manasseh* and *Ammon*, the book of the law was so destroyed and lost, that besides that copy of it which *Hilkiah* found in the temple, there was then none other to be had. For the surprize which *Hilkiah* is said to be in at the finding of it, and the grief which *Josiah* expressed at the hearing of it read, do plainly shew, that neither of them had ever seen it before. And if the King, and the high-priest, who were both men of eminent piety, were without this part of holy scripture, it can scarce be thought that any one else then had it. But so religious a prince as King *Josiah*, could not leave this long unremedied. By his order copies were forthwith written out from this original, and search being made for all the other parts of holy scripture, both in the colleges of the sons of the prophets, and all other places where they could be found, care was taken for transcripts to be made out of these also, and thenceforth copies of the whole became multiplied among the people; all those who were desirous of knowing the law of their God, either writing them out themselves, or procuring others to do it for them. So that tho' within a few years after the holy city and temple were destroyed, and the authentic copy of the law, which was laid up before the Lord, was burnt and consumed with them, yet by this time many copies both of the law and the prophets, and all the other sacred writings, were got into private hands, who carried them with them into their captivity: That *Daniel* had a copy of the holy scriptures with him in *Babylon* it's certain; for he quotes the law, and also makes mention of the prophecies of the prophet *Jeremiah*, which he could not do had he never seen them. And in the vith chapter of *Ezra* it is said, that on the finishing of the temple in the sixth year of *Darius*, the priests and the *Levites* were settled in their respective functions, according as it is written in the law of *Moses*; but how could they do this according to the written law, if they had not copies of that law then among them? And this was near sixty years before *Ezra* came to *Jerusalem*. And farther, in the viiith chapter of *Nehemiah*, when the people call'd for the law of *Moses* to have it read to them, they did not pray *Ezra* to get it anew dictated unto him, but that he should bring forth the book of the law of *Moses*, which the Lord had commanded to *Israel*; which plainly shews that the book was then well known to have been extant, and not to need such a miraculous expedient, as that of a divine re-

^a Adversus Hæreses, lib. 3. cap. 25.

^b In Epistola ad Chilonem.

^c Hieronymus contra Helvidium. Augustinus de miraculis sacre scripturæ, lib. 2. Chrysostomus, hom. 8, in epist. ad Hebræos.

^d 2 Chron. xxxiv.

^e Daniel ix. 11, 13.

^f De habitu mulierum, cap. 3.

^g Strom. 1.

^h 2 Kings xxii.

ⁱ Daniel ix. 2.

velation, for its restoration; and it would with many very much shock the faith of the whole, should it be held, that it owed its present being to such a revival, it being obvious for sceptical persons in this case to object, that he who should be said thus to revive it, then forged the whole. All that *Ezra* did in this matter, was to get together as many copies of the sacred writings as he could, and out of them all set forth a correct edition, in the performance of which he took care of these following particulars.

I. HE corrected all the errors that had crept into these copies through the negligence or mistakes of transcribers. For by comparing them one with the other, he found out the true reading, and set all at rights. Whether the *Keri Cetib*, that are in our present *Hebrew* bibles, were of these corrections, I durst not say; the generality ^u of the *Jewish* writers tell us, that they were, and others among them hold them much ancients, referring them with absurdity enough even as high up as the very times of the first writers of the books, in which they are found, as if they themselves had designedly made these various readings for the sake of some mysteries comprised under them. It is most probable, that they had their original from the mistakes of the transcribers after the time of *Ezra*, and the observations and corrections of the *Masorites* made thereon. If any of them were of those ancient various readings, which had been observed by *Ezra* himself in the comparing of those copies he collated on this occasion, and were by him annexed in the margin, as corrections of those errors which he found in the text; it's certain those could not be of that number, which are now in those sacred books, that were written by himself, or taken into the canon after this time. For there are *Keri Cetib's* in them as well as in the other books of the *Hebrew* scriptures.

II. HE collected together all the books of which the holy scriptures did then consist, and disposed them in their proper order, and settled the canon of scripture for his time. These books he ^w divided into three parts; 1st, the law; 2^d, the prophets; and, 3^d, the *Cetubim* or *Hagiographa*, i. e. the holy writings; which division our Saviour himself takes notice of *Luke* xxiv. 44. where he saith, *These are the words which I spake unto you, while I was yet with you, that all things might be fulfilled which are written in the law, and in the prophets, and in the Psalms, concerning me.* For there by the *Psalms* he means the whole third part called the *Hagiographa*. For that part beginning with the *Psalms*, the whole was for that reason then commonly called by that name, as usually with the *Jews* the particular books are named from the words with which they begin. Thus with them *Genesis* is called *Beresith*, *Exodus* *Shemoth*, *Leviticus* *Vajikra*, &c. because they begin with these *Hebrew* words. And *Josephus* makes mention of this same division. For he saith in his first book against *Apion*, *We have only two and twenty books which are to be believed as of divine authority, of which five are the books of Moses. From the death of Moses to the reign of Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes King of Persia, the pro-*

^v The *Keri Cetib* are various readings in the *Hebrew* bible. *Keri* signifieth that which is read, and *Cetib* that which is written. For where there are any such various readings, the wrong reading is written in the text, (and that is called the *Cetib*) and the true reading is written in the margin, and that is called the *Keri*.)

^u De *Keri Cetib* vide *Arcanum punctuationis Revelatum*, lib. 1. cap. 7. Buxtorfii *Vindicias veritatis Hebraicae*, Part. 2. cap. 4. & Waltoni *Prolegom.* 8. §. 18, 19, &c. ^w Buxtorfii *Tiberias*, cap. 11. Schickardi *Bechinath Happerushim*, cap. 1. §. 6. Elias Levita in *Masoreth Hammaforeth*. Leusdeni *Praefatio ad Biblia Athia*.

phets, who were the successors of Moses, have written in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and documents of life for the use of men. In which division, according to him, the law contains, 1. *Genesis*, 2. *Exodus*, 3. *Leviticus*, 4. *Numbers*, 5. *Deuteronomy*; the writings of the prophets, 1. *Joshua*, 2. *Judges*, with *Ruth*, 3. *Samuel*, 4. *Kings*, 5. *Isaiah*, 6. *Jeremiah* with his *Lamentations*, 7. *Ezekiel*, 8. *Daniel*, 9. the twelve minor prophets, 10. *Job*, 11. *Ezra*, 12. *Nehemiah*, 13. *Esther*; and the *Hagiographa*, 1. the *Psalms*, 2. the *Proverbs*, 3. *Ecclesiastes*, 4. the *Song of Solomon*, which all together make two and twenty books. This division was made for the sake of reducing the books to the number of their alphabet, in which are two and twenty letters. But at present they reckon these books to be twenty four, and dispose of them in this order. *First*, The law, which contains, 1. *Genesis*, 2. *Exodus*, 3. *Leviticus*, 4. *Numbers*, 5. *Deuteronomy*; *Secondly*, The writings of the prophets, which they divide into the former prophets, and the latter prophets; the books of the former prophets are, 6. *Joshua*, 7. *Judges*, 8. *Samuel*, 9. *Kings*; and the books of the latter prophets are, 10. *Isaiah*, 11. *Jeremiah*, 12. *Ezekiel*, and 13. the twelve minor prophets; *Thirdly*, The *Hagiographa*, which are, 14. the *Psalms*, 15. the *Proverbs*, 16. *Job*, 17. the *Song of Solomon*, which they call the *Song of Songs*, 18. *Ruth*, 19. the *Lamentations*, 20. *Ecclesiastes*, 21. *Esther*, 22. *Daniel*, 23. *Ezra*, and, 24. the *Chronicles*. Under the name of *Ezra* they comprehend the book of *Nehemiah*. For the *Hebrews*, and also the *Greeks*, anciently reckoned *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* but as one book; but this order hath not been always observ'd among the *Jews*, neither is it so now in all places. For there hath been great variety as to this, and that not only among the *Jews*, but also among the *Christians*, as well *Greeks* as *Latins*. But no variation herein is of any moment. For in what order soever the books are placed, they are still the word of God, and no change as to this can make any change in that divine authority which is stamped upon them. But all these books were not received into the canon of the holy scriptures in *Ezra's* time. For *Malachi*, it's supposed, lived after him, and in *Nehemiah* mention is made of *Jaddua* as high-priest, and of *Darius Codomannus* as King of *Persia*, who were at least an hundred years after his time; and in the third chapter of the first book of *Chronicles*, the genealogy of the sons of *Zerubbabel* is carried down for so many generations, as must necessarily make it reach to the time of *Alexander the Great*; and therefore this book could not be put into the canon, till after his time. It is most likely, that the two books of *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah* and *Esther*, as well as *Malachi*, were afterwards added in the time of *Simon the Just*, and that it was not till then, that the *Jewish* canon of the holy scriptures was fully compleated. And indeed these last books seem very much to want the exactness and skill of *Ezra* in their publication, they falling far short of the correctness which is in the other part of the *Hebrew* scriptures. The five books of the law are divided into fifty four sections. This division many of the *Jews* hold to

* Hieronymus in Prologo Galeato.

† Buxtorfi Tiberias, cap. 11. Schickardi Bechinath Happerushim, cap. 1. §. 6. Leusdeni præfatio ad Biblia Hebræa Athlæ.

de Bibliorum Textibus Originalibus.

* Vide Hodium Buxtorfi Tiberias, cap. 11. & Tract. de Parasitis & Synagoga Judaica, c. 16. & cap. 27. Schickardi Bechinath Happerushim, cap. 1. §. 6. Præfatio Leusdeni ad Biblia Hebræa Athlæ. Elias in Tisbite.

be one of the constitutions of *Moses* from mount *Sinai*. But others with more likelihood of truth attribute it to *Ezra*. It was made for the use of their synagogues, and the better instructing of the people there in the law of God. For ^b every sabbath day one of these sections was read in their synagogues. And this, we are assured in the acts of the apostles, was done amongst them ^c *of old time*, which may well be interpreted from the time of *Ezra*. They ended the last section with the last words of *Deuteronomy* on the sabbath of the feast of tabernacles, and then begun anew with the first section from the beginning of *Genesis* the next sabbath after, and so went round in this circle every year. The number of these sections was fifty four, because in their intercalated years (a month being then added) there were fifty four sabbaths. On other years they reduced them to the number of the sabbaths, which were in these years, by joyning two short ones several times into one. For they held themselves obliged to have the whole law thus read over in their synagogues every year. Till the time of the persecution of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, they read only the law. ^d But then being forbid to read it any more, in the room of the fifty four sections of the law, they substituted fifty four sections out of the prophets, the reading of which they ever after continued. So that when the reading of the law was again restored by the *Maccabees*, the section which was read every sabbath out of the law, served for their first lesson, and the section out of the prophets for their second lesson; and so it was practised in the time of the apostles. And therefore when *Paul* entered into the synagogue at *Antiochia* in *Pisidia*, it is said, that ^e *he stood up to preach, after the reading of the law and the prophets*, that is, after the reading of the first lesson out of the law, and the second lesson out of the prophets. And in that very sermon which he then preached, he tells them, ^f *that the prophets were read at Jerusalem every sabbath-day*, that is, in those lessons which were taken out of the prophets.

THESE sections were divided into verses, which the *Jews* call *Pesukim*. They are marked out in the *Hebrew* bibles by two great points at the end of them, called from hence *Soph-Pasuk*, i. e. *The end of the verse*. If *Ezra* himself was not the author of this division, (as most say) it was not long after him that it was introduced; for certainly it was very ancient. It is most likely it was invented for the sake of the *Targumists* or *Chaldee* interpreters. For after the *Hebrew* language had ceased to be the mother-tongue of the *Jews*, and the *Chaldee* grew up into use among them instead of it, (as ^g was their case after their return from the *Babylonish* captivity) their usage was, ^h that in the publick reading of the law to the people, it was read to them first in the original *Hebrew*, and after that rendered by an interpreter into the *Chaldee* language, that so all might fully understand the same. And this was done period by period. And therefore, that these periods might be the better distinguished, and the reader more certainly know how much to read at every interval, and the inter-

^b Buxtorfii Synagoga Judaica, c. 16.

^c Acts xv. 21.

^d Elias in Tisbite; Bux-

torfius & Schickardus, ibid. Hottingeri Thesaurus, lib. 1. c. 2. §. 5. n. 3.

^e Acts xiii. 15.

^f Acts xiii. 27.

^g David Kimchi in præfatione ad Michlol. Ephodæi Gram. c. 7. Elias

Levita in Præfatione ad Methurgeman.

^h Waltoni Prolegom. 3. §. 24. Lightfoot, vol. 1.

p. 215, 220, 357, & 1012. vol. 2. p. 545, & 803. Buxtorfii Dissertatio de Linguae Hebraeæ conservatione, p. 197. Morini Exercit. Bibl. p. 2. Exerc. 9. c. 5. §. 9. Hottingeri Thesaurus, lib. 1. c. 3. §. 3. q. 1. Mamonides in Tephillin, c. 12. Schickardi Bechinath Happerustim, cap. 2. §. 1.

preter how much to interpret at every interval, there was a necessity that some marks should be invented for their direction herein. The ⁱ rule given in their ancient books, is, that in the law the reader was to read one verse, and then the interpreter was to render the same into the *Chaldee*; but that in the prophets the reader was to read three verses together, and then the interpreter to render the same three verses into *Chaldee*, in the same manner; which manifestly proves, that the division of the scriptures into verses must be as ancient, as the way of interpreting them into the *Chaldee* language in their synagogues; which was from the very time that synagogues were erected, and the scriptures publickly read in them after the *Babylonish* captivity. This was at first done only in the law, (for ^k till the time of the *Maccabees* the law only was read in their synagogues) but afterwards, in imitation hereof, the same was also done in the prophets, and the *Hagiographa*, especially after that the prophets began also to be publickly read among them, as well as the law; and from hence the division of the holy scriptures into verses, it's most likely, was first made, but without any numerical figures annexed to them. The manner whereby they are now distinguished in their common *Hebrew* bibles is by the two great points, called *Soph-Pasuk*, above mentioned. But whether this was the ancient way, is by some made a question. The objection raised against it is this: If the distinction of verses was introduced for the sake of the *Chaldee* interpreters in their synagogues, and must therefore be held as ancient as that way of interpreting the scriptures in them, ^l it must then have place in their sacred synagogical books. For none other were used, either by the readers, or their interpreters, in their publick assemblies. But it hath been ^m anciently held as a rule among them, that any points or accents written into these sacred books, pollute and prophane them: and therefore no copy, either of the law or the prophets, now used in their synagogues, hath any points or accents written in it. To this I answer, Whatever may be the practice of the modern *Jews*, this is no rule to let us know what was the ancient practice among them, since in many particulars they have varied from the ancient usages, as they now do from each other, according to the different parts of the world in which they dwell. The division of the law and the prophets into verses among the *Jews*, is certainly very ancient. For mention is made of them in ⁿ the *Mishna*; and that the reason of this division was for the direction of the readers, and the *Chaldee* interpreters, is also there implied. And therefore, supposing such a division for this use, it must necessarily follow, that there must have been some marks to set it out, otherwise it could not have answered the end intended. Those ^o that say these verses were distinguished by a set number of lines of which they consisted, seem not to have considered, that a line often ends in an imperfect sense, and in the middle of a sentence. And therefore a division into verses this way could not serve the end for which the *Mishna* makes mention of them, that is, for the direction of the readers and *Chaldee* interpreters in their synagogues. For

ⁱ Mishna in Tract. Megilla, c. 4. Tract. Sopherim, cap. 11. theca Rabbinica, p. 283.

^k Buxtorfius in bibliotheca Rabbinica, p. 283. ^l Morinus in Exercitationibus biblicis, part 2. Exercit. 15. cap. 1. §. 9.

^m Tract. Sopherim, cap. 3. Morini Exercit. bibl. part 2. Exercit. 15. c. 4. ⁿ Tract. Megilla, cap. 4. §. 4. ubi dicitur: *Qui legit in lege non leget minus quam tres versus. Non leget interpreti plus quam unum versum, & in prophetis tres.* ^o Morinus in Exercitationibus biblicis, part 2. Exercit. 15. cap. 2.

there could be no true reading, or true interpreting, if the stop were made otherwise than at the end of a full sentence. And therefore if the distinction of verses in their sacred synagogical books were anciently discernable only by lines, it could be no otherwise according to the manner in which *Maimonides* says they were written, than by ending of the last line of the verse in a break. For that^p author out of the *Talmud* tells us, That the parchments on which they were written were to be of six hands breadth, and of as many in length, and the writing of them to be in six columns, each column being of an hands breadth; and that each line in these columns was to contain thirty of their letters. And therefore if a break were made where the last line of the verse ended, and the next verse were begun with a new line, this would, I acknowledge, be sufficient to set out the distinction of these verses, and make them fully answer the end intended; but there are two exceptions against it. The first is, that such breaks could not always be made, because sometimes the verse might be run out to the end of the last line, and so leave no space at all for a break, and then there could no distinction at all be made this way, between that verse and the next. And the second is, ^q that those who hold this opinion, that the verses were to be reckoned by lines, allow only two of the lines above mentioned to a verse; but there are many verses which cannot be written in fewer than five or six of those lines. It is most likely, that anciently the writing of those books was in long lines, from one side of the parchment to the other, and that the verses in them were distinguished in the same manner, as the *Stichi* afterwards were in the *Greek* bibles. For^r the manner of their writing those *Stichi* at first was, to allow a line to every *Stichus*, and there to end the writing where they ended the *Stichus*, leaving the rest of the line void in the same manner as a line is left at a break. But this losing too much of the parchment, and making the book too bulky; for the avoiding of both these inconveniencies, the way afterwards was to put a point at the end of every *Stichus*, and so continue the writing, without leaving any part of the line void as before. And in the same manner, I conceive, the *Pesukim*, or verses of the *Hebrew* bibles, were anciently written. At first they allowed a line to every verse; and a line drawn from one side of the parchment to the other, of the length as above mentioned, was sufficient to contain any verse that is now in the *Hebrew* bible. But many verses falling short of this length, they found the same inconveniencies, that the *Greeks* after did in the first way of their writing their *Stichi*, and therefore came to the same remedy; that is, they did put the two points above-mentioned (which they call *Soph Pasuk*) at the place where the former verse ended, and continued the writing of the next verse in the same line, without leaving any void space at all therein. And so their manner hath continued ever since, excepting only that between their sections, as well the smaller as the greater, there is some void space left to make the distinction between them. And I am the more inclined to think this to be the truth of the matter, that is, that anciently the verses of the *Hebrew* bible were so many lines therein, because among the ancients of other nations, about the same time, the lines in the writings of prose authors, as well as of poets, were termed verses;

^p Maimonides de libro legis, cap. 7. & cap. 9. Talmud in Bava Bathra, fol. 16.

^q Morinus, ibid.

^r Vide Millii Prolegomena ad Græcum testamentum, p. 90.

and hence it is that we are told, ' that *Zoroastres's* works contained two millions of verses, and ' *Aristotle's* four hundred forty five thousand two hundred and seventy, tho' neither of them wrote any thing but in prose; and so also we find the writings ' of *Tully*, ' of *Origen*, ' of *Lactantius*, and ' others, who were all prose-writers, reckoned by the number of verses, which could be no other than so many lines. And why then might not the bible verses anciently have been of the same nature also? I mean when written in long lines as aforesaid. But the long lines often occasioning that in reading to the end of one verse they lost the beginning of the next, and so often did read wrong, either by skipping a line, or beginning the same again; for ' the avoiding of this they came to the way of writing in columns, and in short lines, as is above-mentioned. But all this I mean of their sacred synagogical books. In their common bibles they are not tied up to such rules, but write and print them so, as they may best serve for their instruction and convenience in common use. If the *Jews* at present, in their synagogical books, leave out the two points *Soph Pasuk* at the end of the verses, it proceeds from their wresting the rule above-mentioned, against putting points or accents into their sacred books, to a too rigorous meaning. For by those points therein mentioned seem to be understood no other points than the vowel points, and such others as affect the text in the reading. But these two points at the end of every verse only terminate the period, without affecting at all either the words or the letters. But it is no new thing for the *Jews*, out of an over superstitious interpretation of their traditions, to make innovations in their ancient usages, especially while they had their schools and universities in ' *Mesopotamia*, and there held their synedrial and consistorial assemblies of their Rabbi's, in which they hammer'd their law, and also their ancient traditions, by a vast number of new constitutions, and new determinations, into what form they pleased.

BUT the division of the holy scriptures into chapters, as we now have them, is of a much later date. The *Psalms* indeed were always divided as at present. For ' *St. Paul*, in his sermon at *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, quotes the ii^d *Psalms*. But as to the rest of the holy scriptures, the division of them into such chapters as at present, is what the ' ancients knew nothing of.

' Plin. lib. 3. c. 1.

' Diogenes Laertius in vita Aristotelis.

' Asconius Peditanus

Ciceronis verba citat versa à primo octingentesimo quinquagesimo, &c.

' Hieronymus in

catologo scriptorum ecclesiasticorum, & alibi.

' Hieronymus in epistola 124 ad Damasum.

' Cornelius Nepos in Epaminonda. In hoc volumine vitas excellentium virorum complurium concludere constituimus, quorum separatim multis millibus versuum complures scriptores ante nos explicarunt. And Josephus tells us, in the conclusion of his *Antiquities*, that this work of his contained twenty books, and sixty thousand six hundred or verses. For the Greek *εἰς* is the same with the Latin *versus*, and both the same originally with what we call a line in writing. For *versus* properly is a line, whether in prose or verse, and is so called à *vertendo*, because the writer, when he is got to the end of one line, turns back his hand and begins the next, and so doth the reader also his eye from the end of one line to the beginning of the next. Vide Menagii observationes in Diogenes Laertii, lib. 2. n. 24. Jerom also, in his preface before his Latin version of the book of Daniel, saith, that Methodius, Eusebius, and Apollinarius answered the objections of Porphyry against the scriptures, multis versuum millibus, i. e. by many thousands of verses; that is, lines, for they all wrote in prose.

' Maimonides in libro legis, cap. 7.

' They had these schools at Naerda, Sora, and Pom-

beditha in Mesopotamia, till about the year of our Lord 1040, when they were driven out thence by the Mahometan princes that reigned in those parts.

' Acts xiii. 33.

' The Greek

bibles among christians anciently had their *τίτλων* and *κεφάλαια*, but the intent of them was rather to point out

of. ^c Some attribute it to *Stephen Langton*, who was archbishop of *Canterbury* in the reigns of King *John* and King *Henry III.* his son. But the true author of this invention was *Hugo de Sancto Caro*, who being from a *Dominican* monk advanced to the dignity of a cardinal, and the first of that order that was so, is commonly call'd *Hugo Cardinalis*. The whole occasion and history of this matter, and the progress of it to the state it is now in, is as followeth.

THIS ^d *Cardinal Hugo*, who flourished about the year 1240, and died in the year 1262, had laboured much in the study of the holy scriptures, and made a comment on the whole of them. The carrying on of this work administred to him the occasion of inventing the first concordance that was made of the holy scriptures, that is, that of the vulgar *Latin* bible. For conceiving that such an *Index* of all the words and phrases in the holy scriptures would be of great use, for the attaining of a better understanding of them, he projected a scheme for the making of it, and forthwith set a great number of the monks of his order on the collecting of the words under their proper classes, in every letter of the alphabet, in order to this design; and by the help of so many hands he soon brought it to what he intended. This work was afterwards much improved by those who followed him, especially by *Arlottus Thuscus*, and *Conradus Halberstadius*, the former a *Franciscan*, and the other a *Dominican* friar, who both lived about the end of the same century. But the whole end and aim of the work being for the easier finding of any word or passage in the holy scriptures; to make it answer this purpose, the cardinal found it necessary in the first place to divide the books into sections, and the sections into under-divisions, that by these he might the better make the references, and the more exactly point out in the *Index*, where every word or passage might be found in the text. For till then every book of the holy scriptures, in the vulgar *Latin* bibles, was without any division at all; and therefore had the *Index* referred only to the book, the whole book perchance must have been read over, e'er that could be found which was sought for. But by referring to it by this division and sub-division, it was immediately had at first sight. And these sections are the chapters which the bible hath ever since been divided into. For on the publishing of this concordance, the usefulness of it being immediately discerned, all coveted to have it, and for the sake of the use of it, all divided their bibles in the same manner as *Hugo* had done. For the references in the concordance being made by these chapters, and the subdivisions of them, unless their bibles were so divided too, the concordance would be of no use to them. And thus this division of the several books of the bible into chapters had its original, which hath ever since been made use of in all places, and among all people, wherever the bible it self is used in these western parts of the world. But the sub-division of the chapters was not then by verses as now. *Hugo's* way of sub-dividing them was by the letters A. B. C. D. E. F. G. placed in the margin at an equal distance from each other, ac-

out the sum or contents of the text, than to divide the books; and they were vastly different from the present chapters. For many of them contained only a very few verses, and some of them no more than one.

^c Balæus cent. 3. p. 275. ^d Buxtorffii præfatio ad Concordantias Bibliorum Hæbraicas. Morinus in Exercit. bibl. part 2. Exercit. 17. cap. 3. Gerebrardus in chronico ad annum Christi 1244. Sixtus Senensis bibliothec. lib. 3. Hottingeri Thesaurus, lib. 3. c. 2. §. 5. Capelli Arcanum Punctationis, lib. 2. cap. 17. §. 8.

according as the chapters were longer or shorter. In long chapters all these seven letters were used; in others fewer, according as the length which the chapters were of did require. For the sub-division of chapters by verses, which is now in all our bibles, was not introduced into them till some ages after, and then it was from the *Jews* that the use hereof, as now among us, first had its original on this occasion. About the year 1430 there lived here among the western *Jews* a famous Rabbi, called by some *Rabbi Mordecai Nathan*, by others *Rabbi Isaac Nathan*, and by many by both these names, as if he were first called by one of them, and then by a change of it by the other. This *Rabbi* being much conversant with the christians, and having frequent disputes with their learned men about religion, he thereby came to the knowledge of the great use which they made of the *Latin* concordance composed by *Cardinal Hugo*, and the benefit which they had thereby, in the ready finding of any place in the scriptures, that they had occasion to consult; which he was so much taken with, that he immediately set about the making of such a concordance to the *Hebrew* bible for the use of the *Jews*. He began this work in the year of our Lord 1438, and finished it in the year 1445, so that he was just seven years in the composing of it. And the first publishing of it hapening about the time that printing was first invented, it hath since that time undergone several editions from the press. That which was printed at *Basil* by *Buxtorf the son*, anno 1632, is the best of them. For *Buxtorf the father* had taken great pains about it to make it more correct and complete; and *Buxtorf the son* added also his labours to those of his father for the perfecting of it, and published it with both their improvements in the year I have mentioned; and by reason of the advantages it hath received herefrom, it deservedly hath the reputation of being the perfectest and best book of its kind that is extant; and indeed is so useful for the understanding of the *Hebrew* scriptures, that no one who employs his studies this way can well be without it, it being the best dictionary as well as the best concordance to them. In the composing of this book, *Rabbi Nathan* finding it necessary to follow the same division of the scriptures into chapters, which *Hugo* had made in them, it had the like effect as to the *Hebrew* bibles, that *Hugo's* had as to the *Latin*, that is, it caused the same division to be made in all the *Hebrew* bibles, which were afterwards either written out, or printed for common use. For this concordance being found of excellent use among those for whom it was made, they were forced to comply with this division for the sake of having the benefit of it. For the references in *Nathan's* concordance being every where by chapters, according to *Hugo's* division, they could no otherwise have the benefit of finding in their bibles the places referred to, than by dividing them into the same chapters also. And from hence the division of the scriptural books into chapters first came into the *Hebrew* bibles. But *Nathan*, tho' he followed *Hugo* in the division of the scriptural books into chapters, yet did not so in the division of the chapters by the letters A. B. C. &c. in the margin, but refined upon him in this matter by introducing a better usage, that is, by

* Præfatio Buxtorfil ad Concordantias Bibliorum Hebraicas. Morinus Exercit. bibl. part. 2. Exercit. 17. cap. 3. [†] Printing was first invented at Mentz in Germany, by John Faust, and John Guttenberg, Anno Domini 1440. See Calvisius under that year, and Pancitollus with Sal-muth on him, part. 2. tit. 12.

using the division which was made by verses. This division I have shewn was very ancient, but it was till now without any numbers put to the verses. This was first done by *Rabbi Nathan* for the sake of his concordance. For therein all his references being by the chapters and verses, as there was a necessity, that those who used this concordance, should have their bibles thus divided into chapters and verses also, so was it, that both should be numbered in them. For it was by the numbers of the chapters and verses that they were to find the places sought for, in the same manner as is now practised in our *English* concordances, as in *Newman's*, which is by much the best and perfectest of all that are extant. The numbering therefore of the verses in the chapters, and the quoting of the passages in every chapter by the verses, instead of doing it by letters at an equal distance in the margin, was *Nathan's* invention; in all things else he followed the pattern which *Hugo* had set him. But it is to be observed, that he did not number the verses any otherwise than by affixing the numerical letters in the margin at every fifth verse. And this hath been the usage of the *Jews* in all their *Hebrew* bibles ever since, till of late *Athias a Jew of Amsterdam*, in his two fair and correct editions of the *Hebrew* bible printed by him in that city, the first in the year 1661, and the other in the year 1667, hath varied herefrom in two particulars. For, 1st, he hath introduced into these editions the use of the *Indian* figures; and 2^{dly}, hath placed them at every verse, where the numerical *Hebrew* letters are not; so that continuing the numerical *Hebrew* letters as formerly, at every fifth verse, he hath put the *Indian* figures at all the rest. Before this we were to number from every fifth verse, to find any intermediate verse between that and the next fifth. Whether the *Jews* will follow this new way in their future editions I know not, but this I know, that this second edition of *Athias's Hebrew* bible is the most correct, as well as the most convenient and best fitted for use of any that have been as yet set forth. After *Rabbi Nathan* had brought in this use of numbering the verses, and quoting by them what was in every chapter, this soon appeared to be a much better way, than the quoting of what is in them by the letters A. B. C. &c. set in the margin. And therefore ^s *Vatablus* having from this pattern published a *Latin* bible with the chapters so divided into verses, and the verses so numbered, this example hath been followed in all other editions, that have been since set forth. And all that have published concordances, as well as all other writers, have ever since that time quoted the scriptures by the number of chapters and verses according to this division. So that as the *Jews* borrowed the division of the books of the holy scriptures into chapters from the Christians, in like manner the Christians borrowed that of the chapters into verses from the *Jews*. And thus they have helped each other to make the present editions of the bible, much more convenient for common use than otherwise they would have been. And *Robert Stephanus*, taking an hint from hence, made a like division of the chapters of the *New Testament* into verses also, and for the same reason as *Rabbi Nathan* had done so before him as to the *Old Testament*, that is, for the sake of a concordance, which he was then composing for the *Greek Testament*, and which was afterwards printed by *Hen-*

^s Morinus in Exercit. Biblic. Part. 2. Exercit. 17. cap. 4. §. 2.

ry *Stephanus* his son, who gives this account hereof in his preface to that concordance. Since that, this division of the holy scriptures by chapters and verses, and the quoting of all passages in them by the numbers of both, hath grown into use every where among us in these western parts; so that not only all *Latin* bibles, but all *Greek* bibles also, and all others that have been printed in any of the modern languages, have followed this division. And the usefulness of it from the first time it was introduced, reconciled all men thereto. And thus that division of the holy scriptures into chapters and verses, which is now every where in use, had its original.

III. THE third thing which *Ezra* did about the holy scriptures in his edition of them, was, He added in several places throughout the books of this edition, what appeared necessary for the illustrating, connecting or completing of them; wherein he was assisted by the same spirit, by which they were at first wrote; of this sort we may reckon the last chapter of *Deuteronomy*, which giving an account of the death and burial of *Moses*, and of the succession of *Joshua* after him, it could not be written by *Moses* himself, who undoubtedly was the penman of all the rest of that book. It seems most probable, that it was added by *Ezra* at this time. And such also may we reckon the several interpolations, which occur in many places of the holy scriptures. For that there are such interpolations is undeniable, there being many passages through the whole sacred writ, which create difficulties that can never be solved without the allowing of them. As for instance, *Gen. xii. 6.* It's remarked on *Abraham's* coming into the land of *Canaan*, that *the Canaanites were then in the land*, which is not likely to have been said till after the time of *Moses*, when the *Canaanites* being extirpated by *Joshua* were then no more in the land. And, *Gen. xxii. 14.* we read, *As it is said, to this day, in the mount of the Lord it shall be seen.* But mount *Moriah* (which is the mount there spoken of) was not called the mount of the Lord till the temple was built on it, many hundred years after. And this being here spoken of it as a proverbial saying, that obtained among the *Israelites* in after-ages, the whole style of the text doth manifestly point at a time after *Moses*, when they were in possession of the land in which this mountain stood. And therefore both these particulars prove the words cited to have been an interpolation, *Gen. xxxvi. 3.* it is written; *And these are the Kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any King over the land of Israel.* Which could not have been said, till after there had been a King in *Israel*, and therefore they cannot be *Moses's* words, but must have been interpolated afterwards. *Exod. xvi. 35.* the words of the text are; *And the children of Israel did eat manna forty years, till they came to a land inhabited. They did eat manna till they came unto the borders of the land of Canaan.* But *Moses* was dead before the manna ceased, and therefore these cannot be his words, but must have been inserted afterwards. *Deuteron. ii. 12.* it is said; *The Horims also dwelt in Seir before time, but the children of Esau succeeded them; when they had destroyed them before them, and dwelt in their stead, as Israel did unto the land of his possession, which the Lord gave unto him.* Which could not have been written by *Moses*, *Israel* having not till after his death entered into the land of his possession, which the Lord gave unto them. *Deuteron. iii. 11.* it is said, *Only Og King of Bashan remained of the remnant of giants; behold his bedstead was a bedstead of iron. Is it not in Rabbah of the children of Ammon?*

mon? The whole style and strain of which text, especially that of the last clause of it, plainly speaks it to have been written a long while after that King was slain. And therefore it could not be written by *Moses*, who died within five months after. In the same chapter, ver. 14. it is said, *Jair the Son of Manasseh took all the countrey of Argob unto the coasts of Geshuri and Maacathi, and called them after his own name Bashan-Havoth-Jair unto this day.* Where the phrase, *unto this day*, speaks a much greater distance of time after the fact related, than those few months, in which *Moses* survived after that conquest; and therefore what is there written must have been inserted by some other hand, than that of *Moses*, long after his death. And in the book of *Proverbs*, (which was certainly King *Solomon's*) in the beginning of the 25th chapter it is written, *These are the proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah King of Judah copied out.* Which must certainly have been added many ages after *Solomon*. For *Hezekiah* was of the twelfth generation in descent from him. Many more instances of such interpolated passages might be given. For throughout the whole scriptures they have been frequently cast in by way of parenthesis, where they have appeared necessary for the explaining, connecting, or illustrating the text, or the supplying what was wanting in it. But those already mentioned are sufficient to prove the thing. Of which interpolations undoubtedly *Ezra* was the author, in all the books which passed his examination, and *Simon the Just* in all the rest, which were added afterwards. For they all seem to refer to those later times. But these additions do not detract any thing from the divine authority of the whole, because they were all inserted by the direction of the same Holy Spirit which dictated all the rest. This, as to *Ezra*, is without dispute, he being himself one of the divine pen-men of the holy scriptures. For he was most certainly the writer of that book in the *Old Testament* which bears his name, and is upon good grounds supposed to be the author of two more, that is, of the two books of *Chronicles*, as perchance also he was of the book of *Esther*. And if the books written by him be of divine authority, why may not every thing else be so, which he hath added to any of the rest, since there is all reason for us to suppose, that he was as much directed by the Holy Spirit of God in the one, as he was in the other? The great importance of the work proves the thing. For as it was necessary for the church of God that this work should be done; so also was it necessary for the work, that the person called thereto should be thus assisted in the completing of it.

IV. HE changed the old names of several places that were grown obsolete, putting instead of them the new names, by which they were at that time called, that the people might the better understand what was written. Thus, *Gen. xiv. 14.* *Abraham* is said to have pursued the Kings, who carried *Lot* away captive, as far as *Dan*, whereas the name of that place was *Laiſh*, till the *Danites*, long after the Death of *Moses*, possessed themselves of it, and ^a called it *Dan*, after the name of *Dan* their father. And therefore it could not be called *Dan* in the original copy of *Moses*, but that name must have been put in afterwards instead of that of *Laiſh* on this review. And so in several places in *Genesis*, and also in *Numbers*, we find

^a *Joshua* xix. 47. *Judges* xviii. 29.

mention made of *Hebron*, whereas the name of that city was *Kiriath Arba*, till *Caleb*, having obtained the possession of it after the division of the land, called it *Hebron*, after the name of *Hebron* one of his sons; and therefore that name could not be in the text, till placed there long after the time of *Moses*, by way of exchange for that of *Kiriath Arba*; which it is not to be doubted was done at the time of this review. And many other like examples of this may be given, whereby it appears, that the study of those who governed the church of God in those times, was to render the scripture as plain and intelligible to the people, as they could, and not to hide and conceal any of it from them.

V. HE wrote out the whole in the *Chaldee* character. For that having now grown wholly into use among the people after the *Babylonish* captivity, he changed the old *Hebrew* character for it, which hath since that time been retained only by the *Samaritans*, among whom it is preserved even to this day. This was the old *Phœnician* character, from which the *Greeks* borrowed theirs. And the old *Ionian* alphabet bears some similitude to it, as ⁱ *Scaliger* shews in his notes upon *Eusebius's Chronicon*. In this *Moses* and the prophets recorded the sacred oracles of God, and in this the finger of God himself wrote the ten commandments in the two tables of stone. There are some, I acknowledge, who strenuously contend for the antiquity of the present *Hebrew* letters, as if they, and none other, had always been the sacred character, in which the holy scriptures were written, and that the *Samaritan* was never in use for this purpose, but only among the *Samaritans*, who in opposition (say they) to the *Jews*, on the rise of that enmity which was between them, wrote out the law of *Moses* (which is the only scripture they receive) in this character different from them. Were we to judge of sacred things by their external beauty, we should concur with this opinion. For the *Chaldee* character is one of the beautifullest, and the *Samaritan* the uncouthest, and the most incapable of calligraphy, of all that have been used among the different nations of the world. But the opinion of most learned men, and upon good grounds, is on the other side; for ^k there are many old *Jewish* shekels still in being, and others of the same sort are frequently dug up in *Judea*, with this inscription on them in *Samaritan* letters, *Jerusalem Kadoshab*, i. e. *Jerusalem the holy*, which inscription shews, that they could not be the coin either of the *Israelites* of the ten tribes, or of the *Samaritans*, who after succeeded them in their land. For neither of them would have put the name of *Jerusalem* upon their coin, or ever have called it the holy city. These pieces therefore must have been the coin of those of the two tribes before the captivity, and this proves the *Samaritan* character to be that which was then in use among them. And it cannot be said, that these shekels are counterfeited by modern hands. For *Rabbi Moses Ben Nachman* tells us of several which he met with in his time, that had this inscription upon them in *Samaritan* letters, who lived about five hundred years since. And therefore it must follow, that the present *Hebrew* character was introduced among the *Jews* after the *Babylonish* captivity, and the general testimony of the ancients is, that it was *Ezra* that did first put the holy

ⁱ In animadversionibus ad Eusebii Chronicon, p. 110, 111, &c. ^k Scaliger in Animadversionibus ad Eusebii Chronicon, p. 117. col. 2. Vossius de Arte Grammatica, lib. 1. c. 9. Waserus de nummis Hebræorum. Waltonus de Scriptorum formis & in Prolegom. 3. §. 29, 30, &c. scriptures

scriptures into it, on the review which he made of them on his coming to *Jerusalem*. ¹ *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon* tells us so, and ^m *St. Jerome* doth the same, and so do also both the *Talmuds*; and the generality of learned men, as well among the *Jews* as christians, hold to this opinion. *Capellus* hath written a tract for it, and *Buxtorf the son* another against it. They who shall think fit to read them, will see all that can be said on either side. But I think the argument which is brought from the shekels cannot be answered. But

VI. WHETHER *Ezra*, on this review, did add the vowel points which are now in the *Hebrew* bibles, is an harder question to be decided. It went without contradiction in the affirmative, till *Elias Levita* a *German Jew* wrote against it, about the beginning of the reformation. *Buxtorf the father* endeavoured to refute his arguments. But *Capellus*, a protestant divine of the *French* church, and professor of *Hebrew* in their university at *Saumur*, hath in a very elaborate discourse made a thorough reply to all that can be said on this head, and very strenuously asserted the contrary. *Buxtorf the son*, in vindication of his father's opinion, hath written an answer to it; but not with that satisfaction to the learned world, as to hinder the generality of them from going into the other opinion. I shall here first state the question, and then enquire on which side of it the truth lieth.

AND first, as to the state of the question, it is to be observed, that it is upon another foot among us christians, than it is among the *Jews*. For among them it is a principle agreed on of both sides, and which *Elias Levita* comes in unto as much as any of the rest, that the reading, as now fix'd and settled by the vowel points in all the books of holy scripture, is the true, genuine, and authentick reading, as it came from the sacred penmen themselves of the said books, and consequently is as much of divine authority as the letters, only the latter were written, and the other delivered down only by oral tradition. The question therefore between them is only about the time when this reading was first marked, and expressed in their bibles, by the present vowel points. This, *Elias* and his followers say, was not done till after the finishing of the *Talmud*, about five hundred years after *Christ*; but that till then the true reading, as to the vowels, was preserved only by oral tradition. But others of them hold (and this is the prevailing opinion among them) that the reading by oral tradition was only till the time of *Ezra*, and that ever since it hath been written down and expressed by the vowel points affixed to the letters, in the same manner as we now have them. So that the controversy among them is not about the truth and authority of the reading, according to the present punctuation, (for they all hold this to be the very same which was dictated with the word it self, by the Holy Spirit of God from the beginning) but about the antiquity of the figures and points, whereby it is marked and fixed in their present bibles. But among us christians, who have no regard to what the *Jews* tell us of their oral tradition, and their preserving of the true reading of the scriptures by it, the question is about the authority of the reading it self; that is, whether the vowel points were affixed by *Ezra*, and therefore of the same divine authority with the

¹Ad annum 4740.

^m In præfatione ad 1 Regum, & in comment. in Ezekielem, cap. 9.

rest of the text, or else invented since by the *Jewish* critics, called the *Maforites*; and whether therefore they may not, as being of human authority only, be altered and changed, where the analogy of grammar, the style of the language, or the nature of the context, or any thing else, shall give reason for a better reading. And this being the state of the question, as it is now in debate among christians, that side of it, which I have here last mentioned, is that [which is now generally held for the truth, and these following arguments make strongly for it.

1. THE sacred books made use of among the *Jews*, in their synagogues, have ever been, and still are, without the vowel points, which could not have hapned had they been placed there by *Ezra*, and consequently been of the same authority with the letters. For had they been so, they would certainly have been preserved in the synagogues with the same care as the rest of the text. There can scarce any other reason be given why they were not admitted thither, but that when the holy scriptures began first to be publicly read to the people in their synagogues, there were no such vowel points then in being, and that when they afterwards came in use, being known to be of an human invention, they were for that reason never thought fit to be added to those sacred copies, which were looked on as the true representatives of the original; and therefore they have been ever kept with the same care, in the ark or sacred chest of the synagogue, as the original draught of the law of *Moses* anciently was in the ark or sacred chest of the tabernacle, which was prepared for it; and they are still so kept in the same manner among them even to this day.

2. THE ancient various readings of the sacred text called *Keri Cetib*, are all about the letters, and none about the vowel points, which seems manifestly to prove, that the vowel points were not anciently in being, or else were not then looked on as an authentic part of the text. For if they had, the variations of these would certainly have been taken notice of, as well as those of the letters.

3. THE ancient *Cabbalists* draw none of their mysteries from the vowel points, but all from the letters, which is an argument either that these vowel points were not in use in their time, or else were not then looked on as an authentic part of the sacred text. For had they then been so, these triflers would certainly have drawn mysteries from the one, as well as from the other, as the later *Cabbalists* have done.

4. IF we compare with the present pointed *Hebrew* bibles, the version of the *Septuagint*, the *Chaldee* paraphrases, the fragments of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*, or the *Latin* version of *Jerom*, we shall in several places find that they did read the text otherwise, than according to the present punctuation; which is a certain argument that the pointed copies, if there were any such in their times, were not then held to be of any authority, for otherwise they would certainly have followed them.

5. NEITHER the *Mishnah*, nor the *Gemara*, either that of *Jerusalem*, or that of *Babylon*, do make any mention of these vowel points, altho' in several places there are such special occasions and reasons for them so to have done, that it can scarce be thought possible they could have omitted

^a Arcanum punctuationis, lib. 1. c. 4.

^b Arcanum punctuationis, lib. 1. cap. 7.

^c Arcanum punctuationis, lib. 1. cap. 8, 9, 10.

^d Buxtorfii synagoga Judaica, cap. 14.

^e Arcanum punctuationis, lib. 1. c. 5.

^f Arcanum punctuationis, cap. 5.

it, if they had been in being when those books were written; or if in being, had been looked on by the *Jews* of those times to be of any authority among them. Neither do we find ^v the least hint of them in *Philo Judæus* or *Josephus*, who are the oldest writers of the *Jews*, or in any of the ancient christian writers for several hundred years after *Christ*. And altho', among them, *Origen* and *Jerom* were well skill'd in the *Hebrew* language, yet in none of their writings do they speak the least of them. *Origen* flourished in the third, and *Jerom* in the fifth century; and the latter having lived a long while in *Judea*, and there more especially applyed himself to the study of the *Hebrew* learning, and much conversed with the *Jewish* Rabbi's for his improvement herein, it is not likely that he could have missed making some mention of them through all his voluminous works, if they had been either in being among the *Jews* in his time, or in any credit or authority with them, and that especially since in his commentaries there were so many necessary occasions for his taking notice of them. And it cannot be deny'd but that this is a very strong argument against them.

MANY more arguments are urged on this side of the question. But the chief strength of what is said for it lying in these I have mentioned, I shall not trouble the reader with the rest, and that especially since some of them will not hold water. For to instance in one of them; great stress is laid on this to prove the vowel points to be of late date, that their names are thought to be of late date, they being of the *Chaldee* and not of the *Hebrew* dialect. But it is certain the *Jews* had the present names of their months from the *Chaldeans*, as well as the names of their vowels; and yet it is as certain, that notwithstanding this the names of these months were in use in the time of *Ezra*, for they are named in scripture, both in the book of *Ezra*, and also in that of *Nehemiah*, the former of which was written by him; and why then might not the names of these vowels have been in *Ezra's* time too, notwithstanding this objection? And this is all which those on the other side contend for. But the other arguments, which I have above recited, are of much greater weight: If any one would see all at large that hath been said on this head, *Capellus's* book, which I have already mentioned, will fully furnish him herewith.

BUT there have not been wanting learned men of the contrary opinion, and much hath been written for it, especially by the two *Buxtorfs*, the father and the son; their arguments, which carry the greatest weight with them are these which follow:

I. THE ^v ancient books *Bahir* and *Zohar*, which are said to have been written, the one a little before, and the other a little after, the time of our Saviour, make express and frequent mention of the vowel points; which argument would be unanswerable against the later invention of them, could we be sure that these books are as ancient as the *Jews* say they are. But there are reasons sufficient to convince us, ^w that both of them are of a much later date. There are many particulars in the books themselves, which manifestly prove them to be so. And for above a thousand years, after the pretended times of their composition, they were never heard of among the *Jews* themselves, nor were they ever quoted, or made mention

^v Arcanum punctationis, lib. 1. c. 10.

^v Buxtorfius pater in Tiberiade, c. 9. §. 3. Buxtorfius filius de punctorum antiquitate, part. 1. cap. 5.

^w Vide Arcanum punctationis, lib. 2. cap. 3. & Buxtorfii bibliothecam rabbinicam in *Bahir* & *Zohar*.

of by any other writer during all that interval; which gives abundant reason to conclude, that till after these thousand years they never had any being; but that a false date of antiquity hath been fraudulently put to them to recommend them to the world with the greater credit. The latter of them hath been printed several times, but the other is still in manuscript. They are both cabbalistical books, and the most they are remarkable for is the obscurity of their style, and the strange, mysterious, and unintelligible stuff contained in them:

2. THAT whereas it is said on the other side, that the *Masorites* of *Tiberias* invented the vowel points about five hundred years after *Christ*, this * appears very unlikely. For the schools which the *Jews* had in *Judea* were then wholly dissipated and suppressed, and no learned men there left, of sufficient ability for such a performance. For at that time all their learned men were removed into the province of *Babylon*, where they had their universities of *Sora*, *Naherdea*, and *Pumbeditha*, and nothing of their learning was then left in *Judea*, that can make it probable that such a work could be done, either at *Tiberias*, or any where else in that land, in those times. And besides, were the thing ever so likely, there is no authority for it sufficient to support the assertion. *Elias Levita* indeed saith it, and *Aben Ezra*, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, is quoted for it; but higher up it cannot be traced. For there is nothing said in any ancienter writer, either of their being invented by the *Masorites* at *Tiberias*, or any where else after the *Talmud*; and it is not likely, that if this had been so late an invention, a matter so remarkable, and of such great moment, could have been wholly passed over in silence, without the least mention made of it by any of the *Jewish* writers. But † to all this it is replied, that in historical matters it is not to be regarded what the *Jews* write, or what they omit concerning them. That of all nations in the world, that have pretended to any sort of learning, they have taken the least care to record past transactions, and have done it very bunglingly, and in a manner that looks more like fable than truth, wherever they have pretended to it. And it is certain, there were *Jews* eminent in their way of learning at *Tiberias*, in *St. Jerom's* time; for he tells us he made use of them, and he died not till the year of our Lord 420, which was but eighty years before the time assigned; and it must be acknowledged that nothing of this can be gainsaid. And it is farther added by those, who thus reply, that they do not positively pin down the invention of these vowel points either to the time or place which *Elias Levita* assigneth for it, but only say, that it must be after the time of the writings of *Jerom*, and after the time of the composition of the *Talmud*, because in neither of these any mention is made of them, and this will necessarily carry it down below the five hundredth year of our Lord; but whether it were then immediately done, or two or three hundred years afterward, or at *Tiberias*, or elsewhere, they will not take upon them certainly to affirm. That the vowel points were not affixed to the text by *Ezra*, that they are not of a divine, but only of an human original, and first introduced into use after the writing of the *Talmud*, is all that they positively assert concerning this matter; and that whatsoever is said beyond this is only guess and con-

* Buxtorfius pater in *Tiberiade*, cap. 5, 6, 7. Buxtorfius filius de antiquitate punctorum, part. 2. cap. 11.

† Capellus in arcano punctuationis, lib. 2. cap. 15.

jecture, which doth not at all affect the question, and therefore they will not contend about it.

3. IF by the *Masorites*, who are said to have invented these vowel points, are meant the authors of the present *Masorah*, which is printed with the great bibles of *Venice* and *Basil*, it is ^z certain they cannot be the inventors of these points. For a great part of their criticisms is upon the vowel points, which must necessarily prove them to have been long before fix'd and settled. For none use to criticise upon their own works. To which it is replied, that there were *Masorites* from the time of *Ezra* and the men of the great synagogue, down to the time of *Ben Asher* and *Ben Naphthali*, who flourished about the year of our Lord 1030, that some of these invented the points sometime after the making of the *Talmud*, and that after that some of those who succeeded them, perchance two or three hundred years after, made these criticisms and remarks upon them. For the *Masorah* that is now printed in the bibles above mentioned, is a collection and abridgment of all the chief remarks and criticisms, which those men did make upon the *Hebrew* text, from their first beginning to the time I have mentioned. But of this I shall have occasion to speak more at large by and by.

4. THAT when the *Hebrew* language ceased to be the mother tongue of the *Jews*, (as it is agreed on all hands that it did after the *Babylonish* captivity) it ^b was scarce possible to teach that language without these vowel points; and this is the best and strongest argument, that is urged on this side for their having been always in use from that time.

5. THAT if it be allowed that the present vowel points are not of the same authority with the letters, but are only of a late and human invention, it will weaken the authority of the holy scriptures, and leave the sacred text to an arbitrary and uncertain reading and interpretation; which will give too much to the papists, whose main design is to destroy the authority and certainty of the holy scriptures, that thereby they may make room for the traditions of their church, and the decisions of the infallible guide, which they pretend to have therein. And to avoid this ill consequence is, indeed, the most prevailing cause, that hath drawn into this opinion most of those learned protestants that contend for it; but to answer both these last arguments, and settle the whole of this controversy, I shall lay down what appears to me to be the truth of the matter, in these following positions.

I. THAT the vowel points having never been received by the *Jews* into their synagogues, this seems to be a certain evidence, that they were never anciently looked on by them as an authentic part of the holy scripture of the *Old Testament*, but reckoned only as an human invention, added for the easier reading of the text, after the *Hebrew* ceased from being a vulgar language among them. And the *Jews* having been till the time of *Christ* the true church of God, and his chosen people, ^c to whom those scriptures and sacred oracles of God were given and committed, through their hands the church of *Christ* hath received them, and their

^z Buxtorfius pater in Tiberiade, cap. 9. Buxtorfius filius de antiquitate punctorum, part. 2. cap. 6.

^a Arcanum punctationis, lib. 2. cap. 10.

punctorum, part. 2. cap. 10.

^c Romans iii. 2.

^b Buxtorfius de antiquitate

evidence is that, which is to witness and determin unto us, what part of them is authentic scripture, and what is not.

II. It is most likely, that these vowel points were the invention of the *Masorites* a little after the time of *Ezra*. That they came into use a little after the time of *Ezra*, seems to be proved by the need that was then of them for the reading and teaching of the *Hebrew* text. And that they were invented by the *Masorites* seems most likely, because of the business and profession, which these men employed themselves in. For,

I^t, THESE *Masorites*^d were a set of men, whose profession it was to write out copies of the *Hebrew* scriptures, and to criticize upon them, and also to preserve and teach the true readings of them; and what they observed and taught in order hereto, is by the *Jews* called the *Masorah*. But this tradition reached no farther than the readings of the *Hebrew* scriptures. For as the *Jews* held a tradition of the true interpretations of the holy scriptures, (which I have already spoken of) so also did they hold another of the true readings of them, as in the original *Hebrew* language. And this last they will have, as to the law, to be a constitution of *Moses* from mount *Sinai*, as well as the former. For their doctrine is, that when God gave unto *Moses* the law in mount *Sinai*, he taught him first the true readings of it, and secondly the true interpretations of it; and that both these were handed down from generation to generation by oral tradition only, till at length the readings were written by the accents and vowels, in like manner as the interpretations were by the *Mishnah* and *Gemara*. The former they call *Masorah*, which signifyeth *tradition*, and the other they call *Cabbala*, which signifyeth *reception*; but both of them denote the same thing, that is, a knowledge delivered down from generation to generation; in the doing of which there being tradition on the one hand, and reception on the other, that which relates to the readings of the *Hebrew* scriptures, hath its name from the former, and that which relates to the interpretations of them, from the latter. And what they say of this, as to the law, they say also of it, as to the prophets and the rest of the *Hebrew* scriptures; that is, that the true readings of them, as well as the true interpretations of them, were delivered down by oral tradition from those who were the first penmen of them; to whom they say God revealed both at the same time, when he revealed to them the word it self. As those who studied and taught the *Cabbala*, were called the *Cabbalists*; so those, who studied and taught the *Masorah*, were called the *Masorites*. For altho' the word *Cabbala* be now restrained to signify the mystical interpretations of the scriptures only, and in the common usage of speech now among the *Jews*, they alone are called *Cabbalists* who give themselves up to these dotages; yet in the true and genuine meaning of the word, the *Cabbala* extends to all manner of traditions, which are of the interpretative part of the *Hebrew* scriptures, and the *Cabbalists* is the general name of all those who professed the study and knowledge of them. And they were all those, whom under the names of *Tannaim*, *Amoraim*, *Seburaim*, &c. I have already made mention of. And as these *Cabbalists* first began a little after the time of *Ezra*, so also did the *Masorites*; and their whole business and profession being to study the true

^d Eliæ Levitæ Masoreth Hammasoreth. Buxtorfius in Tiberiade. Waltoni Prolegom. 8.

readings of the *Hebrew* text, and to preserve and teach the same, they are justly held the most likely to have invented the vowel points, because the whole use of those points is to serve to this purpose.

AND, 2^{dly}, This use of them being absolutely necessary from the time that the *Hebrew* language ceased to be vulgarly spoken (as it certainly did in the time of *Ezra*) we have sufficient reason from hence to conclude, that soon after that time the use of them must have been introduced. For from this time the *Hebrew* language being only to be acquired by study and instruction, and that being necessary to be first acquired, before the sacred text could be read, which was written therein; as there was need of such a profession of men to take care hereof, that is, to teach and bring up others to know the language, and also to read the scriptures, as written in it; so was there as much need of these vowel points to help them herein, it being hard to conceive, how they could do either without them, or some other such marks, that might serve them for the same purpose. What the *Jews* tell us of preserving the true readings only by tradition and memory, is too absurd to be swallowed by any one. For had there been nothing else but tradition and memory in this case to help them, the load would have been too great to have been carried by any ones memory, but all must necessarily have dropp'd in the way, and been lost. But the truth is, there is no need of depending only on memory in this case. For to those, who thoroughly know the language, the letters alone, with the context, are sufficient to determine the reading, as now they are in all other *Hebrew* books. For, excepting the bible, few other books in that language are pointed. All their *Rabbinical* authors, of which there are a great number, are all unpointed, and yet all that understand the language, can read them without points, as well as if they had them, yea, and much better too, and not miss the true reading. But the difficulty is as to those who do not understand the language. For how they could be ever taught to read it without vowels, after it ceased to be vulgarly spoken, is scarce possible to conceive. When all learnt it from their cradles, it was no hard matter for those, who thus understood the language, to learn to read it by the letters only without the vowels. But when the *Hebrew* became a dead language the case was altered. For then, instead of understanding it first in order to read it, they were first to read it in order to understand it; and therefore having not the previous knowledge of the language to direct them herein, they must necessarily have had some other helps, whereby to know with what vowel every syllable was to be pronounced, and to give them this help, the vowel points seem certainly to have been invented; and therefore the time of this invention cannot be placed later than the time when they became necessary, that is, when the *Hebrew* became a dead language, though perchance it was not perfected and brought to that order, in which now it is, till some ages after. It is acknowledged on all hands, that the reading of the *Hebrew* language could never have been learned after it ceased to be vulgarly spoken, without the help of vowels; but they who will not allow the points to have been so ancient, tell us, that the letters *Aleph, He, Van, Iod*, which they call *matres lectionis*,

^e All those authors as originally written are without points. But the *Mishna* and their *Machzor* have lately had points put to them, but still they are reckoned the best editions that are without them.

^f *Arcanum punctuationis*, lib. i. cap. 18.

onis, then served for vowels. But there are a great number of words in the *Hebrew* way of writing, both in the bible and in all other books of that language, in which none of these letters are to be found, and scarce any in which some of the syllables are not without them; and how then can these supply the place of vowels, and every where help the reading instead of them, since every where they are not to be found? Besides, there are none of these letters which have not, according as they are plac'd in different words, the different sounds of every one of the vowels some time or other annexed to them; and how then can they determine the pronunciation of any one of them? As for example, the letter *Aleph* hath not always the pronunciation of the vowel [a], but sometimes of [e], sometimes of [i], sometimes of [o], and sometimes of [u], according as it is found in different words; and the same is to be said of all the rest. And farther, all the other oriental languages have in their alphabets these same letters, which they call *matres lectionis*, as well as the *Hebrew*, as for example, the *Syriac*, the *Arabic*, the *Turkish*, the *Persian*, the *Malayan*, &c. and yet they have their vowels too to help the reading; neither can we find that they were ever without them, though such as are well versed in any of these languages, read them readily without vowels, and all the books, epistles, orders, and publick instruments, that are in them, are generally so written. And why then should we think the *Hebrew* had not such vowels also, especially when after that language had ceased to be vulgarly spoken, there was such necessity for them? The unpointed words in *Hebrew* are the same with abbreviations in *Latin*; and if it be impracticable for any novice to learn the *Latin* language by books, wherein all the words are so abbreviated, that only two or three letters of them stand for the whole, we may justly infer, that it is as impracticable for any who is a stranger to the *Hebrew*, ever to learn it by books, wherein all the words are unpointed; yea, and much more so. For the abbreviations in *Latin* are certain, such an abbreviation being always put for such a word, and for none other; but it is otherwise in the abbreviations of the unpointed *Hebrew*, for in them all the vowels being left out, the remaining letters, which are to stand for the whole, may as pronounced with different vowels be different words; as for example, there are two conjugations in *Hebrew*, one called *Pihel*, and the other *Puhal*; the former is an active, and the other a passive, and both are written throughout all their moods and tenses (except the infinitive) with the same letters, and they as differently pointed may be either the one or the other; and although in the reading the context may determine the active from the passive, yet if we do not by pointed books first learn what vowels properly belong to the one, and what to the other, how can we know with which to read or pronounce either of them in the unpointed books; And abundance of other such instances may be given in the *Hebrew* language, wherein the same letters, as differently pointed, make different words, and of different significations; and how then can a learner know, what different vowels, and what different pronunciations belong to these different words, if he be not first taught it by the points, or some other such marks of the same signification? All that can be said against this is, that the *Samaritan* hath no such vowels, but although it be now grown to be a dead language, as well as the *Hebrew*, it is taught and learnt without them. To this I answer, that it is true that all the books, which we have as yet brought us into these western parts, in
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the *Samaritan* character, are written only with the letters, and without any such marks as the *Hebrew* bibles now have to denote the vowels, or any other instead of them. But this doth not prove that they have no such vowels in use among them; multitude of books are brought us out of the east in *Hebrew*, *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Turkish*, and *Persian*, all written with the letters only, without any vowel marks; but this doth not prove that they have none, for it's certain that they all have them, and use them, where there is need of them: And therefore it is no evidence but that the *Samaritan* may have them also, though all the books which we have hitherto seen in it are without them. The sect of the *Samaritans* are those only who use this character and language, (if we may call it a language, for it is no more than the *Hebrew* in another character) and they are now dwindled into a very small number, and those dispersed abroad into several parts of the east. And what their practice may be, as to the use of vowel figures in their other writings, (though none that have as yet come to our hands have any such) we have no account of, either *pro* or *con*, and therefore we can argue nothing from it. Only we say, that as to this, as well as the *Hebrew*, and all other such languages, in which books are ordinarily written with the letters only, it seems almost impracticable for any one to learn to read those books, after the languages are become dead languages, without some marks put to the letters to denote the vowels with which they are to be pronounced. Without a previous knowledge of the language it is impossible to be done, and therefore the only way to make it possible, is to learn the language first by rote; and when a perfect knowledge hath been gotten of it this way, then only can it be practicable to learn to read that language by the letters only, without any vowel marks. But this is such a great way about, such a tedious and operose method of learning it, that we must look on those to be a very dull and stupid sort of people, who being in this case, could find out no other way to help themselves in it, and that especially in the *Jews* case, since their neighbours on each side of them (I mean the *Syrians* and *Arabians*) had vowel figures, and they might easily from them either have taken the same, or learn'd to have fram'd others like them. Though the *Greeks* in their language have the vowels intermixed with the letters, yet it no sooner became a dead language (I mean the learned *Greek*, from which the modern doth as much differ, as the *Chaldee* from the *Hebrew*) but they found out accents, spirits, and several other marks to help those who were to learn it, which were never in use among them before. And so also are there in the *Latin* several such marks; as for example, a mark over the [ò] and [è] at the end of adverbs, to distinguish them from nouns ending in those vowels; and the mark over the [â] ablative to distinguish it from the [a] nominative, &c. None of which marks were ever used while the *Latin* language was vulgarly spoken, but were invented for the help of those who were to learn it afterwards. And is it possible that the *Jews* only were so stupid and dull, that they alone should find out no such helps, after their language became a dead language, for the easier learning and reading of it; but on the contrary, should have continued so many hundred years after, not only without any marks for accents, pauses, or stops, but also without any figures so much as to denote the vowels, with which their letters were to be pronounced? The necessity which was in this case for such vowel figures, evidently proves that they must have

had them, and that as soon as they needed them, which was as soon as their language became a dead language ; and was thenceforth to be learn'd by books (and not by common converse) as all other dead languages are. And therefore this happening about the time of *Ezra*, (as hath been already shewn) it must follow, that about that time, or a little after, the use of such vowel figures must have been introduced into the *Hebrew* language. Whether they were the same vowel points that are now used, or other such like signs to serve for the same purpose, is not material, and therefore I shall raise no enquiry about it. Only I cannot but say, that since necessity first introduced the use of them, it is most likely, that no more were at first used than there was a necessity for, but that the augmenting of them beyond this to the number of fifteen, proceeded only from the over-nicety of the after-*Masorites*. Three served the *Arabs*, and five most other nations, and no doubt at first they exceeded not this number among the *Jews*. And it is most likely that the same profession of men, who thus invented the vowel points, were also the authors of all those other inventions which have been added to the *Hebrew* text, for the easier reading and better understanding of it. The dividing of the law into sections, and the sections into verses, seems to have been one of the first of their works. * Originally every book of the *Hebrew* bible was written as in one verse, without any distinction of sections, chapters, verses, or words. But when the publick reading of the law was brought into use among the *Jews*, and some part of it read every sabbath in their synagogues, it became necessary to divide the whole into fifty four sections, that it might thereby be known what part was to be read on each sabbath ; and the whole gone over every year, as hath been afore observed. And when the disuse of the *Hebrew* language among them made it necessary, that it should not only be read to them in the original *Hebrew*, but also interpreted in the *Chaldee*, which was then become their vulgar tongue, there was also a necessity of dividing the sections into verses, that they might be a direction both to the reader and the interpreter, where to make their stop at every alternative reading and interpreting, till they had verse by verse gone through the whole section. And in imitation hereof, the like division was afterwards made in all the rest of the holy scriptures. And a like necessity about the same time introduced the use of the vowel points, after they were forced to teach the *Hebrew* language by book, on its ceasing to be any longer vulgarly spoken among the people. And some time after the accents and pauses were invented for the same purpose, that is, for the easier and more distinct reading of the text, for which they are necessary helps, as far as they supply the place of a comma, a colon, or a full stop ; (which *Athnak*, *Revia*, and *Silluk* do) but as for the musical use, for which only the others were added to the *Hebrew* text, they are now wholly insignificant, it being long since absolutely forgot for what use they served.

III. THESE vowel points were for many ages only of private use among the *Masorites*, whereby they preserved to themselves the true readings of the holy scriptures, and taught them to their scholars ; but they were not received into the divinity-schools till after the making of the *Talmud*. For

* Elias Levita in *Masoreth Hammasoreth*.

there were two sorts of schools anciently among the *Jews*, the schools of the *Masorites*, and the schools of the *Rabbi's*. The former taught only the *Hebrew* language, and to read the scriptures in it, the others to understand the scriptures, and all the interpretations of them; and were the great doctors of divinity among them, to whom the *Masorites* were as much inferior, as the teachers of grammar-schools among us are to the professors of divinity in our universities. And therefore as long as these vowel points went no higher than the schools of these *Masorites*, they were of no regard among their learned men, or taken any notice of by them. And this is the reason that we find no mention of them, either in the *Talmud* or in the writings of *Origen*, or *Jerom*. But some time after the making of the *Talmud* (in what year or age is uncertain) the punctuation of the *Masorites* having been judged by the *Jewish* doctors to be as useful and necessary a way for the preserving of the traditionary readings of the *Hebrew* scriptures, as the *Mishnah* and *Gemara* had been then found to be for the preserving of the traditional rites, ceremonies, and doctrines of their religion, it was taken into their divinity-schools; and it having been there reviewed and corrected by the learnedest of their *Rabbi's*, and so formed and settled by them, as to be made to contain and mark out all those authentic readings, which they held to have been delivered down unto them by tradition from *Moses* and the prophets, who were the first penmen of them; ever since that time the points in the *Hebrew* scriptures have been by the *Jews* held of the same authority for the reading of them, as the *Mishnah* and the *Gemara* for the interpreting of them, and consequently as unalterable as the letters themselves. For they reckon them both of divine original, only with this difference, that the letters they say were written by the holy penmen themselves, but the readings, as now marked by the points, were delivered down from them by tradition only. However, they have never received them into their synagogues, but have there still continued the use of the holy scriptures in unpointed copies, and so do even to this day, because they so received them from the first holy penmen of them.

IV. ALL those criticisms in the *Masorah* that are upon the points, were made by such *Masorites* as lived after the points were received into the divinity schools of the *Jews*. For this profession of men continued from the time of *Ezra*, and the men of the great synagogue, to that of *Ben Asher* and *Ben Naphthali*,^a who were two famous *Masorites*, that lived about the year of our Lord 1030, and were the last of them. For they having, after many years labour spent herein, each of them published a copy of the whole *Hebrew* text, as correct as they could make it, the eastern *Jews* have followed that of *Ben Naphthali*, and the western *Jews* have followed that of *Ben Asher*, and all that hath been done ever since is exactly to copy after them, both as to the points and accents, as well as to the letters, without making any more corrections or *Masoritical* criticisms or observations upon either. These *Masorites*, who were the authors of the *Masorah* that is now extant, were a monstrous trifling sort of men, whose criticisms and observations went no higher, than the numbring of the verses, words, and letters, of every book in the *Hebrew* bible, and

^a Buxtorfius pater in præfatione ad Tiberiadem. Buxtorfius filius de antiquitate punctorum, part. 1. cap. 15. Zacutus in Juchasin. Shalsheth Haccabbala, Zemach David; Elias Levita; &c.

the marking out which was the middle verſe, word, and letter in each of them, and the making of other ſuch poor and low obſervations concerning them, as are not worth any man's reading, or taking notice of, whatever *Richard Simon* the *Frenchman* may ſay to the contrary.

V. THESE vowel points having been added to the text, with the beſt care, of thoſe who beſt underſtood the language, and having undergone the review and corrections of many ages, it may be reckoned that this work hath been done in the perfeſteſt manner that it can be done by man's art, and that none who ſhall undertake a new punctuation of the whole, can do it better; however ſince it was done only by man's art, it is no authentic part of the holy ſcriptures, and therefore theſe points are not ſo unalterably fixed to the text, but that a change may be made in them, when the nature of the context, or the analogy of grammar, or the ſtyle of the language, or any thing elſe ſhall give a ſufficient reaſon for it. And that eſpecially ſince, how exactly ſoever they may have been at any time affixed to the text, they are ſtill liable to the miſtakes of tranſcribers and printers, and by reaſon of their number, the ſmalneſs of their figures, and their poſition under the letters, are more likely to ſuffer by them, than any other ſort of writing whatſoever.

VI. It doth not from hence follow, that the ſacred text will therefore be left to an arbitrary and uncertain reading. For the genuine reading is as certain in the unpointed *Hebrew* books, as the genuine ſenſe is in the pointed; the former indeed may ſometimes be miſtaken or perverted, and ſo may the latter; and therefore whether the books be pointed or unpointed, this doth not alter the caſe to one who thoroughly knows the language, and will honeſtly read the ſame. Ignorant men may indeed miſtake the reading, and ill men may pervert it; but thoſe who are knowing and honeſt can do neither. For, except the bible, no other *Hebrew* book is pointed, unleſs ſome few of late by modern hands. All their *Rabbinical* authors are unpointed, and all their other books, to which the moderns have in ſome editions added points, were originally published without them, and ſo they ſtill are in the beſt editions; and yet this doth not hinder; but that every one who underſtands the *Hebrew* language, can rightly read them and rightly underſtand them. Were I to make my choice, I would deſire to have the bible with points, and all other *Hebrew* books without them. I would deſire the bible with points, becauſe they tell us how the *Jews* did anciently read the text. And I would have all other *Hebrew* books without them, becauſe in ſuch they rather hinder and clog the reading, than help it, to any one that thoroughly knows the language. And all that undertake to point ſuch books, may not always do it according to the true and genuine reading, as we have an inſtance in the pointed edition of the *Miſhnah* published in octavo by *Menaffe Ben Iſrael* at *Amſterdam*. And therefore it is much better to be left free to our own apprehenſions for the genuine reading, than be confined by another man's to that which may not be the genuine reading. Indeed to read without vowels may look very ſtrange to ſuch, who are converſant only with the modern *European* languages, in which often ſeveral conſonants come together without a vowel, and ſeveral vowels without a conſonant, and ſeveral of both often go to make up one ſyllable; and therefore if in them the conſonants were only written, it would be hard to find out what may be the word; but it is quite otherwiſe in the *Hebrew*. For in that lan-
guage

guage there is never more than one vowel in one syllable, and in most syllables only one consonant, and in none more than two, and therefore in most words the consonants confine us to the vowels, and determine how the word is to be read; and if not, at least the context doth. It must be acknowledged, that there are several combinations of the same consonants, which, as placed in the same order, are susceptible of different punctuations, and thereby make different words and of different significations, and therefore when put alone are of an uncertain reading; but it is quite otherwise when they are joyned in context with other words. For where the letters joined in the same word do not determine the reading, there the words joined in the same sentence always do; and this is no more than what we find in all other languages, and very often in our own. For we have many equivocal words, which being put alone are of an uncertain signification, but are always determin'd in the context. As for example, the word *let* in *English* when put alone by it self, hath not only two different, but two quite contrary meanings. For it signifies *to permit*, and it signifies also *to hinder*; but it never doth so in the context, but is thereby always so determined either to the one or to the other, that no one is ever led into a mistake hereby. And the same is to be said of all such words in *Hebrew*, as having the same letters are susceptible of various punctuations. The letters here cannot determine to the punctuation, because they being in each the same, are indifferent to either. But what the letters cannot do, when the word is put alone by it self, that the other words always do, with which it is joined in the context. And it is want of attention, or want of apprehension, if any one thoroughly skill'd in the *Hebrew* language makes a mistake herein; which may happen in the reading of any other books whatsoever. And therefore though the *Hebrew* bibles had never been pointed, we need not be sent either to the church of *Rome*, or any where else, for the fixing of the readings of it, the letters alone with the context being sufficient, when we thoroughly understand the language, to determine us thereto.

THERE is in the church of *St. Dominic* in *Bononia* a copy of the *Hebrew* scriptures, kept with a great deal of care, which they pretend to be the original copy written by *Ezra* himself; and therefore it is there valued at so high a rate, that great sums of money have been borrowed by the *Bononians* upon the pawn of it, and again repaid for its redemption. It is written in a very fair character, upon a sort of leather, and made up in a roll according to the ancient manner; but it having the vowel points annexed, and the writing being fresh and fair without any decay, both these particulars prove the novelty of that copy. But such forgeries are no uncommon things among the papistical sect.

BUT though *Ezra's* government over all *Judah* and *Jerusalem* expired with this year, yet his labour to serve the church of God did not here end; for still he went on as a preacher of righteousness, and a skilful scribe of the law of God, to perfect the reformation which he had begun, both in preparing for the people correct editions of the scriptures, and also in bringing all things in church and state to be conform to the rules

i Fini Adriani Flagellum Judæorum, lib. 9. c. 2. Tiffardi Ambacei grammatica Hebræa. Hottingeri Thesaurus Philologicus, p. 115. & p. 513.

thereof.

thereof. And this he continued to do as long as he lived; and herein he was thoroughly assisted and supported by the next governor, who coming to *Jerusalem* with the same intention, and the same zeal for promoting of the honour of God, and the welfare of his people in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, as *Ezra* did, he struck in heartily with him in the work; so that *Ezra* went on still to do the same things by the authority of the new governor, which he before did by his own. And by their thus joining together in the same holy undertaking, and their mutual assisting each other therein, it exceedingly prospered in their hands, till at length, notwithstanding all manner of oppositions both from within and from without, it was brought to full perfection forty nine years after it had been begun by *Ezra*. Whether *Ezra* lived so long, or not, is uncertain. But what he did not live to do, was completed by the piety and zeal of his successor, with an account of whose transactions I shall begin the next book.





THE
Old and New TESTAMENT
 Connected in the
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 JEWS and Neighbouring Nations,
 FROM THE
 Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
 to the time of CHRIST.

BOOK VI.



E who succeeded *Ezra* in the government of *Judah* An. 445.
 and *Jerusalem* was ^a *Nehemiah*, a very religious and Artax-
 most excellent person, one that was nothing behind his erxes 20.
 predecessor, saving his learning and great knowledge
 in the law of God. He came to *Jerusalem* in the ^b twen-
 tieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and by a commission
 from him superseded that of *Ezra*, and succeeded him in
 the government of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*. And he had in that commission,
 by an express clause therein inserted, full authority given him to repair the

^a Nehem. ii.

^b Nehem. ii. 1. and v. 14.

walls and set up the gates of *Jerusalem*, and to fortify it again in the same manner, as it was before it was dismantled and destroyed by the *Babylonians*. He was a *Jew*, whose ancestors had formerly been citizens of *Jerusalem*. For ^c there he saith was the place of his father's sepulchres. But as to the tribe or family which he was of, no more is said, but only that his father's name was *Hachaliah*; who seemeth to have been of those *Jews*, who having gotten good settlements in the land of their captivity, chose rather to abide in them, than return into their own countrey, when leave was granted for it. It is most likely, that he was an inhabitant of the city of *Shushan*; and that it was his dwelling there that gave his son an opportunity of gaining an advancement in the King's palace. For he was one of the cup-bearers of King *Artaxerxes*, ^d which was a place of great honour and advantage in the *Persian* court, because of the privilege it gave him of being daily in the King's presence, and the opportunity which he had thereby of gaining his favour, for the obtaining of any petition which he should make to him. And that especially since the times of his attendance always were, when the King was making his heart merry with the wine, which he served up unto him. For this is the best opportunity with all men, for the obtaining any boon that shall be desired of them, because they are always then in the best humour of complying. And it was ^e at such a time, that he asked the government of *Judea*, and obtained it. And by the like advantages of his place no doubt it was, that he gained those immense riches, which enabled him for so many years ^f out of his own private purse only, to live in his government with that splendor and expence as will be hereafter related, without burdening the people at all for it. And no doubt it was by the favour of Queen *Esther*, as being of the same nation and people with her, that he obtained so honourable and advantageous a preferment in that court. However, neither the honour and advantage of this place, nor the long settlement of his family out of his countrey, could make him forget his love for it, or lay aside that zeal which he had for the religion of his forefathers, who had formerly dwelt in it. For though he had been born and bred in a strange land, yet he had a great love for *Sion*, and an heart thoroughly set for the advancing the prosperity of it, and was in all things a very religious observer of the law of his God. And therefore ^g when some came from *Jerusalem*, and told him of the ill state of that city, how the walls of it were still in many places broken down, and the gates of it in the same demolished state as when burnt with fire by the *Babylonians*, and that by reason hereof the remnant of the captivity that dwelt there lay open, not only to the incursions and insults of their enemies, but also to the reproach and contempt of their neighbours, as a weak and despicable people, and that they were in both these respects in great affliction and grief of heart; the good man being suitably moved with this representation, applyed himself in fasting and prayer unto the Lord his God, and earnestly supplicated to him for his people *Israel*, and the place which he had chosen for his worship among them. And having thus implored the divine mercy against this evil, he resolved next to make his application to the King for the redressing of it, trusting in God for the inclining of his heart thereto. And therefore

^c Nehem. ii. 3.^d Vide Briffonium de Regno Persiæ, lib. 1. §. 93.^e Nehem. ii. 1.^f Nehem. v. 14---19.^g Nehem. i.

when

when his turn came next to wait in his office, the ^b King observing his countenance to be sad, which at other times used not so to be, and asking the cause thereof, he took this opportunity to lay before him the distressed state of his countrey, and owning this to be a cause of great grief and sadness unto him, he prayed the King to send him thither to remedy it; and by the favour of Queen *Esther* he had his petition granted unto him. For it being particularly remarked ⁱ in the sacred text, that the Queen was sitting by the King when *Nehemiah* obtained this grant, it sufficiently intimates that her favour was assisting to him herein. And accordingly a royal decree was issued out for the rebuilding of the walls and gates of *Jerusalem*, and *Nehemiah* was sent thither with it, as governor of the province of *Judea*, to put it in execution. And to do him the more honour, the King sent a guard of horse with him, under the command of some of the captains of his army, to conduct him in safety to his government. And he wrote letters to all the governors on this side the river *Euphrates*, to further him in the work on which he was sent; and also gave his order to *Asaph* the keeper of his forests in those parts, to allow him as much timber out of them, as should be needed for the finishing of it. However the *Ammonites*, the *Moabites*, and the *Samaritans*, and other neighbouring nations round, did all they could to hinder him from proceeding therein. And to this they were excited, not only by the ancient and bitter enmity, which those people bore to the whole *Jewish* nation, because of the different manners and different religions which they were of, but most especially at this time, because of their lands. For during the time that the *Jews* were in captivity, these nations having seized their lands, were forced ^k to restore them on their return. For which reason they did all they could to oppose their resettlement, hoping that if they could be kept low, they might find an opportunity some time or other of resuming again the prey they had lost. But *Nehemiah* was not at all discouraged hereat. For having, on his arrival at *Jerusalem*, made known to the people the commission with which he was sent, he took a view of the ruins of the old walls, and ^l immediately set about the repairing of them, dividing the people into several companies, and assigning to each of them the quarter where they were to work; but reserving to himself the reviewal and direction of the whole, in which he laboured so effectually, that all ^m was accomplished by the end of the month *Elul*, within the compass of fifty two days, notwithstanding all manner of opposition that was made against him, both from within and from without. For from within several false prophets and other treacherous persons endeavoured to create him obstructions; and from without *Sanballat the Horonite*, *Tobias the Ammonite*, *Geshem the Arabian*, and several others, gave him all the disturbance they were able, not only by underhand dealings, and treacherous tricks and contrivances, but also by open force; so that while part of the people laboured in carrying on the building, the other part stood to their arms to defend them against the assaults of such as had designs against them. And all had their arms at hand, even while they worked, to be ready at a signal given to draw together to any part, where the enemy should be discovered to be coming upon them. And by this means they secured them-

^b Nehem. ii.ⁱ Nehem. ii. 6.^k Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 4.^l Nehem. iii. and iv.^m Nehem. vi.

selves against all the attempts and designs of their enemies, till the work was brought to a conclusion. And when they had thus far finished the walls, and set up the gates; a publick dedication of them^a was celebrated with great solemnity by the priests and *Levites*, and all the people.

THE burden which the people underwent in the carrying on of this work, and the incessant labour which they were forced to undergo to bring it to so speedy a conclusion, being very great, and such as made^b many of them faint and groan under it, and express a despair of being able to perfect it: to revive their drooping spirits, and make them the more easy and ready to proceed in that, which was farther to be done, ^c care was taken to relieve them from a much greater burden, the oppression of usurers, which they then in great misery lay under, and had much greater reason to complain of. For the rich taking advantage of the necessities of the meaner sort, had exacted heavy usury of them, making them pay the *Centesima* for all monies lent them, ^d that is, one *per Cent.* for every month, which amounted to twelve *per Cent.* for the whole year; so that they were forced to mortgage their lands, and sell their children into servitude, to have wherewith to buy bread for the support of themselves and their families; which being a manifest breach of the law of God, given them by *Moses*, (for^e that forbids all the race of *Israel* to take usury of any of their brethren) *Nehemiah*, on his hearing hereof, resolved forthwith to remove so great an iniquity; in order whereto he called a general assembly of all the people, where having set forth unto them the nature of the offence, how great a breach it was of the divine law, and how heavy an oppression upon their brethren, and how much it might provoke the wrath of God against them, he caused it to be enacted by the general suffrage of that whole assembly, that all should return to their brethren whatsoever had been exacted of them upon usury, and also release all the lands, vineyards, olive-yards and houses, which had been taken of them upon mortgage on the account hereof.

AND thus far *Nehemiah* having executed the main of the end for which he obtained the favour of the King to be sent to *Jerusalem*, he appointed *Hanani* and *Hananiah* to be governors of the city, and returned again unto him into *Persia*. For a time^f had been set him for his return again to court, when he first obtained to be sent from thence on this commission, which as expressed in the text plainly imports a short time, and not that of twelve years, (after which^g he again went unto the King) as some do interpret it. And his having appointed governors of the city as soon as the walls were built, evidently implies, that he then went from thence, and was absent for some time. For had he still continued at *Jerusalem*, he would not have needed any deputies to govern the place. And farthermore, the building of the walls of *Jerusalem* being all for which he prayed his first commission, when this was performed, he seems to have needed a new authority before he could go on to other proceedings, which were necessary for the well settling of the affairs of that countrey. But on his coming to the King, and having given him an account how all things stood in the province, and what farther was needful to be done for

^a Nehem. xii.^b Nehem. iv. 10.^c Nehem. v.^d Nehem. v. 11. Vide Sal-

masium de fœnore Trapezitico.

^e Exod. xxii. 25. Levit. xxv. 36, 37. Deut. xxiii. 19.^f Nehem. ii. 6.^g Nehem. xiii. 6.

the well regulating of it, he soon obtained to be sent back again to take care hereof; and the shortness of his absence seems to have been the cause that there is no notice taken of it in the text, tho' the particulars I have mentioned seem sufficiently to imply it.

NEHEMIAH being returned from the *Persian* court with a new commission, forthwith set himself to carry on the reformation of the church and the state of the *Jews*, which *Ezra* had begun, and took along with him the advice and direction of that learned and holy scribe in all that he attempted herein. The first thing that he did was to provide for the security of the city which he had now fortified, by settling rules for the opening and shutting of the gates, and keeping watch and ward on the towers and walls. But ^v finding *Jerusalem* to be but thinly inhabited, and that to make this burthen more easy, there needed more inhabitants to bear their share with them in it, he projected the thorough re-peopling of the place. In order whereto ^w he prevailed first with the rulers and great men of the nation, to agree to build them houses there, and dwell in them. And then others following their example, offered themselves voluntarily to do the same. And of the rest of the people every tenth man was taken by lot, and obliged to come to *Jerusalem*, and there build them houses, and settle themselves and families in them. And now the city was fortified, and all that had their dwelling in it were there well secured by walls and gates, against the insults of their enemies, and the incursions of thieves and robbers who before molested them, all willingly complied herewith; by which means the houses, as well as the walls and gates, being again rebuilt, and fully replenished with inhabitants, it soon after this recovered its ancient lustre, and became again a city of great note in those parts. So that *Herodotus*, who travelled thorough *Judea* a little after this time, doth in the description which he gives us of it ^x compare it to *Sardis*, the metropolis of all the *lesser Asia*, ^y as hath been before observed; which manifestly proves, that by the restoring and building of the street and ditch of *Jerusalem*, mentioned in the prophecy of *Daniel*, could not be meant this rebuilding of the walls and void places of that city. For what was predicted by that passage was not to be done but in seven weeks of years, that is, forty nine years. It must be acknowledged that *Herodotus* is said ^z by *Eusebius* to have publicly read his history at *Athens* in the last year of the eighty third *Olympiad*, (that is, four hundred forty five years before *Christ*) and by ^a others to have gone the next year after (which is this very year four hundred forty four, of which we now treat) with a colony of *Athenians*, and other *Greeks*, into *Italy*, to inhabit *Thurium*, ^b a city then newly built near the place where formerly *Sibaris* stood; and therefore it may be from hence urged against what I have here said, that *Herodotus* must before this time have ended his travels which he undertook for the making of this history, since this his history was finished and publicly read at *Athens* the year before. To this I reply, that though he had read the first draught of this history at the time when *Eusebius* saith, yet he had not completed it till at least thirty three years after. For there-

Az. 444.
Artax-
erxes 21.

^v Nehem. vii. 3, 4.

^w Nehem. xi.

^x Herodot. lib. iii. initio libri.

^y See above, under the year 610.

^z In Chronico sub Olympiade 83.

^a Dionysius Ha-

licarnassens in vita Lysiae Oratoris. Plinius, lib. xii. c. 4. Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 656.

^b Diodor. Sic. lib. xii. p. 76, 77, 78.

in he makes mention of the *Peloponnesian* war, and of things done in it, ^c in the second, and also ^d in the nineteenth year of that war, which last was the thirty third year after that, wherein he is said by *Eusebius* to have publicly read that history at *Athens*, and therefore it could not have been fully completed by him till after that year. The truth of the matter appears plainly to have been thus: In the year four hundred forty five before *Christ*, which was the last year of the eighty third *Olympiad*, he did read his first draught of this history at *Athens*, being then thirty nine years old, but employed all his life after farther to polish and complete it; and did not put his last hand to it till after the nineteenth year of the *Peloponnesian* war, which was the thirty third after his first reading it at *Athens*. The next year after his having reading it there, he went thence with the colony to *Thuriūm*, that is, in the first year of the eighty fourth *Olympiad*, which was ^e the three hundred and tenth of the building of *Rome*, according to the *Varronian* account, and ^f twelve years before the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* war. And on his settling in that place, he revised what he had publicly read at *Athens*, from whence it is that he is said by *Pliny* there to have made this history. And after his having continued some time at *Thuriūm*, he travelled from thence into the east for the farther completing of this history, and also for the gaining of materials for another, which he was then composing, of *Assyria* and *Babylon*. But this last was never published, ^g though he refers to it in his other history now extant; the reason, it's supposed, was, that he liv'd not to finish it, though by the above-mentioned account it appears he out-lived the seventy second year of his age, and by ^h other particulars in his history it seems most likely that he lived much longer. And, I doubt not, it was in those travels which he undertook from *Thuriūm*, that he went through *Judea*, and there saw *Jerusalem*, which he calls *Cadytis*. For that the city, which he describes under that name, could be none other than *Jerusalem*, I have already shewn.

NEHEMIAH finding it necessary to have the genealogies of the people well examined into, and clearly stated, ⁱ betook himself in the next place to enquire into the matter. And this he did, not only for the sake of their civil rights, that all knowing of what tribe and family they were, they might thereby be directed where to take their possessions; but especially for the sake of the sanctuary, that none might be admitted to officiate there either as *Levites*, which were not of the tribe of *Levi*, or as priests, which were not of the family of *Aaron*. And therefore for the true settling of this matter, search was made for the old registers, and having among them found a register of the genealogies of those who came up at first from *Babylon* with *Zerubbabel* and *Jeshua*, he settled this matter according to it, adding such as afterwards came up, and expunging others, whose families were extinguished; and this hath caused the difference that is between the accounts which we have of these genealogies in *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*. For in the ii^d chapter of *Ezra* we have the old register made by *Zerubbabel*, and in the viith of *Nehemiah*, from the 6th verse to the end of the chap-

^c Herodot. lib. 7.

Halicarnassens in vita Lysiae Oratoris.

sub anno I. P. 4306.

^d Herodot. lib. 9.ⁱ Nehem. vii.^e Plinius, lib. xii. c. 4.^g Herodot. lib. 1.^f Dionysius^h Vide Usserii Annales

ter, a copy of it, as settled by *Nehemiah* with the alterations I have mentioned.

EZRA having completed his edition of the law of God, and written it out fairly and correctly in the *Chaldean* character,^j did this year on the feast of trumpets publicly read it to the people at *Jerusalem*. This feast was celebrated^k on the first of *Tisri*, the seventh month of the *Jews* ecclesiastical year, and the first of their civil year. Their coming out of *Egypt* having been in the month of *Nisan*,^l from that time the beginning of the year in all ecclesiastical matters was reckoned among them from the beginning of that month, (which happened about the time of the vernal equinox) but^m in all civil matters, as in contracts, bargains, and such like, they still continued to go by the old form, and begun their year from the first of *Tisri*, (which happened about the time of the autumnal equinox) as all other nations of the east then did, (as hath been afore observ'd) and all instruments and writings relating to contracts, bargains, or other civil matters among them, were dated according to this year; andⁿ all their jubilees and^o sabbatical years begun with it. And therefore it being reckoned their new-years day they celebrated it with a festival. And this festival being solemnized by the sounding of trumpets, from the morning of that day to the end of it, thereby to proclaim and give notice to all of the beginning of the new year, it hath from hence been called the feast of trumpets. For the celebrating of this feast,^p the people being assembled from all parts of the land at *Jerusalem*, and understanding that *Ezra* had finished his revisal of the law, and written out a correct copy of it, they called upon him to have it read unto them. Whereon a scaffold, or large pulpit, being erected in the largest street of the city, where most might stand to hear, *Ezra* ascended into it with thirteen others of the principal elders of the people, and having placed six of them on his right hand, and seven on his left, he stood up in the midst of them, and having blessed the Lord, the great God, he began to read the law out of the *Hebrew* text. And as he did read it in this language, thirteen others of the *Levites*, whom he had instructed and appointed for this purpose, rendred it period by period into *Chaldee*, which was then the vulgar language of the people, and therein gave them the meaning of every particular part, and made them understand the same. And thus the holy scribe, with these his assistants, continued from morning till noon to read and explain unto the people the law of God, in such manner as might best make them to know and understand it. But it being a festival day, when the time of dining approached, *Nehemiah* and *Ezra*, and the rest, that were assisting to them in thus instructing the people, dismissed them for that time to their dinner, to eat and drink, and rejoice before the Lord the remaining part of the day, because it was consecrated to be thus kept holy unto him. But the next morning they assembled again in the same place, and *Ezra* and his assistants went on farther to read and explain to them the law of God, in the same manner as they had done the day before; and when they came to the 23^d chapter of *Leviticus*, wherein is written the law of the feast of tabernacles, and had from thence explained unto them the obligation which

^j Nehem. viii.

^k Numb. xxix. 1. Levit. xxiii. 24.

^l Exod. xii. 2.

^m Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. c. 4. Talmud in Rosh Hashanah.

ⁿ Levit. xxv. 9.

^o Levit. xxv. 8, 9. Maimonides de anno sabbatico.

^p Nehem. viii.

was upon them to observe this festival, and shewn them, that the fifteenth day of that month was the day appointed for the beginning of it, this excited an eager desire in all the people of fulfilling the law of God in this particular. And therefore proclamation was forthwith made through all *Judah* to give notice of the festival, and to warn all to be present at *Jerusalem* on the said fifteenth day of that month, for the observing of it. And accordingly they came thither at the time prescribed, and as they had been instructed from the law of God, prepared booths made of the branches of trees, and kept the festival in them through the whole seven days of its continuance, in such solemn manner, as had not been observed before from the days of *Joshua* to that time. *Ezra* taking the advantage of having the people in so great a number thus assembled together, and so well disposed towards the law of God, and the observance of it, went on with his assistants farther to read and explain it unto them, in the same manner as had been done in the two former days; and this they did day by day, from the first day to the last day of the festival, till they had gone through the whole law. By which the people perceiving in how many things they had transgressed the commands of God, through the ignorance in which they had been kept of them, (for till now the law had never been read to them since their return from *Babylon*) expressed great trouble of heart hereat, being much grieved for their sins, and exceedingly terrified with the fear of God's wrath for the punishment of them. *Nehemiah* and *Ezra* finding them in so good a temper, applied themselves to make the best improvement that could be made of it, for the honour of God and the interest of religion, and therefore ^a forthwith proclaimed a fast to be held the next day save one after the festival was ended, that is, on the twenty fourth day of the same month, to which having called all the people, while the sense of these things was fresh and warm on their minds, they excited them to make a publick and solemn confession before God of all their sins, and also to enter into a solemn vow and covenant with God, to avoid them for the future, and strictly hold themselves fast to the observance of God's laws. The observances which they chiefly obliged themselves to in this covenant, were; 1st, Not to make intermarriages with the *Gentiles*, either by giving their daughters to them, or by taking any of their daughters to themselves; 2^{dly}, To observe the sabbaths and sabbatical years; 3^{dly}, To pay their annual tribute to the temple, for the repairing of it, and the finding of all necessaries for the carrying on of the publick service in it; and, 4^{thly}, To pay the tithes and first fruits to the priests and *Levites*. Which particulars thus especially named in this covenant shew unto us, what were the laws of God, which hitherto they had been most neglectful of since their return from their captivity.

AND it being their ignorance of the law of God that had led them into these transgressions against it, and this ignorance having been occasioned by their not having it read unto them, for the preventing hereof for the future, they from this time got the learnedest of the *Levites*, and other scribes, that were best skill'd in the law of God, to read it unto them in every city, which at first they did no doubt in the same manner as *Ezra* had done, that is, by gathering the people together to them in some wide street, or other open place of their city, which was of fittest capacity to

receive them. But the inconvenience of this being soon felt, especially in the winter and stormy seasons of the year, for the remedy hereof they erected them houses or tabernacles, wherein to meet for this purpose, and this was the original of synagogues among them. That they had no synagogues before the *Babylonish* captivity is plain, not only from the silence which is of them in all the scriptures of the *Old Testament*, but also from several passages therein, which evidently prove there could be none in those days. For as it is a common saying among the *Jews*, 'that where there is no book of the law, there can be no synagogue; so the reason of the thing proves it. For the main service of the synagogue being the reading of the law unto the people, where there was no book of the law to be read, there certainly could be no synagogue. But how rare the book of the law was through all *Judah* before the *Babylonish* captivity, many texts of scripture tell us. When *Jehosaphat* sent teachers through all *Judah*, to instruct the people in the law of God, they 'carried a book of the law with them, which they needed not have done, if there had been any copies of the law in those cities to which they went; which certainly there would have been, had there then been any synagogues in them; it being the same absurdity to suppose a *Jewish* synagogue without a copy of the law, as it would with us to suppose a parish church without a bible. And therefore as this proves the want of the law through all *Judah* in those times, so doth it also the want of synagogues in them. And when ' *Hilkiah* found the law in the temple, neither he nor King *Josiah* needed have been so surprised at it, had books of the law been common in those times. Their behaviour on that occasion sufficiently proves they had never seen it before, which could not be, had there then been any other copies of it to be found among the people. And if there were no copies of the law at that time among them, there could then be most certainly no synagogues for them to resort to, for the hearing of it read unto them. From hence it plainly follows, there could be no synagogues among the *Jews*, till after the *Babylonish* captivity. And it is most probable, that *Exra's* reading to them the law, and the necessity which thereon they perceived there was, of having it oftner read among them for their instruction in it, gave them the occasion of erecting them after the captivity, in the manner as I have related; and most 'learned men are of this opinion, and 'some of the *Jews* themselves say as much. Concerning these synagogues I think it proper here to inform the reader; 1^o, In what places they were to be erected; 2^o, What was the service to be performed in them; 3^o, What were the times of their assembling for this service; and 4^o, Who were their ministers to perform it.

I. As to the first, their rule was, that a synagogue was to be erected in every place, 'where there were ten *Batelnim*, that is, ten persons of full age and free condition, always at leisure to attend the service of it. For less than ten such according to them did not make a congregation, and without such a congregation present, no part of the synagogue service

' Midrash Esther 123. 1. Tanchuma 54. 2. ' 2 Chron. xvii. 9. ' 2 Kings xxii.
' Spencer de Legibus Heb. lib. 1. c. 4. §. 10. Vitringa de Synagoga vetere, lib. 1. part. 2. cap. 9,
10, 11, 12. Relandus in Antiquit. Sacr. part. 1. cap. 10. ' Maimonides in Tephillah.
' Megillah, cap. 1. §. 3. Maimonides in Tephillah. See also Lightfoot in his Harmony, §. 17.
and in his Talmudical exercitationes upon St. Matthew iv. 23.

could be performed ; and therefore wherever they could always be secure of such a congregation, that is, of ten such persons to be present at the service, in all the stated times in which it was to be performed, there they were to build a synagogue. For where ten such persons might always be had at leisure to attend the synagogue in all their religious assemblies, this they reckoned a great city, and here they would have a synagogue to be built, but not otherwise. For I take the rule above-mentioned to be restrictive in the negative sense, as well as obligatory in the affirmative, and to shew where a synagogue ought not to be built, as well as where it ought, that is, that no synagogue ought to be built in any place, where there were not such a number of inhabitants, as might give a reasonable presumption, that there would be always ten persons at leisure to be present in every synagogue assembly, and that as well on the week days as on their sabbaths, because without such a number they could not go on with the synagogue service. At first these synagogues were few, but afterwards they became multiplied to a great number in the same manner as parish churches with us, which they much resembled. So that in our Saviour's time, there was no town in *Judea* but what had one or more of them. The *Jews* tell us, that about that time ^y *Tiberias* alone, which was a city of *Galilee*, had twelve of them, and *Jerusalem* ^z four hundred and eighty ; but herein they are supposed to have spoken hyperbolically, and to have expressed an uncertain large number by a certain. If this were to be understood strictly and literally, what is said ^a by some of these ten *Batelnim*, that they were the stationary men of the synagogue, hired to be always present to make a congregation, must be understood of many of them. For were their number so multiplied, they could not otherwise in every one of them be always sure of a congregation, especially on the working days of the week, two of which were always solemn synagogue days, as well as the sabbaths. It is *Lightfoot's* opinion, that these ten *Batelnim* were the elders and ministers that governed and managed the synagogue service ; but this is said without a sufficient foundation to support it.

II. THE service to be performed in these synagogue assemblies were prayers, reading the scriptures, and preaching and expounding upon them.

Iⁿ, FOR their prayers they have liturgies, in which are all the prescribed forms of their synagogue worship. These at first were very few, but since they are increased unto a very large bulk, which makes their synagogue service very long and tedious ; and the rubric, by which they regulate it, is very perplex'd and intricate, and encumber'd with many rites and ceremonious observances ; in all which, they equal, if not exceed, both the superstition, and also the length of the popish service. The most solemn part of their prayers are those, which they call ^b *Shemoneh Eshreh*, i. e. *The eighteen prayers*. These they say were composed and instituted by *Ezra*, and the great synagogue ; and to them *Rabbi Gamaliel*, a little before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, added the nineteenth against the christians, who are therein meant under the names of apostates and hereticks. It is certain these prayers are very ancient. For mention is made of them ^c in the *Mishna* as old settled forms ; and no doubt is to be made but that

^y Berachoth, f. 8.
Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 292.
choth, cap. 4. §. 3.

^z See *Lightfoot's Chorographical Century*, c. 36.
^b Of these see *Maimonides* in *Tephillah*.

^a Buxtorfii
^c In Bera-

they were used in our Saviour's time; at least most of them, ^a if not all the eighteen, and consequently that he joined in them with the rest of the *Jews*, whenever he went into their synagogues, as ^c he always did every sabbath day. And from hence two things may be inferr'd for the consideration of our dissenters; 1st, That our Saviour disliked not set forms of prayer in publick worship. And, 2^{dly}, That he was contented to join with the publick in the meanest forms, rather than separate from it. For these eighteen prayers in comparison of those now used in our church, are very jejune and empty forms; and that the reader may see they are so, I shall here add a translation of them in the same order as they are in the *Jewish* liturgies, adding the nineteenth prayer to them, which according to the said order is the twelfth in number, as here recited.

1. *BLESSED be thou, O Lord, our God, the God of our fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, the God of Jacob, the great God, powerful and tremendous, the high God, bountifully dispensing benefits, the creator and possessor of the universe, who remembrest the good deeds of our fathers, and in thy love sendest a redeemer to those, who are descended from them, for thy name sake, O King, our helper, our saviour and our shield. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who art the shield of Abraham.*

2. *THOU, O Lord, art powerful for ever. Thou raisest the dead to life, and art mighty to save; thou sendest down the dew, stillest the winds, and makest the rain to come down upon the earth, and sustaineest with thy beneficence all that live therein; and of thy abundant mercy makest the dead again to live. Thou helpest up those that fall; thou curest the sick; thou loosest them that are bound, and makest good thy word of truth to those that sleep in the dust. Who is to be compared to thee, O thou Lord of might? and who is like unto thee, O our King, who killest and makest alive, and makest salvation to spring up as the herb out of the field? Thou art faithful to make the dead to rise again to life. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who raisest the dead again to life.*

3. *THOU art holy, and thy name is holy, and thy saints do praise thee every day. Selah. For a great King and an holy art thou, O God. Blessed art thou, O Lord God most holy.*

4. *THOU of thy mercy givest knowledge unto men, and teachest them understanding; give graciously unto us knowledge, wisdom, and understanding. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who graciously givest knowledge unto men.*

5. *BRING us back, O our father, to the observance of thy law, and make us to adhere to thy precepts; and do thou, O our King, draw us near to thy worship, and convert us unto thee by perfect repentance in thy presence. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who vouchsafest to receive us by repentance.*

6. *BE thou merciful unto us, O our Father, for we have sinned; pardon us, O our King, for we have transgressed against thee. For thou art a God, good and ready to pardon. Blessed art thou, O Lord, most gracious, who multipliest thy mercies in the forgiveness of sins.*

7. *LOOK, we beseech thee, upon our afflictions. Be thou on our side in*

^a It must be acknowledged, that some of these prayers seem to have been composed after the destruction of Jerusalem, and to have reference to it, especially the 10th, the 11th, the 14th, and the 17th. Tho' it is possible some of these might refer to the calamities of the ancient times. ^c Luke iv. 16.

all our contentions, and plead thou our cause in all our litigations, and make haste to redeem us with a perfect redemption for thy name's sake. For thou art our God, our King, and a strong redeemer. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Israel.

8. *HEAL us, O Lord our God, and we shall be healed. Save us, and we shall be saved. For thou art our praise. Bring unto us sound health, and a perfect remedy for all our infirmities, and for all our griefs, and for all our wounds. For thou art a God who healest, and art merciful. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who curest the diseases of thy people Israel.*

9. *BLESS us, O Lord our God, in every work of our hands, and bless unto us the seasons of the year, and give us the dew and the rain to be a blessing unto us upon the face of all our land, and satiate the world with thy blessings, and send down moisture upon every part of the earth that is habitable. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who givest thy blessing to the years.*

10. *CONVOcate us together by the sound of the great Trumpet to the enjoyment of our Liberty, and lift up thy ensign to call together all of the captivity, from the four quarters of the earth into our own land. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest together the exiles of the people of Israel.*

11. *RESTORE unto us our judges as at the first, and our counsellors as at the beginning, and remove far from us affliction and trouble; and do thou only reign over us in benignity, and in mercy, and in righteousness, and in justice. Blessed art thou, O Lord our King, who lovest righteousness and justice.*

12. *LET there be no hope to them who apostatise from the true religion; and let heretics, how many soever they be, all perish as in a moment. And let ^e the kingdom of pride be speedily rooted out, and broken in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who destroyest the wicked, and bringest down the proud.*

13. *UPON the pious and the just, and upon ^h the Proselytes of Justice, and upon the remnant of thy people of the house of Israel, let thy mercies be moved, O Lord our God, and give a good reward unto all who faithfully put their trust in thy name, and grant us our portion with them, and for ever let us not be ashamed; for we put our trust in thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who art the support and confidence of the just.*

14. *DWELL thou in the midst of Jerusalem thy city, as thou hast promised, build it with a building to last for ever; and do this speedily, even in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who buildest Jerusalem.*

15. *MAKE the offspring of David thy servant speedily to grow up and flourish, and let our horn be exalted in thy salvation. For we hope for thy salvation every day. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest the horn of our salvation to flourish.*

16. *HEAR our voice, O Lord our God, most merciful father, pardon and have mercy upon us, and accept of our Prayers with mercy and favour,*

^f This is the prayer which was added by Rabbi Gamaliel against the Christians; or, as others say, by Rabbi Samuel the little, who was one of his scholars. ^g The Roman empire.

^h The proselytes of justice were such as received the whole Jewish law, and conformed in all things to their religion. Other proselytes there were, who conformed only to the seven precepts of the sons of Noah, and these were called the proselytes of the gate, because they worshipped only in the outer court of the temple, and were admitted no farther than the gate leading into the inner courts.

and send us not away empty from thy presence, O our King. For thou hearest with mercy the prayer of thy people Israel. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hearest prayer.

17. *BE thou well pleased, O Lord our God, with thy people Israel, and have regard unto their prayers. Restore thy worship to the inner part of thy house, and make haste with favour and love to accept of the burnt sacrifices of Israel, and their prayers; and let the worship of Israel thy people be continually well pleasing unto thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who restorest thy divine presence to Zion.*

18. *WE will give thanks unto thee with praise. For thou art the Lord our God, the God of our fathers for ever and ever. Thou art our rock, and the rock of our life, the shield of our salvation. To all generations will we give thanks unto thee, and declare thy praise, because of our life which is always in thy hands, and because of our souls which are ever depending upon thee, and because of thy signs which are every day with us, and because of thy wonders, and marvellous loving-kindnesses, which are morning and evening, and night, continually before us. Thou art good, for thy mercies are not consumed; thou art merciful, for thy loving-kindnesses fail not. For ever we hope in thee; and for all these mercies be thy name, O King, blessed, and exalted, and lifted up on high for ever and ever; and let all that live give thanks unto thee. Selah. And let them in truth and sincerity praise thy name, O God of our salvation and our help. Selah. Blessed art thou, O Lord, whose name is good, and whom it is fitting always to give thanks unto.*

19. *GIVE peace, beneficence, and benediction, grace, benignity, and mercy unto us, and to Israel thy people. Bless us, O our father, even all of us together as one man, with the light of thy countenance. For in the light of thy countenance hast thou given unto us, O Lord our God, the law of life, and love, and benignity, and righteousness, and blessing, and mercy, and life, and peace. And let it seem good in thine Eyes, to bless thy people Israel with thy peace at all times, and in every moment. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who blessest thy people Israel with peace. Amen.*

SINCE our Saviour spared not freely to tell the Jews of all the corruptions which they had in his time run into, and on all occasions reproached them therewith, had it been contrary to the will of God to use set forms of prayer in his publick service, or had it been displeasing to him to be addressed to in such mean forms, when much better might have been made, we may be sure he would have told them of both, and joined with them in neither: But he having never found fault with them for using set forms, but on the contrary taught his own disciples a set form to pray by; nor at any time expressed a dislike of the forms then in use because of the meanness and emptyness of them, but always joined with them in their synagogues in the forms above recited. This may satisfy our dissenters, if any thing can satisfy men so perversly bent after their own ways, that neither our using set forms of prayers in our publick worship, nor the using of such which they think not sufficiently edifying, can be objections sufficient to justify them in their refusal to joyn with us in them. For they have the example of *Christ* in both these thus directly against them. The truth is, whether there be a form or no form, or whether the form be elegantly or meanly composed, nothing of this availeth to the recommending of our

prayers unto God. It is the true and sincere devotion of the heart only, that can make them acceptable unto him. For it is this only that gives life and vigor, and true acceptance to all our religious addresses unto him. Without this, how elegantly and moving soever the prayer may be composed, and with how much seeming fervor and zeal soever it may be poured out, all is as dead matter, and of no validity in the presence of our God. But if we bring this with us to his worship, any form of prayer, provided it be of sound words, may be sufficient to make us and our worship acceptable unto him, and obtain mercy, peace, and pardon from him. For it is not the fineness of speech, or the elegancy of expression, but the sincerity of the mind, and the true devotion of the heart only, that God regards in all our prayers which we offer up unto him. It is true, a new gingle of words, and a fervent delivery of them by the minister in prayer, may have some effect upon the auditors, and often raise in such of them, as are affected this way, a devotion which otherwise they would not have. But this being wholly artificial, which all drops again as soon as the engine is removed that raised it, it is none of that true habitual devotion, which can alone render us acceptable unto our God in any of our addresses unto him. This we ought to bring with us, whenever we come into the house of God to worship before him, and with this in any form, which is of sound words, we may pray acceptably unto him, and none can ever do so without it. But whether any form of such sound words can be well preserved in those extemporary effusions of prayer which some delight in, whether this doth not often lead them into undecent, and sometimes into blasphemous expressions, to the great dishonour of God, and the damage of religion, it behoves those, who are for this way, seriously to consider.

BUT to return from whence I have digressed: ⁱ These nineteen prayers were enjoined to be said by all that were of age, of what sex, or condition soever, either in publick or in private, three times every day, that is, in the morning, in the afternoon, and at night. And they were of that esteem, and are so still among them, that they allow the name of prayer to be proper to the saying of these nineteen prayers only, looking on it by way of eminence to be much more so, than the saying of all the rest. And therefore they are on every synagogue day offered up in the solemnest manner in all their publick assemblies. But these prayers are, in their offices, no other than as the Lord's prayer in ours; that is, they are the fundamental and principal part. For besides them they have many other prayers, some going before, others interspersed between them, and others following after, which all together make their synagogue-service very long. ^k Our Saviour found fault with their prayers for being too long in his time; many additions in their liturgies have made them much more so since.

2. THE second part of their synagogue-service is the reading of the scriptures, which is of three sorts: 1st, The *Kiriath Shema*; 2^d, The reading of the law; and 3^d, The reading of the prophets. Of the two latter I have already spoken, and therefore I shall now treat only of the first. ^l It consists in the reading of three portions of scripture. The first is from the beginning of the 4th verse of the vith chapter of *Deuteronomy*, to the end

ⁱ Maimonides in Tephillah.

^k Matth. xxiii. 14. Mark xii. 14. Luke xx. 47.

^l Maimonides in Kiriath Shema. Vitringa de synagoga veteri, lib. 3. part. 2. cap. 15.

of the 9th verse; the second, from the beginning of the 13th verse of the xith chapter of *Deuteronomy*, to the end of the 21st verse; and the third, from the beginning of the 37th verse of the xvth chapter of *Numbers*, to the end of the chapter. And because the first of these portions in the *Hebrew* bible begins with the word *Shema*, i. e. *hear*, they call all these three together the *Shema*, and the reading of them *Kiriath Shema*, that is, *the reading of the Shema*. This reading of the *Shema* is accompanied with several prayers and benedictions, both before and after it, and is, next the saying of the nineteen prayers, the solemnest part of their religious service, and is in the same manner as that to be performed according to their ritual every day, (that is, either publicly in their synagogue-assemblies, or else privately out of them, on those days when there are no such assemblies, or when they cannot be present at them) only with this difference, that whereas the nineteen prayers are to be said thrice every day, and by every person of age without any exception; the reading or repeating of the *Shema* is only to be twice a day, that is, morning and evening; and the males only, which are of free condition, are obliged to it, all women and servants being excused from the duty. They think they are bound to the repeating of this *Shema* every morning and evening, because of the words of the law, *Deuter. vi. 7. And thou shalt talk of them---when thou liest down, and when thou risest up*; and also because of the like words, *Deuter. xi. 19*. The reading or repeating of this *Shema*, in the manner as is here related, they think is of great moment for the preserving of religion among them, as most certainly it must be, because thereby they do twice every day make confession of the unity of God, and of the duties which they owe unto him.

3. THE third part of the synagogue-service is the expounding of the scriptures, and preaching to the people from them. The first was performed at the time of the reading of them, and the other after the reading both of the law and the prophets was over. It is plain *Christ* taught the *Jews* in their synagogues both these ways; when ^m he came to *Nazareth*, his own city, he was called out, as a member of that synagogue, to read the *Haphterah*, that is, the section or lesson out of the prophets, which was to be read that day. And when he had stood up and read it he sat down and expounded it, as was the usage of the *Jews* in both these cases. For out of reverence to the law and the prophets they stood up, when they did read any portion out of either; and in regard to themselves, as teachers, they sat when they expounded. But in all other synagogues, of which he was not a member, when he entered into them (as he always did ⁿ every sabbath day wherever he was) he taught the people in sermons, after the reading of the law and the prophets was over. And so ^o St. *Paul* taught the *Jews* in their synagogue at *Antioch* in *Pisidia*. For there it is expressly said in the sacred text, that his preaching was after the reading of the law and the prophets was ended.

III. THE times of their synagogue-service ^p were three days a week, besides their holidays, whether fasts or festivals, and thrice on every one of those days; that is, in the morning, and in the afternoon, and at night. Their ordinary synagogue days in every week were *Monday, Thursday* and *Sa-*

Luke iv. 16, 17, &c.
^p Maimonides in Tephillah.

ⁿ Luke iv. 16.

^o Acts xiii. 15.

turday. Saturday was their sabbath, the day set apart among them for religious exercises by divine appointment, and the other two by the appointment of the elders, that so three days might not pass without the publick reading of the law among them. The reason which they give for this is taken from their mystical interpretation of the law. For whereas we find it said, (*Exodus* xv. 22.) that the *Israelites* were in great distress on their travelling three days in the wilderness without water, by water they tell us is there mystically meant the law, and therefore say, that for this reason they ought not to be three days together without the hearing of it, and consequently for the avoiding hereof they have ordained, that it be publickly read in their synagogues thrice every week. And their manner of doing it is as followeth. The whole law, or five books of *Moses*, being divided into as many sections or lessons, as there are weeks in their year, (as hath been before shewn) on *Monday* they began with that which was proper for that week, and read it half way thorough, and on *Thursday* proceeded to read the remainder; and on *Saturday*, which was their solemn sabbath, they did read all over again, from the beginning to the end of the said lesson or section; and this both morning and evening. On the week days they did read it only in the morning, but on the sabbath they did read it in the evening, as well as in the morning, for the sake of labourers and artificers, who could not leave their work to attend the synagogues on the week days, that so all might hear twice every week the whole section or lesson of that week read unto them. And when the reading of the prophets was added to that of the law, they observed the same order in it. As the synagogue-service was to be on three days every week for the sake of their hearing the law; so it was to be thrice on those days for the sake of their prayers. For it was a constant rule among them, that all were to pray unto God three times every day, that is, in the morning at the time of the morning sacrifice, and in the evening at the time of the evening sacrifice, and at the beginning of the night, because till then the evening sacrifice was still left burning upon the altar. It's certain that it was anciently among God's people, the steady practice of good and religious persons, to offer up their prayers to God thrice every day. This we find *David*, and this we find *Daniel* did. For the former says, (*Psal.* lv. 17.) *Evening, morning, and at noon, will I pray.* And the latter tells us, That notwithstanding the King's decree to the contrary, *he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks unto his God, as he did afore time.* By which it is plainly implied, that he did not only at that time thus pray, but that it was always his constant custom so to do. They having had no synagogues till after the *Babylonish* captivity, till then they had not any set forms for their prayers, neither had they any solemn assemblies for their praying to God at all, except at the temple only. That was always the house of prayer, ^a so *Isaiah*, and so from him ^r our Saviour calls it, and to this use *Solomon* consecrated it; and there the times of prayer were fixed to the times of the morning and evening sacrifice, and the ordinary time of the former was at nine in the morning, and of the latter at three in the afternoon; but on extraordinary days, as sabbaths, festivals and fasts, there being additional sacrifices, additions were also

^a Ch. lvi. 7.^r Matth. xxi. 13. Mark xi. 17. Luke xix. 46.

made to the times of offering them, and both the morning and the evening service did then begin sooner than on other days. As soon as they did begin ^f the stationary men were present in the court of *Israel*, to offer up their prayers for the whole congregation of *Israel*, and other devout persons, who voluntarily attended, were without in the court, called the court of the women, praying for themselves. But neither of these had any ^t publick forms to pray by, nor any publick ministers to officiate to them herein, but all prayed in private by themselves, and all according to their own private conceptions. And therefore our Saviour ^v in the parable of the publican and the pharisee, making them to go up both together into the temple to pray, introduceth them there, as each making his own prayer for himself. For there all thus prayed, and so continued to do all the while the publick sacrifices were offering up, both morning and evening. And ^w the offering of incense on the golden altar in the holy place, at every morning and evening service in the temple, was instituted on purpose to offer up unto God the prayers of the people, who were then without, praying unto him. And hence it was, that ^x St. *Luke* tells us, that while *Zacharias* went into the temple to burn incense, *The whole multitude of the people were praying without at the time of incense.* And for the same reason is it that ^y *David* prayed; *Let my prayers be set forth before thee as incense, and the lifting up of my hands as the evening sacrifice.* And according to this usage, is to be explained what we find in the *Revelations*; (chap. viii. 4, 5.) for there it is said, *That an angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer, and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it up with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar, which was before the throne, and the smoke of the incense, which came with the prayers of the saints, ascended up before God out of the angel's hands.* For the angel here mentioned is the angel of the covenant, *Christ* our Lord, who intercedes for us with our God, and as our mediator constantly offers up our prayers unto him. And the manner of his doing this, is here set forth by the manner of the typical representation of it in the temple. For as there at every morning and evening sacrifice, the priest, in virtue of that sacrifice entering into the holy place, and presenting himself at the golden altar, which stood directly before the mercy seat, (the throne of God's visible presence among them, during the tabernacle and the first temple) did burn incense thereon, while the people were at their prayers without, thereby as intercessor to God for them, to offer up their prayers to him for his gracious acceptance, and to make them ascend up before him from out of his hands, as a sweet smelling favour in his presence; so *Christ*, our true priest, and most powerful intercessor, by virtue of that one sacrifice of himself once offered for all, being entered into the holy place, the heaven above, is there continually present before the throne of mercy, to be a constant intercessor for us unto our God; and while we are here in the outer court of his church in this world, offering up our prayers unto our God, he there presents them unto him for us, and through his hands they are accepted as a sweet smell-

^f See Lightfoot's *Temple Service*. ^v If there were any stated forms for this worship, they were only as helps for those who prayed at the temple, which every one offered up for himself without a publick minister. ^w Luke xviii. 10, 11, 12, 13. ^x See Lightfoot's *Temple Service*, chap. 9.

^y Chap. i. 9, 10.

^z Psalm cxli. 2.

ing favour in his presence. And it being well understood among the *Jews*, that the offering up of the daily sacrifices, and the burning of incense upon the altar of incense, at the time of those sacrifices, was for the rendring of God propitious unto them, and making their prayers to be acceptable in his presence, they were very careful to make the times of these offerings, and the times of their prayers, both at the temple, and every where else, to be exactly the same. And therefore as soon as synagogues were erected among them, the hours of publick devotions in them on their synagogue-days, were as to morning and evening prayers the same hours, in which the morning and evening sacrifices were offered up at the temple. And the same hours were also observed in their private prayers, wherever performed. Most good and devout persons that were at *Jerusalem*, chose on those times to go up into the temple, and there offer up their prayers unto God. And thus ^z *Peter* and *John* are said to go up into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour of the day, which was at three in the afternoon, the time of the offering up of the evening sacrifice. For the *Jews* reckoned the hours of the day from six in the morning. Those who were in other places, or being at *Jerusalem* had not leisure to go up to the temple, did then their devotions elsewhere, all thinking themselves obliged daily to say their prayers at those times. If it were a synagogue-day, they went into the synagogue, and there prayed with the congregation; and if it were not a synagogue-day, they then prayed in private by themselves; and if they had leisure to go to the synagogue, they chose that for the place to do it in, thinking such an holy place the properest for such an holy exercise, tho' performed there in their private persons only; but if they had not leisure to go to such an holy place, then they prayed where-ever they were at the hour of prayer, though it were in the street or market place. And for this it was, that our Saviour^a found fault with them, when he told them, that *they loved to pray standing in the synagogues, and in the corners of the streets*, thereby affecting more to be seen of men, than to be accepted of by God. But many of them had upper rooms in their houses, which were as chappels, particularly set apart and consecrated for this purpose. In ^b such an one *Cornelius* was praying at the ninth hour of the day, that is, at the time of the evening sacrifice, when the angel appeared unto him. And such an one ^c *Peter* went up into to pray about the sixth hour of the day, when he had the vision of the great sheet, that is, half an hour past twelve or thereabout. For then the evening sacrifice did begin on great and solemn days, and such an one it seems hereby that was. And in such an ^d upper room were the holy apostles assembled together in prayer, when the Holy Ghost descended upon them.

IV. As to the ministration of the synagogue-service, it was not confined to the sacerdotal order. They were consecrated only to the service of the temple, which was quite of another nature, as consisting only in the offering up of sacrifices and oblations. At the time indeed of the morning and evening sacrifices, the *Levites* and other singers sung psalms of praise unto God before the altar, and in the conclusion the priests blessed the people, which may seem to bear some resemblance to what was done

^z Acts iii. 1.^a Matth. vi. 5.^b Acts x. 3. and 30.^c Acts x. 9.^d Acts i. 13. See Mr. Mede, Book 2. Tract. 1.

in the synagogue. But in ^c all other particulars the publick synagogue-service was wholly different from the publick service of the temple. Of what parts it consisted I have already explained. And any one that by learning was qualify'd for it, of what tribe soever he were, was admitted to the administration. But, that order might be preserved, there were in every synagogue some fixed ministers to take care of the religious duties to be perform'd in it. And these were by imposition of hands solemnly admitted thereto. The first were the elders of the synagogue, who governed all the affairs of it, and directed all the duties of religion therein to be performed. These are in the scriptures of the *New Testament* ^e called *Ἀρχισυνάγωγοι*, that is, rulers of the synagogue. How many of these were in every synagogue is no where said. But this is certain, they were more than one. For they are mentioned in scripture ^b in the plural number, in respect of the same synagogue. And at *Corinth*, ^h *Crispus* and *Sosthenes* are both said to be chief rulers of the synagogue, tho' it is not likely, that there was more than one synagogue in that city. Next to them (or perchance one of them) was the minister of the synagogue, that officiated in offering up the publick prayers to God for the whole congregation; who, because he was the mouth of the congregation, delegated from them as their representative, messenger or angel, to speak to God in prayer for them, was therefore in the *Hebrew* language called *Sheliach Zibbor*, that is, *the angel of the church*. And hence it is, that the bishops of the seven churches of *Asia* are in the *Revelations*, by a name borrowed from the synagogue, called the angels of those churches. For as the *Sheliach Zibbor* in the *Jewish* synagogue was the prime minister to offer up the prayers of the people to God, so also was the bishop the prime minister to offer up the prayers of the people to God in the church of *Christ*. The bishop indeed did not always officiate in this ministry, because in every church there were presbyters under him, who often discharged this duty in his stead. Neither did the *Sheliach Zibbor* always discharge his duty in the synagogue in his own proper person. He was the ordinary minister appointed to this office, but often others were extraordinarily called out for the discharging of it, provided they were by age, gravity, skill, and piety of conversation, qualified for it. And whosoever was thus appointed to this ministry, was the *Sheliach Zibbor*, that is, *the angel of the congregation*, for that time. For the proper signification of the word used in the *Hebrew* language for an angel, is a *messenger*. And therefore, as a messenger from God to the people is an angel of God, so a messenger from the people to God is an angel of the people. In the latter sense only was the name of angel given to the minister of the synagogue; but it belongs to the minister of the christian church in both senses. For he is not only a messenger of the people to God, in the offering up of the prayers of the congregation to him, but he is also a messenger of God to them, in bringing from him the messages of life, peace, and everlasting salvation unto them. Next to the *Sheliach Zibbor* were the deacons, or inferior ministers of the synagogue, in *Hebrew* called *Chazanim*, that is, *overseers*; who were also fix'd ministers, and under the rulers of the synagogue had the charge and over-

^c Vide Buxtorfii *Synagogam Judaicam & Vitringam de Synagoga vetere.*
36, 37. Luke viii. 41. *and* ch. xiii. 14. Acts xiii. 15.

^e Mark v. 35.

^b Mark v. 22. Acts xiii. 15.

^h Acts xviii. 8, 17.

sight of all things in it, kept the sacred books of the law and the prophets, and other holy scriptures, as also the books of their publick liturgies, and all other utensils belonging to the synagogue, and brought them forth, whenever they were to be used in the publick service. And particularly they stood by, and overlooked them that did read the lessons out of the law and the prophets, and correct them, and set them right, when they did read amiss, and took the book of them again when they had done. And thus it is said of our Saviour, ' when he was called out to read the lesson out of the prophets, in the synagogue of *Nazareth* of which he was a member, that after he had done he gave the book again to the minister, that is, the *Chazan* or deacon of the synagogue. For there was anciently no fix'd synagogue-minister for the reading of the lessons; but the rulers of the synagogue, when the time of the reading of those lessons came, called out any member of the congregation for this service that was able to perform it. And it was usually done in this order: A priest was called out first, and next a *Levite*, if any of these orders were present in the congregation, and after that any other *Israelite*, till they made up in all the number of seven. And hence it was anciently, that every section of the law was divided into seven lesser sections, for the sake of the seven readers. And in some *Hebrew* bibles these lesser sections are marked in the margin; the first with the word *Cohen*, i. e. *the priest*; the second with the word *Levi*, i. e. *the Levite*; the third with the word *Shelishi*, i. e. *the third*; and so the rest with *Hebrew* words signifying the numbers following, to the seventh, thereby to shew what part was to be read by the priest, what by the *Levite*, and what by each of the other five, who might be any *Israelites* of the congregation that were able to read the *Hebrew* text, of what tribe soever they were. The next fix'd officer of the synagogue, after the *Chazanim*, was the interpreter. His business was to interpret into *Chaldee* the lessons, as they were read in *Hebrew* to the congregation; for which, learning and skill in both languages being requisite, when they found a man fit for the office they retained him by a salary, and admitted him as a standing minister of the synagogue. When the blessing was to be given, if there were a priest present in the congregation, he always did the office, but if there were no priest then present, the *Sheliach Zibbor*, who did read the prayers, gave the blessing also in a form made proper for him. Thus far I have thought it might be helpful to the reader, for his better understanding of the scriptures, to have laid before him a short scheme of the synagogue-worship of the *Jews*, as it was among them in ancient times. That which they at present retain, is in many particulars different from it. He that would be more fully informed of this matter, may read *Buxtorf's Synagoga Judaica*, *Vitringa de Synagoga vetere*, and above all *Maimonides*, especially in his tracts *Tephillah*, *Chagigah*, and *Kiriath Shema*.

Those who think synagogues to have been before the *Babylonish* captivity, alledge for it what is said in the *lxxivth Psalm*, ver. 8. *They have burnt up all the synagogues of God in the land*. But in the original the words are *Col moadhe El*, that is, *all the assemblies of God*; by which I acknowledge must be understood the places where the people did assemble

to worship God. But this doth not infer that those places were synagogues; and there are none of the ancient versions, excepting that of *Aquila*, that so render this passage. The chief place where the *Israelites* assembled for the worship of God, was the temple at *Jerusalem*, and before that was built, the tabernacle; and the open court before the altar was that part, in both of them, where the people assembled to offer up their prayers unto God. But those that lived at a distance from the tabernacle, while that was in being, and afterwards from the temple, when that was built, not being able at all times to resort thither, they built courts like those in which they prayed at the tabernacle, and at the temple, therein to offer up their prayers unto God, which in after-times we find called by the name of *Proseuchæ*. Some of the *Latin* poets ^k make mention of them by this name; and into one of them our Saviour is said to have gone to pray, and ^l to have continued therein a whole night; and in another of them ^m St. *Paul* taught the people of *Philippi*. They differed from synagogues in several particulars. For ⁿ 1st, In synagogues the prayers were offered up in publick forms, in common for the whole congregation; but in the *Proseuchæ* they prayed as in the temple, every one apart for himself; and so ^o our Saviour prayed in the *Proseucha* which he went into. 2^{dly}, The synagogues were covered houses, but the *Proseuchæ* were open courts, built, ^p saith *Epiphanius*, in the manner of forum's, which were open enclosures, where anciently at *Rome*, and in other cities under democratical governments, the people used to assemble for the transacting of the business and affairs of the publick. And such a *Proseucha*, ^q *Epiphanius* tells us, the *Samaritans* had in his time near *Sechem*. 3^{dly}, Synagogues were all built within the cities, to which they did belong; but the *Proseuchæ* without, and mostly in high places; and that in which our Saviour prayed was ^r on a mountain; which makes it probable, that these *Proseuchæ* were the same which in the *Old Testament* are called *high places*. For these high places are not always condemned in scripture, but then only when they were made use of for idolatrous worship, or in a schismatical way, by erecting altars in them, in opposition to that which was in the place that God had chosen; otherwise they ^s were made use of by prophets and good men, as several instances hereof in scripture do fully prove. And I am confirmed in this opinion, in that the *Proseuchæ* had groves in or about them, in the same manner as the high places had. And no doubt ^t the sanctuary of the Lord, in which *Joshua* did set up his pillar under the oak, or oaken grove in *Sechem*, was such a *Proseucha*; and it's plain from the text, that ^u it had a grove of oaks in it. And the *Proseuchæ* which *Philo* makes mention of in *Alexandria* ^v had such groves in or about them; and that at *Rome*, ^w in *Egeria's* grove, was of the same sort. And perchance where ^x the *Psalmist* makes mention of green olive trees in the house of God, such a *Proseucha* is there meant. And such an one also anciently was ^y in *Mis-*

^k Juvenal, Sat. 3. ^l Luke vi. 12. For what our English there renders, And continued all night in prayer to God, is in the original *καὶ ἦν διακονήσας ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ αὐτῷ Θεῷ*, i. e. And he continued all night in a *Proseucha* of God. ^m Acts xvi. For in that chapter, ver. 13. and 16. what we render in our English version by the word prayer, is in the original a *Proseucha*, or place of prayer. ⁿ Luke vi. 12. ^o In tract. de Messalianis hæreticis. ^p Luke vi. 12.

^q 1 Sam. ix. 19. Ch. x. 5, &c. ^r Josh. xxiv. 26. ^s For he complains that the Alexandrians, in a tumult which they there made against the Jews, did cut down the trees of their *Proseuchæ*. In legatione ad Caium Cæsarem. ^t Juvenal, Sat. 3. ^u Psalm lii. 8.

^w 1 Maccab. iii. 46.

pa, as the author of the first book of the *Maccabees* tells us. And all these were *Moadbe El*, and might be understood by that phrase in the *Psalmist*. It must be acknowledged, that altho' some *Proseuchæ* were still in being in our Saviour's time, yet by that time synagogues being made use of for the same purpose, as the *Proseuchæ* were formerly, synagogues were then also called by the same name with the *Proseuchæ*, and so *Josephus* and *Philo* seem to use the word, tho' it seems from the latter, that some of the synagogues of the *Jews* in *Alexandria* were built after the same manner as the ancient *Proseuchæ*, without roofs. And it makes this the more probable, that in *Egypt* it never, or very seldom raining, they there stood more in need of open air in their publick assemblies, and trees to shelter them from the sun in that hot countrey, than of roofs over them, to shelter them from the weather. And these, *Philo* * complains, the *Alexandrians* did cut down, when they there rose in a tumult against the *Jews* that then dwelt with them in that city. And besides these *Proseuchæ*, there were other places to which the *Israelites* before the captivity frequently assembled upon the account of religion. For they often resorted to the cities of the *Levites*, to be taught the ritual and other ceremonies of the *Mosaical* law, and to the schools of the prophets, for all other instructions relating to the things of God; and to these last it's plain from scripture, that they usually resorted on the sabbaths, and new moons; and what end could there be of this resort, but for instruction in their duties to God? And therefore these places also, as well as the *Proseuchæ*, were *Moadbe El*, i. e. places of assembling on the account of religion; and consequently of all these may the *Psalmist* be understood in the place above-mentioned. Whether this *Psalms*, as well as the 79th, were written prophetically by that *Asaph* † who lived in the time of *David*, of the *Babylonish* captivity, (to which it's plain they both relate) or else by some other after it, as is ‡ most probable, I shall not here examine. All that is proper for me here to take notice of, is, that nothing which is in either of these *Psalms* can prove, that there were any such things as synagogues, wherein the scriptures were read, or publick prayers offered up unto God, till after the *Babylonish* captivity:

AND if it be examin'd into, how it came to pass that the *Jews* were so prone to idolatry before the *Babylonish* captivity, and so strongly and cautiously, even to superstition, fixed against it after that captivity, the true reason hereof will appear to be, that they had the law and the prophets every week constantly read unto them after that captivity, which they had not before. For before that captivity they having no synagogues for publick worship or publick instruction, nor any places to resort to for either, unless the temple at *Jerusalem*, or the cities of the *Levites*, or to the prophets, when God was pleased to send such among them; for want hereof great ignorance grew among the people; God was little known among them, and his laws in a manner wholly forgotten. And therefore as occasions offered, they were easily drawn into all the superstitions and idolatrous usages of the neighbouring nations that lived round about them, till at length, for the punishment hereof, God gave them up to a dismal

* In legatione ad Caium.

† 2 Kings iv. 23.

‡ 1 Chron. xvi. 5, 7, 37.

‡ Vide Bocharti Hierozoic. part. 1. lib. 3. cap. 29.

destruction in the *Babylonish* captivity: But after that captivity, and the return of the *Jews* from it, synagogues being erected among them in every city, to which they constantly resorted for publick worship, and where every week they had the law from the first, and after that from the time of *Antiochus's* persecution, the prophets also read unto them, and were by sermons and exhortations, there delivered at least every sabbath, instructed in their duty, and excited to the obedience of it: This kept them in a thorough knowledge of God and his laws. And the threats which they found in the prophets against the breakers of them, after these also came to be read among them, deterred them from transgressing against them. So that the law of *Moses* was never more strictly observed by them, than from the time of *Ezra* (when synagogues first came into use among them) to the time of our Saviour, and they would have been unblameable herein, had they not overdone it by adding corrupt traditions of their own devising, whereby at length (as ^b our Saviour chargeth them) they made the law it self of none effect. And as by this method the *Jewish* religion was preserved in the times mentioned, so also was it by the same, that the christian was so successfully propagated in the first ages of the church, and hath ever since been preserved among us. For as the *Jews* had their synagogues, in which the law and the prophets were read unto them every sabbath, so the christians had their churches, in which from the beginning all the doctrines and duties of their religion were every Lord's day taught, inculcated, and explained unto them. And by God's blessing upon this method chiefly was it, that this holy religion still bore up against all oppressions; and notwithstanding the ten persecutions, and all other artifices and methods of cruelty and oppression, which hell and heathenism could devise to suppress it, grew up and encreased under them; which *Julian the Apostate* was so sensible of, that when he put all his wits to work, to find out new methods for the restoring of the heathen impiety, he could not think of any more effectual for this purpose, than ^c to employ his philosophers to preach it up every week to the people, in the same manner as the ministers of the gospel did the christian religion. And had it not pleased God to cut him off, before he could put this design in execution, it is to be feared his success herein would in a very great measure have answered what he proposed by it. But to christians, above all others, this must be of the greatest benefit. For the doctrines of our holy religion having in them the sublimest principles of divine knowledge, and the precepts of it containing all the duties of morality in the highest manner improved, nothing can be of greater advantage to us, for the leading of us to the truest happiness we are capable of, as well in this life as in that which is to come, than to have these weekly taught and explained unto us, and weekly put home upon our consciences, for the forming of our lives according to them. And the political state, or civil government of every christian countrey, is no less benefited hereby than the church it self. For as it best conduceth to keep up the spirit of religion among us, and to make every man know his duty to God, his neighbour, and himself; so it may be reckoned, of all methods, the most conducive, to preserve peace and good order in the state. For hereby subjects are taught to be obedient to

^b Matth. xv. 6. Mark vii. 13.

^c Gregorii Nazianzeni Orat. in Julianum Apostatam.

their prince and his laws, children to be dutiful to their parents, servants to be faithful to their masters, and all to be just and charitable, and pay all other duties which in every relation they owe to each other. And in the faithful discharge of these duties, doth the peace, good order, and happiness of every community consist. And to be weekly instructed in these duties, and to be weekly excited to the obedience of them, is certainly the properest and the most effectual method to induce men hereto. And it may justly be reckoned that the good order, which is now maintained in this kingdom, is more owing to this method, than to any other now in practice among us for this end; and that one good minister, by his weekly preaching, and daily good example, sets it more forward than any two of the best justices of the peace can, by their exactest diligence in the execution of the laws which they are entrusted with. For these, by the utmost of their coercions, can go no farther than to restrain the outward acts of wickedness; but the other reforms the heart within, and removes all those evil inclinations of it from whence they flow. And it is not to be doubted, but that if this method were once dropped among us, the generality of the people, whatever else may be done to obviate it, would in seven years time relapse into as bad a state of barbarity, as was ever in practice among the worst of our *Saxon* or *Danish* ancestors. And therefore supposing there were no such thing in truth and reality, as that holy christian religion which the ministers of the gospel teach, (as too many among us are now permitted with impunity to say) yet the service which they do the civil government, in keeping all men to those duties, in the observance of which its peace, good order, and happiness consist, may very deserve the maintenance which they receive from it.

An. 433.
Artax-
erxes 32.

NEHEMIAH, after he had held the government of *Judah* twelve years, ^d returned to the *Persian* court, either recalled thither by the King, or else going thither to solicit for a new commission after the expiration of the former. During all the time that he had been in this government, he managed it with great justice, ^e and supported the dignity of his office through these whole twelve years with a very expensive and hospitable magnificence. For there sat at his table every day an hundred and fifty of the *Jews* and rulers, besides strangers, who came to *Jerusalem* from among the heathen nations that were round about them. For as occasions brought them thither, if they were of any quality, they were always invited to the governor's house, and there hospitably and splendidly entertained. So that there was provided for him every day one ox, six choice sheep, and fowls, and wine, and all other things in proportion hereto, which could not but amount to a great expence; yet all this he bore thro' these whole twelve years, out of his own private purse, without burthening the province at all for it, or taking any part of that allowance which before was raised out of it by other governors, to support them in their station; which argues his great generosity, as well as his great love and tenderness to the people of his nation, in thus easing them of this burthen, and also his vast wealth in being able so to do. The office which he had been in at court gave him the opportunity of amassing great riches, and he thought he could not better expend them than in the service of his

^d Nehem. v. 14. and xiii. 6.

^e Nehem. v. 14, 19.

countrey, and by doing all he could to promote the true interest of it both in church and state, and God prospered him in the work according to the great zeal with which he laboured in it.

ABOUT this time flourished ^{Ar. 432.} *Meto* the famous *Athenian* astronomer ^{Arta-} who invented the *Euneadecaeteris*, or the cycle of nineteen years, which ^{crxes 33.} we call the cycle of the moon, the numbers whereof being, by reason of the excellency of their use, written in the ancient kalendars in golden letters, from hence, in our present almanacks, that number of this cycle which accords with the year for which the almanack is made, is called the golden number. For it is still of as great use to the christians for the finding out of *Easter*, and also to the *Jews* for the fixing of their three great festivals, as it was to the ancient *Greeks* for the ascertaining of the times of their festivals. And for this last end was it that *Meto* invented it. For the *Greeks* being directed by an oracle to observe all their solemn sacrifices and festivals, ^{ἐξ ἑκ τριῶν} *i. e.* according to three, and this being interpreted to mean years, months and days, and that the years were to be reckoned according to the course of the sun, and the months and days according to that of the moon, they thought themselves obliged hereby to observe all these solemnities at the same seasons of the year, and on the same month, and on the same day of the month. And therefore ^{*}endeavours were made to bring all these to meet together; that is, to bring the same months and all the days of them to fall as near as possible within the same times of the sun's course, that so the same solemnities might always be celebrated within the same seasons of the year, as well as in the same months, and on the same days of them. The difficulty lay in this, that whereas the year, according to the course of the sun, (which is commonly called the solar year) is made by that revolution of it which brings it round to the same point in the ecliptic, and the *Greeks* reckoned their months by those revolutions of the moon, which brought it round to the same conjunction with the sun, *i. e.* from one new moon to another, and twelve of these months made their common year; (which is commonly called the lunar year) this lunar year fell eleven days short of the solar. And therefore their oracle could not be observed in keeping their solemnities to the same seasons of the year, without intercalations. For otherwise their solemnities would be anticipated eleven days every year, and in thirty three years space would be carried backward through all the seasons of the year; (as is now done in *Turkey*, where they use this sort of year) and to intercalate these eleven days every year, would make as great a breach upon the other part of the oracle, as to the months and days. For then every year would alter the day, and every three years the month. And besides, it would make a breach upon the whole scheme of their year. For with them, in the same manner as with the *Jews*, their months always began with a new moon, and their years were always made up of these lunar months, so as to end exactly with the last day of the last moon, and to begin exactly with the first day of the next moon. It was necessary therefore, for the bringing of all to fall right according to the directions of the oracle, that the intercalations should be made by months; and to find out such an intercalation

^{*} Diodorus Siculus, lib. 12. p. 305. Ptolemæi Magna Syntaxis, lib. 3. c. 2. ^{*} Geminus in *Isagoga*, cap. 6. [†] Vide Scaligerum de emendatione Temporum, Petavium de doctrina Temporum, aliisque Chronologos.

of months, as would at length bring the solar year and the lunar year to an exact agreement, so that both should begin from the same point of time, was that which was to be done for this purpose. For thus only could the solemnities be always kept to the same seasons of the year, as well as to the same months, and the same days of them, and constantly be made fall within the compass of one lunar month at most, sooner or later within the same times of the solar year. And therefore in order hereunto cycles were to be invented; and to find out such a cycle of years, wherein by the intercalation or addition of one or more months this might be effected, was the great study and endeavour of the astronomers of those times. The first attempt that was made for this purpose was that of the *Dieteris*, a cycle of two years, wherein an intercalation was made of one month; but in two years time the excess of the solar year above the lunar being only twenty two days, and a lunar month making twenty nine days and an half, this intercalation, instead of bringing the lunar year to a reconciliation with the solar, over-did it by seven days and an half; which being a fault that was soon perceived, for the mending of it the *Tetraeteris* was introduced, which was a cycle of four years, wherein it was thought that an intercalation of one month would bring all that to rights, which was over-done by the like intercalation of the *Dieteris*. And this was contrived chiefly with a respect to their *Olympic* games. For they being the chiefest of their solemnities, and celebrated once every four years, care was taken to bring this solemnity every fourth year as near as they could to the same time of the solar year, in which it was performed the *Olympiad* before, which regularly ought always to have been begun according to the original institution of that solemnity, on the first full moon after the summer solstice, and it was thought that an intercalation of one month in four years would always bring it to this time. But four solar years exceeding four lunar years forty three days and an half, the adding one lunar month, or twenty nine days and an half, (of which it consists) fell short of curing this defect full fourteen days, which fault soon discovering it self, for the amending of it they intercalated alternatively one four years with one month, and the next four years with two months, which brought it to the *Octoeteris*, or the cycle of eight years, wherein by intercalating three months they thought they brought all to rights, and indeed it came much nearer to it, than any of the former cycles. For by this intercalation the eight lunar years were brought so near to eight solar years, that they differed from them only by an excess of one day, fourteen hours and nine minutes. And therefore this cycle continued much longer in use than any of the rest. But at length the error, by encreasing every year, grew great enough to be also discovered, which produced the invention of several other cycles for the remedying of it, of which this invented by *Meton* of nineteen years is the perfectest. For it brings the two luminaries to come about to the same points, within two hours one minute and twenty seconds; so that after nineteen years, the same new moons and the same full moons do within that space come about again to the same points of time in every year of this cycle, in which they happened in the same year of the former cycle. And to a nearer agreement than this no other cycle can bring them. This cycle is made up of nineteen lunar years and seven lunar months by seven intercalations added to them. The years of this cycle, in which these intercalations were made, were the 3^d, 6th, 8th,
11th,

11th, 14th, 17th and 19th, according to *Petavius*; but according to Mr. *Dodwell*, they were the 3^d, 5th, 8th, 11th, 13th, 16th, and 19th. Each of these seven intercalated years consisted of thirteen months, and the rest of twelve. The chief use of this cycle among the *Greeks* being to settle the times of celebrating their solemnities, and that of their *Olympiads* being the chiefest of them, and on the fixing of which the fixing of all the rest did depend, it was in the first place applied to this purpose; and the rule of these *Olympiads* being, that they were to be celebrated on the first full moon after the summer solstice, in order to settle the time of their celebration, it was necessary, in the first place, to settle the time of the summer solstice, and this *Meto* observed this year to be on the twenty first day of the *Egyptian* month *Phamenoth*, which reduced to the *Julian* year falls on the twenty seventh of *June*. And therefore the *Greeks*, having received this cycle, did from this time forward celebrate their *Olympiads* on the first full moon after the twenty seventh day of our *June*, and thenceforth also began their year from the new moon preceding, whereas before they begun it from the winter solstice, and they calculated both the new moon and the full moon by this cycle; so that from this time the new moon immediately preceding the first full moon after the summer solstice was the beginning of their year; and that first full moon after the said solstice in every fifth year was the time of their *Olympiads*. For that year, in the beginning of which this solemnity was celebrated, was in their computation of time called the first year of that *Olympiad*, reckoning from the new moon preceding; and in the beginning of the fifth year after they celebrated the next *Olympiad*, which made the time from one *Olympiad* to another to be just four years, according to the measure of the years then used.

BUT this use of the cycle ceasing with the solemnities of the heathen *Greeks*, after that christianity had gotten the ascendant in the *Roman* empire, it thenceforth became applied to another use; and that not only by the christians, but also by the *Jews*. For by it the christians, after the council of *Nice*, settled our *Easter*. And from them, some few years after, the *Jews* learnt to make the like use of it, for the fixing the time of their passover, and the making of their intercalations in order to it. But of the manner how each of them applied it for these purposes, there will be hereafter an occasion fully to treat, in a place more proper for it.

THE ' war between the *Athenians* and *Lacedemonians*, called the *Peloponnesian* war, (of ' which *Thucydides* and *Xenophon* have written the history) began about the end of the first year of the eighty seventh *Olympiad*, which lasted twenty seven years. As soon as they had entered on it, both parties ' sent their ambassadors to King *Artaxerxes* to engage him on their side, and pray his aid in the war.

ABOUT the same time there broke out a most grievous pestilence, which did over-run a great part of the world. It begun first in *Ethiopia*; from thence it came into *Libya* and *Egypt*; and from *Egypt* it invaded *Judea*, *Phenicia* and *Syria*, and from those parts spread it self through the whole *Persian* empire; from whence it passed into *Greece*, and grievously

' *Thucydides*, lib. 2.

Xenophon's Hellenics continues the *Greek History* from thence.

Herodotus, lib. 7.

8 *Thucydides* gives an account of the 21st years of this war, and

' *Thucydides*, lib. 2.

afflicted the *Athenian* state, destroying a great number of their people, and among them died *Pericles*, the chiefest and eminentest man of that city, whose wisdom, while he lived, was the main stay and support of that republic, and of whom only it can be said, that he maintained himself in full credit for forty years together in a popular government. *Thucydides* hath in his history, given us a very full account of this disease, having had thorough experience of it. For he had it himself, and after that being out of danger of suffering any more by it, he freely visited a great many others that were afflicted with it, and thereby had sufficient opportunity of knowing all the symptoms and calamities that attended it. *Lucretius* hath also given us a poetical discription of it, and *Hippocrates* hath written of it as a physician. For that great master of the art of physic lived in those times, and was at *Athens* all the while this distemper raged there. *Artaxerxes* invited him, with the promise of great rewards, to come into *Persia* during this plague, to cure those who were infected with it in his armies. But his answer was, that he would not leave the *Grecians* his countrey men in this distress, to give his help to *Barbarians*. There are several epistles still extant at the end of *Hippocrates*'s works, said to be written by *Artaxerxes*, and by *Hyflanes* his prefect on the *Hellepont*, and by *Hippocrates* himself, about this matter. Some think them not to be genuine, but do not give any reasons sufficient to convict them of it. Many instances in the histories of those times do acquaint us, how fond the *Persians* were of *Greek* physicians. And *Artaxerxes* looking on himself as the greatest of Kings, might well enough think he had the best title to have the greatest of physicians to attend upon him, and therefore offered the greatest of rewards to draw him to him. But *Hippocrates*, having a mind above the temptations of gold and silver, returned him the answer I have mentioned, which provoked him so far, that he sent to *Cos*, the city of *Hippocrates*, and where he then was, to command them to deliver unto him *Hippocrates*, to be punished according to his perverseness, threatening them with the demolition of their city, and the utter ruin of the whole island in which it stood, if they did not comply with him herein. But the *Coans* in their answer did let him know, that no threats should ever induce them to betray so eminent a citizen into his hands. This was before *Hippocrates* went to *Athens*. For this plague had ravaged thorough the *Persian* empire before it came to that city, and it was not till the next year after this, that the *Athenians* were infested with it, that is, in the second year of the *Peloponnesian* war, as *Thucydides* tells us.

AN. 428.
ARTAX-
ERXES 37.

NEHEMIAH, on his return to the *Persian* court, having tarried there about five years in the execution, as it may be supposed, of his former office, at length obtained of the King to be sent back again to *Jerusalem* with a new commission. The generality of chronologers as well as the commentators upon this part of scripture, make this his coming back thither to be much sooner. But considering the many and great corruptions, which he tells us, in the thirteenth chapter of his book, the *Jews* had run into in his absence, it cannot be conceived how in less than five years time they could have grown up to such an height among them. He had been twelve years reforming what was amiss among them, and *Ezra*

¹ Plutarchus in Pericle. Thucydides, lib. 2. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 12, p. 310.
² 1. 1. Epidem. Sect. 3.

³ L'ib. 2.

had

had been doing the same for thirteen years before him, whereby they had brought their reformation to such a state and stability, that a little time could not have been sufficient in such a manner to have again unhinged it. It is much more likely, that all this was longer than five years a doing, than that it should come to pass in so short a time. It is indeed expressed in our *English* version, that *Nehemiah* came back again from the *Persian* court to *Jerusalem* ^m *after certain days*; but the *Hebrew* word *yamim*, which is there rendred *days*, signifieth also years, and is in a great many places of the *Hebrew* scriptures so used.

ABOUT this time most likely lived *Malachi* the prophet. The greatest of the corruptions which he chargeth the *Jews* with, are the same with those which they had run into in the time of *Nehemiah*'s absence, and therefore it is most probable, that in this time his prophecies were delivered. It is certain the temple was all finished, and every thing restored therein before his time. For there are passages in his prophecies which clearly suppose it; and he doth not in them charge the *Jews* with neglecting the restoring of the temple, but their neglecting what appertained to the true worship of God in it. But in what time it was after the restoration of the temple that he prophesied, is no where said in Scripture, and therefore we can only make our conjectures about it, and I know not where any conjecture can place it with more probability, than in the time where I have said.

MANY things having gone wrong among the *Jews* during the absence of *Nehemiah*, as hath been above mentioned, as soon as he was again settled in the government ⁿ he applied himself with his usual zeal and diligence to correct, and again set to rights whatsoever was amiss. And that which he first took notice of, as what by the flagrancy of the offence, as well as by reason of the place where committed, was the most obvious to be reformed by so good a man; was ^o a great prophanation, which had been introduced into the temple for the sake of *Tobiah* an *Ammonite*. This man, though he had made two alliances with the *Jews*, (for ^p *Johanan* his son had married the daughter of *Mesbullam* the son of *Berachiah*, ^q who was one of the chief managers of the rebuilding of the wall of *Jerusalem* under the direction of the governor, and he himself had married the daughter of *Shecaniah* the son of *Arah*, another great man among the *Jews*) yet being an *Ammonite*, ^r he bore a national hatred to all that were of the race of *Israel*; and therefore envying their prosperity, and being averse to whatsoever might promote it, did the utmost that he could to obstruct *Nehemiah* in all that he did for the good of that people, and confederated with *Sanballat* their greatest enemy to carry on this purpose. However, by reason of the alliances I have mentioned, he had ^s many correspondents among the *Jews*, who were favourers of him, and acted insidiously with *Nehemiah* on his account. But he, being aware of their devices, withstood and baffled them all, as long as he continued at *Jerusalem*. But when he went from thence to the *Persian* court, *Eliashib* the high-priest ^t was prevailed with (as being one of those that was of that confederacy and alliance with *Tobiah*) to allow and provide for him lodgings

^m Nehem. xiii. 6.ⁿ Nehem. iii. 4.^o Nehem. xiii. 4.^p Nehem. xiii.^q Nehem. ii, iv, vi.^r Nehem. xiii. 7, 8, 9.^s Nehem. vi. 18.^t Nehem. vi. 17, 18, 19.

within the temple it self; in order whereto he removed *the meat-offerings, the frankincense, and the vessels, and the tithes of the corn, the new wine, and the oil, (which was commanded to be given to the Levites, and the singers, and the porters) and the offerings of the priests,* out of the chambers where they used to be laid, and out of them made one large apartment for the reception of this heathen stranger. It is doubted by some, whether this *Eliashib* were *Eliashib* the high-priest, or only another priest of that name. That which raiseth the doubt is, he is named in the text, where this is related of him, by the title only of priest, and is there said to have the oversight of the chambers of the house of God; from whence it is argued, that he was only chamberlain of the temple, and not the high-priest, who was above such an office. But the oversight of the chambers of the house of God may import the whole government of the temple, which belonged to the high-priest only, and it is not to be conceived how any one, that was less than absolute governor of the whole temple, could make so great an innovation in it. Besides, *Eliashib* the high-priest hath no character in scripture, with which such a procedure can be said to be inconsistent. By what is said in the book of *Ezra* (ch. x. 18.) it appears, the pontifical family was in his time grown very corrupt. And no act of his is mentioned either in *Ezra* or *Nehemiah*, excepting only his putting to his helping hand in the repairing of the walls of *Jerusalem*. Had he done any thing else worthy of memory in the reforming of what was amiss, either in church or state, in the times either of *Ezra* or *Nehemiah*, it may be presumed mention would have been made of it in the books written by them. The silence which is of him in both these books, as to any good act done by him, is a sufficient proof that there was none such to be recorded of him. For the high-priest being the head of the *Jewish* church, had he born any part with these two good men, when they laboured so much to reform that church, it's utterly improbable that it could have been passed over in their writings, wherein they give an account of what was done in that reformation. What *Jeshua* his grandfather did in concurrence with *Zerubbabel* the governor, and *Haggai* and *Zechariah* the prophets, in the first resettling of the church and state of the *Jews*, after their return from the *Babylonish* captivity, * is all recorded in scripture, and had *Eliashib* done any such thing in concurrence with *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, we may take it for certain it would have been recorded there also. Putting all this together, it appears most likely, that it was *Eliashib* the high-priest who was the author of this great prophanation of the house of God. What was done herein (the text tells us) *Nehemiah* immediately understood, as soon as he came back again to *Jerusalem*, and he did immediately set himself to reform it. For over-ruling what the high-priest had ordered to be done herein, by the authority which he had as governor, he commanded all the household-stuff of *Tobiah* to be cast out, and the chambers to be again cleansed and restored to their former use.

THE reading of the law to the people * having been settled by *Nehemiah*, so as to be constantly carried on at certain stated times, ever since it was begun under his government by *Ezra*, (perchance from that very beginning on every sabbath day) when in the course of their lessons they

* *Ezra* iii, iv, and v. *Haggai* i, and ii. *Zech.* iii.

* *Nehem.* viii.

came to the 23^d chapter of *Deuteronomy*, where it is commanded, that a *Moabite* or an *Ammonite* should not come into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation for ever, * *Nehemiah* taking an handle from hence, separated all the mixt multitude from the rest of the people, that thereby it might be known with whom a true *Israelite* might lawfully marry. For neither this law, nor any other of the like nature, is to be understood to exclude any one, of what nation soever he were, from entering into the congregation as a proselyte, and becoming a member of their church that would be converted thereto; neither did any of the *Jews* ever so interpret it. For they freely received all into their religion that would embrace it, and immediately on their conversion admitted them to all the rites, parts, and privileges of it, and treated them in all respects in the same manner as true *Israelites*, excepting only in the case of marriage. And therefore this phrase * in the text, of not entering into the congregation of the Lord, even to the tenth generation, must be understood to include no more than a prohibition not to be married thereinto till then; and thus all the *Jewish* doctors expound it. For their doctrine, as to the case of their marrying with such as were not of their nation, is stated by them in manner as followeth.

* NONE of the house of *Israel*, of either sex, were to enter into marriage with any *Gentiles* of what nation soever, unless they were first converted to their religion, and became intire proselytes to it. And when they were become thus thorough proselytes, they were not all immediately to be admitted to this privilege of making inter-marriages with them. For some were barred wholly from it for ever, others only in part, and some only for a limited time. Of the first sort, were all of the seven nations of the *Canaanites*, mentioned in *Deuteronomy* ch. vii. Of the second sort were the *Moabites* and the *Ammonites*, whose males they hold were excluded for ever, but not their females. For the *Hebrew* text naming an *Ammonite*, and a *Moabite*, in the masculine gender only, they understand it only of the males, and not of the females. And this exception they make for the sake of *Ruth*. For she, tho' a *Moabitish* woman, had been married to two husbands of the house of *Israel*, the last of which was *Boaz*, of whom *David* was descended by her. And of the third sort * were the *Edomites* and the *Egyptians*, with whom they might not marry till the third generation. With all others, who were not of the three excepted sorts, they * might freely make inter-marriages, whenever they became thorough proselytes to their religion. But at present * it not being to be known, who is an *Edomite*, who an *Ammonite*, or a *Moabite*, or who an *Egyptian* of the race of the *Egyptians* then mentioned in the text, by reason of the confusions which have since happened of all nations with each other, they hold this prohibition to have been long since out of date, and that now any *Gentile*, as soon as proselyted to their religion, may immediately be admitted to make inter-marriages with them. In interpreting the exclusion of the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* in the text, to be for ever, they seem to exceed the prohibition of the law therein delivered.

* *Nehem.* xiii. 1, 2, 3.

* *Deut.* xxiii. 3.

* *Maimonides* in *Issure Biah*.

* *Deut.* xxiii. 8.

* *A sister of David's married Ithra an Ishmaelite, by whom she was mother of Amasa, captain of the host of Israel.*

* *Maimonides* in *Issure Biah*.

For there (*i. e.* *Deut.* xxiii. 3.) it is extended only to the tenth generation: The words are, *Even to the tenth generation shall they not enter into the congregation of the Lord for ever.* The meaning of which seems plainly to be, that this should be observed as a law for ever, that an *Ammonite* or a *Moabite* was not to be admitted into the congregation of *Israel*, so as to be capable of making marriages with them, till the tenth generation after their becoming profelytes to the *Jewish* religion. But ten generations and for ever being both in the same text, and within the same prohibiting clause, they interpret the former expression by the latter, and will have it, that so long a prohibition as that of ten generations, signifieth therein tantamount to for ever, and they ground this chiefly upon the text of *Nehemiah*, which we are now treating of. For here in the recital of this law, the prohibition is said to be *for ever*, without the limitation of ten generations. But the words of *Nehemiah* are plainly an imperfect quotation of what is in the law, and seem to intend no more by that recital, than to send us to the place in the original text of the law, where it is to be perfectly found. And in all laws in the world, the words of the original text are to be depended upon, for the intention of the law-giver, before any quotations of them by whomsoever made.

† AMONG other corruptions that grew up during the absence of *Nehemiah*, one especially to be taken notice of, ^d was, the neglect of the carrying on of the daily service of the house of God, in such manner as it ought. For the tithes, which were to maintain the ministers of the temple in their offices and stations, being either imbezzled by the high-priest, and other rulers of the temple under him, or else substracted by the laity, and not paid at all, for want of them the *Levites* and singers were driven from the temple, every one to his own home, there to seek for a subsistence some other way. This abuse the governor, whose piety led him always to attend the publick worship, could not be long without taking notice of, and when he had observed it, and thoroughly informed himself of the cause, he soon provided very effectually for its remedy. For he forthwith made those dues to be again brought into the treasuries of the temple, and forced every man faithfully and fully to pay them; whereby a maintenance being again provided for those that attended the service of the house of God, all was there again restored to its pristine order. And he also took care ^e that the sabbath should be duly observed, and made many good orders for the preventing of the prophanation of it, and caused them all to be effectually put in execution. But tho' all these things are mentioned in one chapter, they were not all done at one time, but the good man brought them about as occasions were administered, and as he saw opportunities best served for the successful effecting of them.

IN this same year, in which we suppose *Nehemiah* came back again to his government of *Judea* from the *Persian* court, that is, ^f in the first year of the eighty eighth olympiad, was born *Plato* the famous *Athenian* philosopher, who came nearest to the truth in divine matters of any of the heathens. For he having in his travels into the east, where he went for his improvement in knowledge, conversed with the *Jews*, and ^g gotten some

^d Nehem. xiii. 10---14. Malachi iii. 8---13.

^e Diogenes Laertius in vita Platonis.
apud Eusebium de præparatione evangelica.

^f Nehem. xiii. 15---23.

^g Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. Aristobulus

insight into the writings of *Moses*, and their other sacred books, he learned many things from them which others of his profession could not attain unto; and therefore he is said ^a by *Numenius* to be none other than *Moses* speaking *Greek*, and ¹ many of the ancient fathers speak of him to the same purpose.

IN the sixth year of the *Peloponnesian* war, ^a the plague broke out again at *Athens*, and destroyed great numbers of their people. This, with the other plague that happened four years before, having much exhausted that city of its inhabitants, for the better replenishing of it again, ¹ a new law was made to allow every man there to marry two wives. From the time of *Cecrops*, who was the first planter of *Attica*, and the founder of the city of *Athens* in it, no such thing as polygamy was there ever known, or was any man allowed to have any more than one wife, both their law and their usage till now being contrary thereto. But from this time it was allowed for the cause which I have mentioned, and *Socrates* the philosopher was one of the first that made use of the privilege of it, being then forty three years old. For he was born in the last year of the seventy seventh olympiad, (which was the year 469 before *Christ*.) For to *Xantippe*, his former wife, he took another called *Myrto*, and all the benefit he had by it, was, to have two scolds instead of one, to exercise his patience. ^a As long as they disagreed, they were continually scolding, brawling, or fighting with each other; and whenever they agreed, they both joined in brawling at him, and often ^a fell on him with their fists, as well as with their tongues, and beat him soundly. And this was a very just punishment upon him, for giving countenance by his practice to so unnatural and mischievous a usage. For every where more males than females being born into the world, this sufficiently proves that God and nature never intended any more than one woman for one man; and they certainly act contrary to the laws of both, that have more than one to wife at the same time. Although the supreme law-giver dispensed with the children of *Israel* in this case, this is no rule for others to act by.

IN the seventh year of the *Peloponnesian* war, *Artaxerxes* ^a sent an ambassador called *Artaphernes* to the *Lacedæmonians*, with letters written in the *Assyrian* language, wherein among other things he tells them, that several ambassadors had come to him from them, but with messages so differing, that he could not learn from them what it was that they would have; and that therefore he had sent this *Persian* to them, to let them know, that if they had any thing to propose to him, they should on his return send with him to his court some, by whom he might clearly understand what their mind was. But this ambassador being got on in his way as far as *Eion*, on the river *Strymon* in *Thracia*, he was there taken prisoner about the end of the year, by one of the admirals of the *Athenian* fleet, who sent him to *Athens*, where the *Athenians* treated him with much kindness and respect, thereby the better to reconcile to them the favour of the *Persian* King.

AND the next year after, as soon as the seas were safely passable, they

^a Clem. Alexandr. Strom. 1. Suidas in Νουμνίου.

tentium librum Diogenis Laertii Segm. 6.

Diogenes Laertius in Socrate.

Theodoretum.

^a Thucydides, lib. 2.

^a Diogenes Laertius, ibid.

^a Thucydides, lib. 4.

¹ Vide Menagii observationes ad

¹ Athenæus, lib. 13.

^a Porphyrius apud

^a sent

sent him back in a ship of their own at the publick charges, and appointed some of their citizens to go with him as ambassadors from them to the King; but when they were landed at *Ephesus*, in order to this journey, they there understood that *Artaxerxes* was lately dead, whereon the ambassadors proceeded no farther; but having there dismissed *Artaphernes* returned again to *Athens*.

ARTAXERXES dyed within three months after the beginning of the forty first year of his reign, and was succeeded in his kingdom by *Xerxes*, the only son that he had by his Queen. But by his concubines he had seventeen others, among whom were *Sogdianus*, (by *Ctesias* called *Secundianus*) *Ochus*, and *Arsites*. *Xerxes* having made himself drunk at one of their festivals, and thereon being retired to sleep it out in his bed-chamber, *Sogdianus* took the advantage of it, by the help and treachery of *Pharnacyas*, one of *Xerxes*'s eunuchs, then to fall upon him, and slew him after he had reigned only forty five days, and succeeded him in the kingdom. And as soon as he was on the throne, he put to death *Bagorazus*, the faithfulest of his father's eunuchs. *Artaxerxes* being dead, and his Queen the mother of *Xerxes* dying also the same day, *Bagorazus* undertook the care of their funeral, and carried both their corps to the accustomed burial place of the royal family in *Persia*. But on his return, *Sogdianus* being on the throne, he was very ill received by him, on the account of some former quarrel that had been between them in his father's life-time; in revenge whereof, a little after taking pretence from something, which he found fault with, in the management of his father's funeral, he caused him to be stoned to death; by which two murders, that of his brother *Xerxes*, and this of the faithful eunuch, having made himself very odious to the army, as well as the nobility, he soon found that he sat very unsafe upon the throne which he had so wickedly gotten possession of. Whereon growing jealous and suspicious, lest some of his brothers should serve him as he had served *Xerxes*; and fearing *Ochus*, whom his father had made governor of *Hyrkania*, more than all the rest, he sent for him to come to court, with intention to rid himself of him, by putting him to death. But *Ochus* perceiving what his designs were, under several pretences from time to time delayed his coming, till at length having got together a powerful army, he marched against him for the revenging (as he declared) the death of his brother *Xerxes*; whereon many of the nobility, and several governors of provinces, who were disgusted with the cruelty and mismanagement of *Sogdianus*, revolted from him, and went over to *Ochus*, and having put the royal *Tiara* upon his head declared him King. *Sogdianus* seeing himself thus deserted, fell into great fear of the power of his brother, and having less courage to defend what he had wickedly done, than he had to commit it, was prevailed upon, contrary to the advice of the wisest and best of his friends, to come to a treaty with *Ochus*; who having hereby gotten him into his power, cast him into ashes, and there made him die a most cruel death. This was one of the punishments of the *Persians*, whereby great criminals among them were put to death. The manner of it is described in the xiiith chapter of the second book of the *Maccabees* to be thus: An high tower being filled a

[†] Thucydides, lib. 4.

[‡] Ctesias. Diodor. Sic. lib. 12. p. 319. & p. 322.

[§] Concerning the first invention of this punishment, see Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. cap. 2. ceter. §. 6.

great way up with ashes, the criminal was from the top thrown down headlong into them, and there had the ashes by a wheel continually stirred up and raised about him, till he was suffocated by them and died. And thus this wicked prince with his life lost his empire, after he had held it only six months and fifteen days:

SOGDIANUS being thus dispatched, *Ochus* obtained the kingdom, An. 423. Darius Nothus 1. and as soon as he was settled in it, he changed his name, taking that of *Darius* instead of *Ochus*, and is the same whom historians call *Darius Nothus*. He reigned nineteen years, and is in *Ptolemy's* canon placed as the next immediate successor of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, according to the method of that canon, which always reckons to the predecessor the whole last year in which he died, and placeth him as the next successor, who was on the throne in the beginning of the year following, (as hath been already observed) and both the reigns of *Xerxes* and *Sogdianus* making but eight months, and these not reaching to the end of the year in which *Artaxerxes* died, their reigns in that canon are cast into the last year of *Artaxerxes*, and *Darius* is placed next him, as if he had been his immediate successor.

BUT it not being the usage of the *Persian* Kings, on their accession to the throne, to displace any of the governors of provinces, unless they were such as they had just reason to mistrust, *Nehemiah*, during all these revolutions in the empire, continued still in his government of *Judea*, and went on with the same zeal and vigour to reform it in all things, relating either to church or state, and to correct and set all at rights, that was amiss in either of them.

ARSITES seeing how *Sogdianus* had supplanted *Xerxes*, and *Ochus* An. 422. Darius Nothus 2. *Sogdianus*, thought to do the same with *Ochus*. And therefore, though he was his brother by the same mother as well as by the same father, rebelled against him, and *Artyphius* the son of *Megabyzus* joined with him in this revolt. *Ochus*, now called *Darius*, sent against *Artyphius*, *Artasyras* one of his generals, while he with another army marched against *Arsites*. *Artyphius* vanquished his adversary in two battles by the help of his *Grecian* mercenaries. But these being bribed over to *Artasyras* he lost the third battel, and thereby being reduced to the utmost difficulty, he surrender'd, on hopes given him of mercy, into the hands of *Darius*, who would immediately have put him to death, but that he was dissuaded from it by *Parysatis* his Queen. She was one of the daughters of *Artaxerxes* his father by another mother, and a very subtle crafty woman, and whose counsel and advice he chiefly depended upon in the management of all his affairs. Her advice on the present occasion was to treat *Artyphius* with all manner of clemency, that by such usage of a rebel servant, he might the better encourage his rebel brother to hope for the same favour, and cast himself upon his mercy, and that if he could this way decoy him into his power, he might then deal with both as he should think fit. *Darius* following this advice, had that success in it which was proposed. For *Arsites* being informed with what clemency *Artyphius* was treated, thought he, as a brother, might be favoured much more; and therefore coming to terms with the King, yielded himself unto him. But when he had thus

got him into his power, he cast both him and *Artyphius* into the ashes, and there made them both miserably perish. *Darius* was much inclined to have spared *Arsites*, but he was over-ruled herein by the advice of *Parysatis*, who pressed it upon him, that he could no otherwise provide for his own safety, but by the death of this rebel. And the force of this argument prevailed with him, though with great difficulty, to consent to it. They being both born of the same mother, this was the cause of the tenderness which he had for him.

He also put to death *Pharnacyas* the eunuch, for the hand which he had in the death of *Xerxes*; and *Monasthenes* another eunuch, who was the chief confidant of *Sogdianus*, and also concerned with him in his treachery against his brother, was forced to kill himself to avoid the punishment of a much severer death, which was intended for him. But all these executions did not set *Darius* at quiet upon his throne. For many other troubles were raised against him afterwards.

An. 414.
Darius
Nothus
10.

THE chiefest and the most dangerous of them was the rebellion of *Pisuthnes*, who being made governor of *Lydia* did there set up for himself, and cast off his obedience to the King; to which he was chiefly encouraged by the confidence which he placed in an army of mercenary *Greeks*, whom he had got together into his service under the command of *Lycon* an *Athenian*. Against him *Darius* sent *Tissaphernes* with an army to suppress the rebel, and also with a commission to be governor of *Lydia* in his stead. *Tissaphernes*, being a very crafty and insidious man, finds ways to get within *Pisuthnes's* *Grecian* Mercenaries, and having with large gifts and larger promises corrupted both them and their general to change sides, they deserted *Pisuthnes* and went over to *Tissaphernes*; whereby *Pisuthnes* being left too weak any longer to carry on his designs, was persuaded, on promises made him of pardon, to trust to them, and surrender himself; but as soon as he was brought to the King, he caused him to be cast into the ashes, and there perish, in the same manner as had been the fate of the other rebels before him. However this did not put an end to the troubles which he had raised in those parts; for *Amorgas* his son still continued in arms with the remaining part of his army, and about two years after infested the maritime provinces of lesser *Asia*, till at length, being taken prisoner by the *Peloponnesians* at *Iasus* a city of *Ionia*, he was delivered to *Tissaphernes*, and put to death.

THE next disturbance which *Darius* had was from *Artoxares* the chief of the eunuchs. He had three eunuchs, by whose ministry he governed all the affairs of his empire, these were *Artoxares*, *Artibarxanes*, and *Athous*; and next *Parysatis* his Queen, he placed his greatest confidence in them, and trusted to their counsel and advice above all others, in whatsoever he did through all the emergencies of the government. By which height of authority *Artoxares* being intoxicated, from being chief minister he at length began to dream of making himself chief governor of the empire, and laid designs of cutting off *Darius*, and seizing the throne for himself. And that his being an eunuch might be no obstacle to him herein, he married a wife, and wore an artificial beard, that he might be thought to be no eunuch. But his wife knowing the whole plot, and be-

ing perchance weary of an husband, whom she found to be truly an eunuch in her bed, whatsoever he pretended to be out of it, discovered all to the King, whereon he was taken into custody, and delivered over into the hands of *Parysatis*, who caused him to be put to death in such manner as would best satiate her cruelty, in which she exceeded all women living.

BUT the greatest misfortune that befel *Darius* during all his reign, was the ^y revolt of *Egypt*, which happened in the same year with the revolt of *Pisuthnes*. For altho' *Darius* again mastered the latter of these rebellions, he never could the other. But the whole province of *Egypt*, which was one of the best of the whole *Persian* empire, was lost unto him all the remaining part of his reign, as it also was to his successors, till it was again reduced by *Ochus*, as will be hereafter related. For the *Egyptians* being weary of the *Persian* yoke, *Amyrtaeus Saïtes* took the advantage of it, and sallied out of his fens, where he had reigned ever since the suppression of *Inarus's* revolt, and being joined by the other *Egyptians*, soon drove the *Persians* out of the countrey, and made himself King of all *Egypt*, and reigned there six years.

ABOUT this time happened at *Athens* the condemnation of *Diagoras* the *Melian*. He having settled in that city, and there ^z taught atheism, the *Athenians* prosecuted him for it. But by flying out of that countrey he escaped the punishment of death, which was intended for him, altho' not the sentence. For the *Athenians*, having in his absence condemned him for his impious doctrine, did set a price upon his head, and decreed the reward of a talent to whosoever should kill him, wheresoever he should be found. And about twenty years before ^a they had proceeded against *Protagoras* another philosopher with the like severity, for only doubting of the being of a God. For in the beginning of one of his books he having written thus, *Of the Gods I know nothing, neither that they are, nor that they are not. For there are many things that hinder, the blindness of our understanding, and the shortness of human life:* the *Athenians* would not endure so much as the raising of a doubt about this matter, but calling in all his books by the common cryers of their city, they caused them all publickly to be burnt with infamy, and banished the author out of their territories for ever. Both these had been the scholars of *Democritus* the first founder of the atomical philosophy, which is indeed wholly an atheistical scheme. For tho' it allows the being of a God in name, it takes it away in effect. For by denying the power of God to create the world, and the providence of God to govern the world, and the justice of God to judge the world, they do the same in effect, as if they had denied his being. But this they durst not openly do even among the heathens for fear of punishment; the greater shame is it to us, who in a christian state permit so many impious wretches to do this among us, with a free liberty and absolute impunity.

ELIASHIB the high-priest of the *Jews* died in the eleventh year of *Darius Nothus*, after he had held that pontificate forty years, and ^b was succeeded in it by *Joiada* his son.

An. 413.
Darius
Nothus
21.

^y Eusebius in Chronico.
Avibus. Hesychius Milefius.
Apionem, lib. 2. Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 1.
lib. 11. c. 7. Chronicon Alexandrinum.

^z Josephus contra Apionem, lib. 2. Aristophanes in
^a Diogenes Laertius in Protagora. Josephus contra
^b Nehem. xii. Josephus,

An. 412.
Darius
Nothus
12.

At this time ^b *Tissaphernes* was governor of *Lydia* and *Ionia*, and ^b *Pharnabazus* of the *Hellepont*, for King *Darius*; who being men of great craft, and also of great application for the prosecuting the interest of their prince, were not wanting to make the best advantage they could of the divisions of the *Greeks*, for the promoting of the welfare of the *Persian* empire. The *Peloponnesian* war had now been carried on between the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians* to the twentieth year. The policy practised herein, by these two *Persians*, was sometimes to help one and sometimes the other, that the matter being equally ballanced between them, neither might by suppressing the other be at leisure to trouble them, who had so long been the common enemy of both. And therefore at this time the *Athenians* seeming to them to have the ascendant over the other in the fortune of the war, especially on the *Asian* coasts, and having there much provoked them by the auxiliaries which they had sent under the command of *Lycon*, for the aiding and supporting of *Pisuthnes* in his revolt, they entered into an alliance with the *Lacedæmonians* against them. This had been treated of with them by *Tissaphernes* the former year, but now was by the consent of both governors agreed to, whereby the *Persians* were obliged to furnish the *Lacedæmonians* with large subsidies for the payment of their fleet; and the *Lacedæmonians*, in consideration hereof, yielded that the *Persian* King should have all those countries and cities, which he or his ancestors had at any time before the date of the treaty been possessed of. But when this treaty came to be examined in a full assembly of the *Lacedæmonians*, the concessions made in it to the King of *Persia* were thought too large, as including all the islands of the *Egean* sea, and also all those countries which *Xerxes* had taken possession of on this side the *Hellepont*, and therefore the ratification of them was deny'd. And by this time the *Athenians* wanting the ballance on their side, to make them bear even with their adversaries, *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* upon this provocation carried over their assistance to them; and altho' the next year, on an emendation made in the yielding clause, by limiting of it to the *Asian* provinces, the treaty was ratified and confirmed by the *Lacedæmonians*, yet by several underhand and indirect practices they rather assisted the *Athenians* than them, especially in defrauding their fleet of the subsidies they promised to pay them, and by sending back *Alcibiades* again to the *Athenians*, which turned the whole fate of the war. And thus they continued either openly or covertly, sometimes to help one, and sometimes to help the other, in order to weaken and waste both, till *Cyrus* came to be chief governor of the *Asian* provinces.

An. 410.
Darius
Nothus
14.

AMTERTÆUS having settled himself in the kingdom of *Egypt*, by a total expulsion of the *Persians* out of that countrey, ^c made great preparations to follow them into *Phœnicia*, and had the *Arabians* in confederacy with him for this purpose. Of which the King of *Persia* having received advice, the fleet with which he had stipulated to help the *Lacedæmonians*, was recalled to defend his own territories. But the war seems not to have broken out there till the year following.

An. 409.
Darius
Nothus
15.

In the fifteenth year of *Darius Nothus* ended the first seven weeks of

^b Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. Ctesias. Thucydides, lib. 8. Plutarchus in Alcibiade.

^c Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. p. 335.

the seventy weeks of *Daniel's* prophecy. For then the restoration of the church and state of the *Jews* in *Jerusalem* and *Judea* was fully finished, in that last act of reformation, which is recorded in the xiiith chapter of *Nehemiah*, from the 23^d verse to the end of the chapter, just forty nine years after it had been first begun by *Ezra*, in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. And this reformation was the removal of all unlawful marriages from among the people. For altho' the law^a strictly forbade them to make inter-marriages with any foreign nation, either by giving their daughters to them for wives, or by taking their daughters to themselves, yet since their return from the *Babylonish* captivity they had given little regard hereto, but took to them wives of all the nations round about them, with whom God had strictly commanded them not to make any alliances. It seems most likely, that while they were mixed with the strange nations of those countries of the east, into which they were carried captive by the *Babylonians*, they there first made these strange marriages, and from thence brought with them this forbidden usage on their return. *Ezra* found^c it spread among them on his first coming to *Jerusalem*, and altho' for a while he had brought it to a thorough reformation, yet by the time that *Nehemiah* came to succeed him^d the corruption was grown up again; and altho' he did then again reform it, and made all the people enter into a covenant with God, and seal it with an oath and a curse upon themselves, strictly to observe the rule of God's law herein for the future; and a little after his last return to his government, he had made another reformation herein,^e by separating from *Israel* all the mix'd multitude, yet this did not wholly root out the evil, but it grew up again, and^f at length came to such an height, that the pontifical house, which of all others ought to have been kept the clearest from all such impure commixtures, was polluted therewith. For one of the sons of *Joiada* the high-priest, whom^g *Josephus* calls *Manasseh*, had married the daughter of *Sanballat the Horonite*; whereby an ill example being given for the breach of the law, by such as were most concerned to see to the observance of it, *Nehemiah* came in with the utmost stretch of his power to remedy this enormity, and forced all who had taken such strange wives forthwith to part with them, or depart the country; whereon *Manasseh* being unwilling to quit his wife, fled to *Samaria*; and many others, who being in the same case with him, were also of the same mind, accompanied him thither, and there settled under the protection of *Sanballat*, who was the governor of the place.

It may be here objected, that I put the last reformation of *Nehemiah* too low, and the marriage of *Manasseh* too high, and therefore it will be necessary, before I proceed any farther, to clear these two particulars.

As to the first of these, this last act of *Nehemiah's* reformation, whereby he purged the land of such as would not be obedient to the law of God in the case of their wives, *Nehemiah* himself tells us, it was^h while *Joiada* was high-priest at *Jerusalem*. But accordingⁱ to the *Chronicon*

^a Exod. xxxiv. 16. Deut. vii. 3.

^c Ezra ix. x.

^f Nehem. x. 30.

^g Nehem. xiii. 3.

^d Nehem. xiii. 23---31.

ⁱ Antiq. lib. xi. c. 7.

^e Nehem. xiii. 28.

^h The number of years, which the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* ascribes to each high-priest, brings down the first of *Joiada* to that year which is the eleventh of *Darius Nothus* in the canon of *Ptolemy*.

Alexandrinum, (which gives us ^m the truest account of the succession of the high-priests of the *Jews*, from the captivity of *Babylon* to the reign of the *Seleucian* Kings) *Joiada* succeeded in the high-priesthood on the death of *Eliashib* his father, only four years before this year, in which I place this act of reformation. And therefore higher than this, unless in one of these four years, it cannot be placed within the time of *Jehoiada's* high-priesthood. And that which determines me to place it in the fifth year of that priesthood, rather than in any of the four preceding, is the prophecy of *Daniel's* seventy weeks. For by that prophecy, from the going forth of the decree to restore and build *Jerusalem*, (that is, to restore and build up again the church and state of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, by a thorough reformation of both) to the end of that reformation, were to be seven of those weeks, that is, forty nine years. And these forty nine years beginning in the seventh year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, when this decree was granted to *Ezra*, they must end in the fifteenth year of *Darius Nothus* his son, which was the fifth year of the high-priesthood of *Joiada*, and therefore here this reformation must have had its ending also. And since the expulsion of *Manasseh*, with such others with him as would not be reformed, is the last act which is mentioned to have been done of this reformation in those very scriptures, which are professedly written to give us an account of the whole of it; what is more reasonable than to infer, that in this act it had its conclusion? and that therefore this act must be there placed where that reformation ended, that is, forty nine years after it had its beginning, according to the prophecy of *Daniel*, which I have mentioned. And from the seventh of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* to the fifteenth of *Darius Nothus* were just forty nine years. If any one shall say, that in the text of *Nehemiah* (chap. xiii. 28.) the word *high-priest* is put in apposition with *Eliashib*, and not with *Joiada*, and that therefore this last act of *Nehemiah's* reformation was in the high-priesthood of *Eliashib*, and not in that of *Joiada* his son; my answer to it is, that the *Hebrew* original cannot bear this interpretation. For it having been the usage of the *Jews*, as well as of all other nations of the east, for the better distinguishing of persons, to add the name of the father to that of the son, in the same manner as was lately practised by the *Welsh*, and still is among the *Irish*, these words in the text, *Joiada Ben Eliashib*, i. e. *Joiada the son of Eliashib*, all together make but one name of the same person; and therefore the word *high-priest*, which followeth, can be put in apposition with nothing but the whole of it.

As to the second objection, that I place the marriage of *Manasseh* too high, my answer is, I place it there where the scriptures place it, that is, in the high-priesthood of *Joiada*. *Josephus* indeed placeth this marriage in the high-priesthood of *Jaddua* the grandson of *Joiada*, and saith, that he who contracted it was the brother of *Jaddua* and the son of *Johanan*. To reconcile this matter, some fancy that there were two *Sanballats*, the first the *Sanballat* of the holy scriptures, and the other the *Sanballat* of *Josephus*, and that there were two marriages contracted by two different persons, sons of two different high-priests of the *Jews*, with two different women, who were each daughters of two different *Sanballats*; the first

^m It best agreeth both with the scripture and the prophane histories of those times.

the daughter of the *Sanballat* of the scriptures, and the other the daughter of the *Sanballat* of *Josephus*, and that he that married the first of them was a son of *Joiada*, but that he that married the second of them was the son of *Johanan*, and brother of *Jaddua*. But as I have shewn before, that there could be but one *Sanballat*, and that the *Sanballat* of *Josephus* was the same with the *Sanballat* of the holy scriptures, but that *Josephus*, by a mistake in his chronology, placed him in the time of *Darius Codomannus*, whereas he should have placed him in the time of *Darius Nothus*; so it must follow from hence, that he was one and the same high-priest's son, that married his daughter. For each, who is said to have contracted this marriage, being the son of an high-priest of the *Jews*, each marrying the daughter of a *Sanballat* governor of *Samaria*, and each being expelled *Jerusalem* for it; these three characters sufficiently prove both to be the same person. The scriptures indeed give him no name, but *Josephus* calls him *Manasseh*, and therefore I call him so too. The question therefore being reduced to this, whether this marriage is to be placed in the high-priesthood of *Joiada*, and the reign of *Darius Nothus*, where the scriptures place it, or else in the high-priesthood of *Jaddua*, and the reign of *Darius Codomannus*, where *Josephus* placeth it; I hope there will be no difficulty in determining which authority to follow.

THE war being ^a carried on between the *Egyptians* and the *Persians*, and each contending to enlarge and strengthen their barrier on the borders, it seems most likely that *Darius* on this occasion came in person into *Phœnicia*, and that then it was, that *Sanballat* attending him, so far insinuated himself into his favour, ^b as to obtain from him a grant to build on mount *Gerizim*, near *Samaria*, a temple like that at *Jerusalem*, and to make *Manasseh* his son-in-law high-priest of it; and that herein all that had its foundation, which *Josephus* by mistaking the time attributes to *Darius Codomannus* and *Alexander the Great*. And perchance this war might some time after produce that siege of *Gaza*, at ^c which *Sanballat* died. For even at this time he must have been a very old man. *Gaza* being the common inlet between *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, for the passing of each to other, the possession of it was of great importance on either side. If held by the *Egyptians*, it would be a gate to let them in to ravage *Judea*, *Phœnicia*, and *Syria*; and if by the *Persians*, it would be a strong barrier to keep them out, and also be a like gate for the passage of the *Persian* forces into *Egypt*. And therefore if *Amyrtæus* had now possessed himself of this important post, it concerned the King of *Persia* to do his utmost to recover it. For without it he could neither defend the territories which he had remaining in those parts, nor pass into *Egypt* to recover what he had there lost. For he that was master of this pass could obstruct the passage either way. And therefore ^d *Alexander* himself, after his victory at *Issus*, could not pass into *Egypt* till he had taken it.

SANBALLAT having built this temple, and made *Manasseh* high-priest of it, *Samaria* thenceforth became ^e the common refuge and asylum of the refractory *Jews*; so that if any among them were found guilty of violating the law, as in eating forbidden meats, the breach of the sabbath,

^a Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. p. 355.

^b Joseph. lib. 13. c. 8.

^c Joseph. ibid.

^d Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 6. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Arrian. lib. 2. edit. Blancard, p. 150.

^e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 8.

or the like, and were called to an account for it, they fled to the *Samaritans*, and there found reception, by which means it came to pass, that after some time the greatest part of that people were made up of apostate *Jews*, and their descendants. The first of these *Samaritans* were the *Cuthæans*, and such others of the eastern nation, as *Eserhaddon* planted there after the deportation of the *Israelites*. But when these apostate *Jews* flocked to them, they became a mungrel sort of people made up of both. But the mixing of so many *Jews* among them soon made a change in their religion. For whereas they had hitherto^f worshipped the God of *Israel* only in conjunction with their other gods, that is, the gods of those nations of the east from whence they came; after a temple was built among them, in which the daily service was constantly performed in the same manner as at *Jerusalem*, and the book of the law of *Moses* was brought to *Samaria*, and there publickly read to them, they soon^g left off worshipping their false gods, and conformed themselves wholly to the worship of the true God, according to the rule which was in that book prescribed to them, and were more exact in it (as^h some of the *Jewish* doctors acknowledge) than the *Jews* themselves. However, the *Jews* looking on them as apostates, hated them above all the nations of the earth, so asⁱ to avoid all manner of converse and communication with them. This hatred first began from the opposition which the *Samaritans* made against them, on their return from the *Babylonish* captivity, both in their rebuilding of the temple, and their repairing of the walls of *Jerusalem*, of which an account hath been above given; and it was afterwards much encreased by this apostacy of *Manasseh*, and those who joined with him in it, and by their erecting hereon an altar, and a temple, in opposition to theirs at *Jerusalem*. And all others, who at any time after fled from *Jerusalem* for the violating of the law, always finding reception among them, this continually farther added to the rancour which the *Jews* had entertained against them, till at length it grew to that height, that the *Jews* published a curse and an anathema against them, the bitterest that ever was denounced against any people. For thereby they forbid all manner of communication with them, declaring all the fruits and products of their land, and every thing else of theirs, which was either eaten or drank among them, to be as swines flesh, and prohibited all of their nation ever to taste thereof; and also excluded all of that people from being ever received as proselytes to their religion. And in the last place proceeded so far, as even to the barring of them for ever from having any portion in the resurrection of the dead to eternal life, as if this also were in their power. This curse, they say, was first denounced against them by *Zerubbabel* and *Jeshua*, on the opposition which they gave them in the rebuilding of the temple, and by them transmitted to the *Jews* of *Babylon*, where it being also ratified and confirmed, it became thereby the act and sentence of the whole *Jewish* church. This account is given of it^k in *Pirke R. Eliezer*, which is^l reputed one of the ancientest of their books. And ever since, they

^f 2 Kings xvii.^g Epiphanius hæc. 9. Hottingeri exercitationes anti-morinianæ, §. 16.^h Maimonides in tractatum mishnicum Beracoth. c. 8. §. 8. Obadiah Bartenora in eundem tractatum, cap. 7. §. 1.ⁱ John iv. 9.^k Cap. 38. & vide Animadversiones Vorstii ad^l locum prædictum, p. 226---230. *Lightfoot*, vol. 1. p. 599. ^m The Jews say this book was writ before the destruction of *Jerusalem*, but there being mention made therein of the *Saracen* empire, it must have been written at least six hundred years after.

say it hath been renewed, and also by adding curse upon curse continually aggravated among them. But it is not likely that this was done by *Zerubbabel* and *Jeshua*, in the manner as related by *R. Eliezer*. If it were done at all, it was done afterwards, when the hatred of the *Jews* against them was grown to the utmost height from the causes mentioned. But thus much is certain, that for many ages past, the conduct of the *Jews* towards the *Samaritans* hath been according to the tenor of this anathema, they constantly refusing all manner of converse or communication with them, and so it was even in our Saviour's time. For why else should the woman of *Samaria* ask our Saviour, *How is it that thou being a Jew askest drink of me who am a woman of Samaria?* but that it was even then forbidden among the *Jews*, either to eat or drink any thing of that which was the *Samaritans*. And the words immediately following are to this purpose; for they tell us, that *the Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans*. The common name by which they call these people, is that of *Cutheans*, which is a name of so great infamy among them, that whenever they are provoked to express the utmost of their rancour against any one, they call him *Cuthean*, in the same manner as we often call those whom we detest *Jews* or *Turks*; but that of *Cuthean* imports a much greater degree of detestation among them, than either of the other two do among us. And that this humour was very ancient among them appears from hence, that when the *Jews* expressed their utmost aversion to our Saviour, they said unto him, *Thou art a Samaritan and hast a devil*; as if to be a *Samaritan* and have a devil were things of equal reproach. And the author of the book of *Ecclesiasticus*, when he reckons up the nations which were most detestable to the *Jews*, ^a names *the foolish people that dwell in Shechem*, to be those who were chiefly so. However the *Samaritans* themselves will not own their original from those eastern colonies of *Eserbaddon*, but claim to be descended from the sons of *Joseph*, and therefore call *Jacob* their father; and so the woman of *Samaria* ^b calls him in her discourse with our Saviour. But *Josephus* ^c tells us, they used to do this only when the *Jews* were in prosperity. But if at any time they fell under difficulties or oppressions, they then disclaimed all relation to them, saying they were of another nation, as ^d was notoriously done by them in the time of *Antiochus's* persecution. The particulars in which they and the *Jews* differ from each other in their religion, are these following.

I. THE *Samaritans* ^e receive none other scriptures than the five books of *Moses*, rejecting all the other books, which are in the *Jewish* canon. And these five books they still have among them, written in the old *Hebrew* or *Phœnician* character, which was in use among them before the *Babylonish* captivity, and in which both these, and all other scriptures were written, till *Ezra* transcribed them into that of the *Chaldeans*. And this hath led many learned men into a mistake, as if the *Samaritan* copy, because written in the old character, were the true authentic copy, and that *Ezra's* was only a transcript; whereas in truth, the *Samaritan* pentateuch is no more than a transcript, copied in another character from that

^a John viii. 48.
c. 14. & lib. 11. c. 8.

^b Ecclesiasticus v. 28.

^c John iv. 12.

^d Antiq. lib. 9;

^e Hieronymus in Dialogo adversus Luciferianos. Epiphanius Hæres. 9. Benjaminis itinerarium, p. 38. Eutychius, &c.

of *Ezra*, with some variations, additions, and transpositions made therein. That it was copied from that of *Ezra* is manifest from two reasons. For, first, It hath all the interpolations that *Ezra's* copy hath; and that he was the author of those interpolations is generally acknowledged: And therefore had it been ancients than *Ezra's* copy, it must have been without them. Secondly, There are a great many variations in the *Samaritan* copy, which are manifestly caused by the mistake of the similar letters in the *Hebrew* alphabet; which letters having no similitude in the *Samaritan* character, this evidently proves those variations were made in transcribing the *Samaritan* from the *Hebrew*, and not in transcribing the *Hebrew* from the *Samaritan*. It seems from hence to be beyond all doubt that *Manasseh*, when he fled to the *Samaritans*, first brought the law of *Moses* among them. *Esarhaddon*, indeed, sent to his new colony, which he had planted in *Samaria*, an *Israelitish* priest, to teach them the way of worshipping God according to the manner of the former inhabitants; but it appears not that he did this by bringing the law of *Moses* among them, or that they were any otherwise instructed in it, than by tradition, till *Manasseh* came among them. For had they received the law of *Moses* from the first, and made that the rule of worship, which they paid the God of *Israel*, from the time of the coming of that priest among them; how could they have continued in that gross idolatry of worshipping other Gods in conjunction with him, which that law doth so often and so strictly forbid? And yet in this idolatry, it is agreed on all hands, they continued till the building of the temple on mount *Gerizim*; and therefore it seems clear, that till then they had not a copy of this law, but that when *Manasseh*, and so many apostate *Jews* with him, came over to them, and settled in *Samaria*, they first brought it among them; and because the old *Phœnician* character was that only which the *Samaritans* were accustomed to, they caused this law, for their sakes, to be written out in that character, and in this they have retained it ever since. This *Samaritan* pentateuch was well known to many of the fathers, and ancient christian writers. For it is quoted by *Origen*, *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, *Jerom*, *Diodor of Tarsus*, *Cyril of Alexandria*, *Procopius Gazæus*, and others. That which made it so familiar to them, was a *Greek* translation of it then extant, which now is lost. For as there was a *Greek* translation of the *Hebrew* scriptures made for the use of the hellenistical *Jews*, which we call the *Septuagint*, so also was there a like *Greek* translation of the *Samaritan* scriptures, (that is, the pentateuch, which they only allowed for such) made for the use of the hellenistical *Samaritans*, especially for those of *Alexandria*,^e where the *Samaritans* dwelt in great numbers, as well as the *Jews*. *Origen* indeed, and *Jerom*, understood the *Hebrew* language, and therefore might have consulted the *Samaritan* text, that being none other than *Hebrew* in another character. But the rest of those mentioned understanding nothing of it, could no otherwise have any knowledge of this *Samaritan* pentateuch, but from the translation of it. And there is also an old scholiast upon the *Septuagint*, that makes frequent mention of it. But this as well as the other ancient books, in which any mention of this *Samaritan* pentateuch is to be found, were all written before the end of the sixth century. From that time for above a thousand years after, it hath lain wholly in the dark, and

^f 2 Kings xvii. 28.^e Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 1. & lib. 13. c. 6.

in an absolute state of oblivion among all christians both of the west and east, and hath been no more spoken of after that time by any of their writers, till about the beginning of the last century, when *Scaliger*, having gotten notice that there was such a *Samaritan* pentateuch among those of that sect in the east, ^a made heavy complaints, that no one would take care to get a copy of it from thence, and bring it among us into these parts. A little after this ^b archbishop *Usher* procured several copies of it out of the east, and not long after *Sancius Harley* a priest of the oratory at *Paris*, and afterwards bishop of *St. Malo's* in *Britany*, ^c brought another copy into *Europe*, and repositied it in the library belonging to that order in *Paris*. From which copy *Morinus*, another priest of the same order, published it in the *Paris Polyglot*. This *Sancius Harley* had been embassador from the *French King* at *Constantinople*, where having resided in that quality ten years, he made use of the opportunity which he had there, of making a good collection of oriental books, which he brought home with him on his return, and having a while after enter'd himself among the oratorians at *Paris*, he did put all these books into their library, and among them was this copy of the *Samaritan* pentateuch, which *Morinus* published.

THE *Samaritans*, besides the pentateuch in the original *Hebrew* language, have also ^d another in the language that was vulgarly spoken among them. For as the *Jews* after the *Babylonish* captivity, degenerated in their language from the *Hebrew* to the *Babylonish* dialect, so the *Samaritans* did the same; whether this happened by their bringing this dialect out of *Affyria* with them, when they first came to plant in *Samaria*, or that they first fell into it, by conforming themselves to the speech of those *Phenician* and *Syrian* nations who lived next them, and with whom they mostly conversed, or else had it from the mixture of those *Jews* who revolted to them with *Manasseh*, we have not light enough to determine. But however it came to pass, after it so happened, the vulgar no longer understood what was written in the *Hebrew* language. And therefore, as the *Jews* for the sake of the vulgar among them, who understood nothing but the vulgar language, were forced to make *Chaldee* versions of the scriptures, which they call the *Targums* or *Chaldee Paraphrases*; so the *Samaritans* were forced for the same reason to do the same thing, and to make a version of their pentateuch into the vulgar *Samaritan*, which is called the *Samaritan* version. And this *Samaritan* version, as well as the original *Samaritan* text, *Morinus* published together in the *Polyglot* above-mentioned. The *Samaritan* text he printed from *Sancius Harley's* copy, but the *Samaritan* version he had from *Peter a Valle*, a gentleman of *Rome*, who having many years travelled over the east, brought it thence with him, and communicated it to *Morinus*. But that work being precipitated with too much haste, it had passed the press before such other helps came to him from *Perescius*, *Dr. Comber* dean of *Carlisle*, and others, as would have enabled him to have made it much more perfect; but what was wanting therein, was afterwards rectified in the *London Polyglot*, in which the *Samaritan* text, and the *Samaritan* version, and the *Latin* translation of both, are published all together, much more complete and correct than they were

^a De emendatione Temporum, lib. 7. p. 669.

^b Polyglotta Lond. §. 10.

^c cap. 1.

^d Vid. Waltonum & Morinum.

^e Waltoni Prolegom. xi. ad Bibliam

^f Morini exercitatio prima in Pentateuchum Samaritanum

before. This *Samaritan* version is not made, like the *Chaldee* among the *Jews*, by way of paraphrase, but by an exact rendering of the text word for word, for the most part without any variation. So that *Morinus* thought one *Latin* translation might serve for both, and the *London Polyglot* hath followed the same method; only where there any variations, they are marked at the bottom of the page.

As to the variations, additions and transpositions, whereby the *Samaritan* copy differs from the *Hebrew*, they are all enumerated in *Hottinger's* book against *Morinus*, and in the collation made of both texts in the last volume of the *London Polyglot*. It is not to be so much wondered at, that there are these differences between those two copies, as that there should not have been many more, after those who had adhered to the one, and those who had adhered to the other, had not only broken off all manner of communication, but had constantly been in the bitterest variance possible with each other for above two thousand years. For so long had passed from the apostacy of *Manasseh* to the time when these copies were first brought into *Europe*. After the series of so many ages past, many differences might have happened by the errors of the transcribers, and the most that are between these two copies, are of this sort. As to the rest, some are changes designedly made by the *Samaritans*, for the better support of their cause against the *Jews*, of which sort one that is notoriously such, will be taken notice of by and by in its proper place. Others are interpolations for the better explication of the text, added either from other parts of scripture, or else by way of paraphrase upon it, to express explicitly what was thought to be implicitly contained therein. Of the first sort are, 1^o, The addition which we find in the xviiith chapter of *Exodus*, where between the 25th and the 26th verses is inserted, what we have from the 9th to the 14th verse of the 1st of *Deuteronomy* inclusively; And, 2^o, That which we find in the xth of *Numbers*, where between the 10th and 11th verses is inserted, all that which we read in the 6th, 7th and 8th verses of the 1st of *Deuteronomy*; both which insertions are wanting in the *Hebrew*. And of the other sort are what we find the ivth chapter of *Genesis*, ver. 8. and in the xiith chapter of *Exodus*, ver. 40. In the first of these, after what is said in the *Hebrew* text, *And Cain spake* (or said) *to Abel his brother*; the *Samaritan* text adds, *Let us go into the field*. And in the latter, instead of these words in the *Hebrew* text; *Now the inhabiting of the children of Israel, whereby they inhabited in Egypt, were four hundred and thirty years*; The *Samaritan* text hath it, *Now the inhabiting of the children of Israel, and their fathers, whereby they inhabited in the land of Canaan, and in the land of Egypt, were four hundred and thirty years*. Both these additions, it is manifest, mend the text, and make it more clear, and intelligible, and seem to add nothing to the *Hebrew* copy, but what must be understood by the reader, to make out the sense thereof. As to the other variations, the most considerable of them are those which we find in the ages of the patriarchs before *Abraham*, in which the *Samaritan* computation comes nearer to the *Septuagint* than to the *Hebrew*, though it differs from both. How these, or the transpositions of verses, or the other alterations and additions which are found in the *Samaritan* copy, and the differences which from thence arise between the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* pentateuch, came about, many conjectures have been offered; but no certain judgment being to be made about them, without a better light

light to direct us herein, than we can now have, I will trouble the reader with none of them; but shall add only this farther upon this head, that none of these differences can infer, that the *Samaritan* copy which we now have, is not truly that which was anciently in use among them. For most, if not all of those passages, which were quoted out of it above eleven hundred years since, by those writers I have mentioned, as differing from, or agreeing with the *Hebrew* text, and by some of them much earlier, are now to be found in the present *Samaritan* copies in the same words, as quoted by them, and in the same manner differing from, or agreeing with that text. There is an old copy of the *Samaritan* pentateuch now shewn at *Shechem*, (or *Naplous* as they now call it) the head seat of that sect, which would put this matter beyond all dispute, were that true which is said of it. For ^m they tell us, that therein are written these words; *I Abishua the son of Phineas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron the high-priest, have transcribed this copy at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, in the thirteenth year of the children of Israel's entrance into the holy land.* But Dr. Huntington, late bishop of *Rapho* in *Ireland*, having, while chaplain to the *Turkey* company at *Aleppo*, been at *Shechem*, and there examined this copy upon the spot, found no such words on the manuscript, nor thought the copy ancient. Whether the *Samaritans* did in ancient times absolutely reject all the other scriptures besides the pentateuch, some do doubt; because it is certain ⁿ from the discourse of the woman of *Samaria* with our Saviour, that they had the same expectations of a *Messiah*, that the *Jews* had, and this, they say, they could no where clearly have but from the prophets. And it cannot be denied, but that there is some force in this argument. Perchance altho' they did read the pentateuch only in their Synagogues, yet anciently they might not have been without a due regard to the other sacred writings, whatsoever their sentiments may be of them at present.

II. THE second point of difference in religion, between the *Samaritans* and the *Jews*, anciently was, and still is, that the *Samaritans* reject all traditions, and adhere only to the written word it self; and in the observance of that they are acknowledged by the *Jews* themselves to be more exact than they are, and good reason is there for them so to say. For the *Jews* often make the law ^o of none effect by their traditions, whereas the *Samaritans* always kept themselves strictly to the written word, and never admitted any such corrupt glosses to draw them from it. And because in this they agreed with the *Sadducees* (for they also denied all traditions, and adhered to the written letter of the Law only) hence the *Jews* have taken an handle of calumniating them, as if they agreed in other particulars with the *Sadducees* also, and ^p denied with them the resurrection of the dead, which led ^q *Epiphanius* and ^r *St. Gregory* into the error of asserting this to be their opinion, whereas the resurrection of the dead hath always been a doctrine as firmly held, and as certainly believed among them, as by the *Jews* themselves.

III. THE third point of difference in religion, between the *Samaritans*

^m Waltoni Prolegom. xi. ad Biblia Polyglotta Lond. §. 17. Hottingeri Exercitationes Anti-Morinianæ, §. 37. Basnage's History of the Jews, Book ii. chap. 2. p. 81. ⁿ John iv. 25.
^o Matth. xv. 6. Mark vii. 13. ^p Joseph. Alb., §. 31. Sermon. 4. ^q Hieron. 9.
^r Moral. in Job, lib. i. cap. 15.

and the *Jews*, was about the place of their worship. The words of the woman of *Samaria*, in the gospel of *St. John*, state this matter exactly right. For in her discourse with our Saviour, she saith to him, *Our fathers worshipped in this mountain, but ye (meaning the Jews) say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship.* The law given by *Moses* was, that they should perform all their sacrifices and oblations ' *in the place that God should choose out of all their tribes to put his name there,* and that place was *Jerusalem*. For ' there the temple, by the direction of God himself, was built, and ' there God consecrated it by the habitation of his divine presence therein, and there all the tribes of *Israel*, that adhered to the true worship of God, offered up their sacrifices; and there the temple was again rebuilt after the *Babylonish* captivity, and the same service there carried on in a unity and uniformity of worship by all of that nation, till *Manasseh* made the schism that hath been mentioned, and fleeing to *Samaria*, did there set up altar against altar, and temple against temple. For after he had built that temple on mount *Gerizim*, and therein erected an altar in opposition to that at *Jerusalem*, the *Samaritans* and apostate *Jews*, who revolted to them, would no longer allow *Jerusalem* to be the place which God had chosen; but contended that mount *Gerizim* was that place, and argued for it in the same manner as the woman of *Samaria* did unto our Saviour, that is, that their fathers worshipped in that mountain. For they plead that there ' *Abraham*, and there ' *Jacob* built altars unto God, and by their offering up of sacrifices on them, consecrated that place above all others to his worship, and that therefore it was appointed by God himself to be the hill ' of blessing on the coming of the children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*; and that accordingly *Joshua* on his entering the land of *Canaan* had caused the blessings of God to be declared thereon; and also that on his having passed the river *Jordan*, he built an altar on it, of twelve stones taken out of that river in his passage, ' according as God had commanded by *Moses*. And this they hold to be the very altar upon which they still sacrifice on that mountain, even to this day. But to make out this last part of the argument, and thereby reconcile the greater veneration to mount *Gerizim*, and their place of worship thereon, they have been guilty of a very great prevarication in corrupting the text. For whereas the command of God is (*Deut. xxvii. 4.*) that they should set up the altar upon mount *Ebal*, they have there made a sacrilegious change in the next, and instead of mount *Ebal* have put mount *Gerizim*, the better to serve their cause by it. This corruption the *Jews* loudly charge them with, and the *Samaritans* do as loudly retort it upon them, and say that the *Jews* have corrupted the text in that place, by putting mount *Ebal* in their copies, where it should be mount *Gerizim*; and bring this argument for it, that mount *Gerizim* having been the mountain that was appointed whereon to declare the blessings of God, and mount *Ebal*, whereon to denounce his curses; the mountain of blessing was very proper, and the mountain of cursing very improper for an altar of God to be built upon. But notwithstanding this allegation in their be-

' *Deuter. xii. 5, 11, 14, 18, 26. xv. 26. xvi. 2, 6, 7, 15, 16, &c.*

' *1 Kings viii. 10. 2 Chron. vii. 1, 2, 3.*

' *Gen. xii. 6, 7. xlii. 4.*

' *1 Chron. xii.*

' *Gen. xxxiii. 20.*

' *Deuter. xxvii. 12.*

' *Deuter. xxvii. 2--7.*

Itself, all other copies and translations of the *Pentateuch* make against them, and prove the corruption to be on their side. And it very much aggravates their guilt herein, that they have not only corrupted the scriptures in this place, but have also interpolated them with this corruption in another, that is, in the xxth chapter of *Exodus*, where 'after the tenth commandment they have subjoined, by way of an additional precept thereto, words taken out of the xith and xxviith chapters of *Deuteronomy*, to command the erecting of the altar in mount *Gerizim* instead of mount *Ebal*, and the offering of sacrifices to God in that place. And in that they have thus voluntarily made a corrupt alteration in one place, and a corrupt addition in another, merely out of design to serve an ill cause, this gives the less authority to their copy in all other places, where either by alterations or additions it differs from that of the *Jews*.

THESE two mountains, called *Gerizim* and *Ebal*, are in the tribe of *Ephraim* near *Samaria*, and in the valley between them lyeth *Shechem*, now called *Naplois*, which hath been the head seat of the *Samaritan* sect ever since *Alexander* expelled them out of *Samaria* for the death of *Andromachus*. This place the *Jews* in our Saviour's time, by way of reproach, called *Sicchar*, and therefore we have it so named in ' *St. John's* gospel. It signifyeth the drunken city; and the prophet *Isaiah* having called the *Ephraimites* (whose dwelling was in those parts) ' *Siccorim*, i. e. *Drunkards*, they have this text on their side for the justifying of that name. Near this place was the field ' which *Jacob* bought of the children of *Hamor*, and gave unto *Joseph* his son a little before his death. Therein *Joseph's* bones ' were buried, when brought up out of the land of *Egypt*; and within the same plot of ground was the well, called *Jacob's* well, ' at which our Saviour sat down when he discoursed the woman of *Samaria*. But after all the contest that is made between the *Samaritans* and the *Jews*, about these two mountains, ' *Jerom* is positive, that neither of them were the *Gerizim* and *Ebal* of the holy scriptures, but that the two mountains so called in them, and on which the blessings and the cursings were proclaimed by the children of *Israel*, on their first passing over *Jordan* into the land of *Canaan*, were two small mountains or hills lying near *Jericho*, at a great distance from *Shechem*. And *Epiphanius* was of the same opinion with *Jerom* in this matter; and they having been both upon the place, may well be thought the best able to pass a true judgment about it. Their arguments for it are, 1st, That the scriptures place these two mountains over against that part of the river *Jordan* where the children of *Israel* passed into the land of *Canaan*, and near *Gilgal*; but *Shechem* is at a great distance

* The words added by the Samaritans, after the tenth commandment in the xxth chapter of *Exodus*, are as followeth,-----And it shall be, when the Lord thy God hath brought thee into the land of the Canaanites, whither thou goest to possess it, that thou shalt set up great stones, and plaister them with plaister, and thou shalt write upon these stones all the words of this law. And it shall be, when ye are gone over Jordan, that ye shall set up these stones which I command you this day, in mount *Gerizim*, and thou shalt build there an altar unto the Lord thy God, an altar of stones. Thou shalt not lift up any iron tool upon them. Thou shalt build the altar of the Lord thy God of whole stones. And thou shalt there offer burnt-offerings thereon to the Lord thy God, and thou shalt offer peace-offerings, and shalt eat there, and rejoice before the Lord thy God. This mountain is on the other side Jordan, by the way where the sun goeth down, in the land of the Canaanites, who dwell in the champion over against *Gilgal*, besides the plains of *Morch*, which are over against *Shechem*.
 * John iv. 5. * John iv. 5.
 * *Isaiah* xxviii. 1. * *Gen* xxiii. 19. xlviii. 22. *Josh* xxiv. 32. * *Josh* xxiv. 32.
 * John iv. 6. * Vide Scaligeri animadversiones in Eusebii Chronicon sub numero 1681.

from both. And, 2^{dly}, That the mountains near *Shechem*; called mount *Gerizim* and mount *Ebal*, are at too great a distance from each other, for the people from either of them to hear either the blessings or the cursings which were pronounced from the other; but that it would be quite otherwise as to the hills near *Jericho*, which they conceive to be the hills by the names of *Gerizim* and *Ebal* meant in scripture. But that hill from which *Jotham*, the son of *Gideon*, made his speech to the *Shechemites*, being ^e called *Gerizim*, and that certainly lying just over them (for otherwise they could not have heard him from thence) this clearly makes against this opinion, and evidently proves the mount *Gerizim* of the holy scriptures to be that very mount *Gerizim*, on which the temple of the *Samaritans* was built.

THE *Jews* accuse the *Samaritans* of two pieces of idolatry, which ^h they say were committed by them in this place. The first, that they there worshipped the image of a dove; and the other, that they paid divine adoration to certain *Teraphim*, or idol gods, there hid under that mountain. For the first charge, they took the handle from the idolatry of the *Assyrians*. For that people having worshipped one of their deities (*Simiramis* ⁱ faith *Diodorus Siculus*) under the image of a dove, they reproached the *Samaritans* as worshippers of the like image, because descended from them, and perchance they were so while they worshipped their other gods with the God of *Israel*; but never afterwards. And as to the second charge, it's true *Jacob* having found out that *Rachel* had stolen her father's *Teraphim*, or idol gods, took them from her, ^k and buried them under the oak in *Shechem*, which they suppose to have been at the foot of the mountain *Gerizim*; and from hence, because the *Samaritans* worshipped God in that mountain, the *Jews* suggest that they worshipped there for the sake of these idols, and paid divine adoration unto them. But both these charges were malicious calumnies falsely imputed to them. For after the time that *Manasseh* brought the law of *Moses* among them, and instructed them in it, the *Samaritans* became as zealous worshippers of the true God, and as great abhorrrers of all manner of idolatry, as the most rigorous of the *Jews* themselves, and so continue even to this day.

AND with this last act of *Nehemiah's* reformation, and the expulsion of those refractory *Jews* that would not conform to it, not only the first period of *Daniel's* seventy weeks, but also the holy scriptures of the *Old Testament* ending, I shall here also end this book, and proceed to relate what after followed from the beginning of the next.

^e Judg. ix. 7.

^h Talmud in tractatu Cholin. Vide etiam Waltoni prolegom. xi. ad biblia polyglotta Lond. §. 7. & Hottingeri exercitationes anti-morinianas, §. 16. & 17.

ⁱ Lib. 2. p. 66. & p. 76.

^k Gen. xxxv. 2, 3, 4.



THE
Old and New TESTAMENT
Connected in the
HISTORY
OF THE
Jews and Neighbouring Nations,
FROM THE
Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
to the time of CHRIST.

BOOK VII.



Hus far we have had the light of scripture to follow. Henceforth the books of the *Maccabees*, *Philo Judeus*, *Josephus*, and the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, are the only guides which we can have to lead us thorough the future series of this history, till we come to the times of the gospel of *Jesus Christ*. How long after this *Nehemiah* lived at *Jerusalem*, is uncertain; it is most likely, that he continued in his government to the time of his death, but when that happened is no where said, only it may be observed, that at the time where he ends his book, he could not be much less than seventy years old. After him, there seems not to have been any more gover-

An. 408.
Darius
Nothus
16.

nors of *Judea*, but that this countrey being added to the prefecture of *Syria*, was thenceforth wholly subjected to the governor of that province, and that under him the high-priest had the trust of regulating all affairs therein.

WHILE *Darius* was making war against the *Egyptians* and the *Arabians*, the *Medes* revolted from him, but being vanquished in battel they were soon forced again to return to their former allegiance; and for the punishment of their rebellion, submit to an heavier yoke of subjection than they had on them before; as is always the case of revolting subjects, when reduced again under the power against which they rebelled.

An. 407.
Darius
Nothus
17.

AND the next year after *Darius* seems to have had as good success against the *Egyptians*. For *Amyrtæus* being dead (perchance slain in battel) *Herodotus*^b tells us, his son *Pausiris* succeeded him in the kingdom by the favour of the *Persians*; which argues, that before they granted him this, they had reduced *Egypt* again under them, otherwise *Pausiris* could not have been made King of it by their favour.

DARIUS having thus settled his affairs in *Media* and *Egypt*,^c sent *Cyrus* his younger son to be commander in chief of all the provinces of *lesser Asia*, giving him authority paramount over all the lieutenants and governors afore placed in them. He was a very young man to be entrusted with so large an authority. For having been born after his father's accession to the throne, he could not have been now above sixteen years old. But being the darling, and best beloved son of *Parysatis*, who had an absolute ascendant over the old King her husband, she obtained this commission for him, with an intention, no doubt, to put him into a capacity of contending for the crown after his father's death, and this use he accordingly made of it, to the great damage and disturbance of the whole *Persian* empire, as will be hereafter related.

ON his receiving his commission,^d he had this chiefly given him in charge by his father, that he should help the *Lacedæmonians* against the *Athenians*, contrary to the wise measures hitherto observed by *Tissaphernes*, and the other governors of the *Persian* provinces in those parts. For their practice hitherto had been, sometimes by helping one side and sometimes by helping the other, so to balance the matter between both parties, that each being kept up to be a match for the other, both might continue to harass and weaken each other by carrying on the war, and neither be at leisure to disturb the *Persian* empire. This order of the King's, for a contrary practice, soon discovered the weakness of his politics. For the *Lacedæmonians* having by the help which *Cyrus* gave them, according to his father's instructions, soon overpowered the *Athenians*, and gain'd an absolute conquest over them, they were no sooner at leisure from this war, but they sent first *Thimbro*, and after him *Dercyllidas*, and at last *Agésilas* their King, to invade the *Persian* provinces in *Asia*; where they did the *Persians* a great deal of damage, and might at length have endangered the whole empire, but that the *Persians* by distributing vast sums of money among the *Grecian* cities, and the demagogues that governed them, found

^a Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 1. Herodotus, lib. 9.

^b Lib. 3.

^c Xenophon Hel-

lenic. lib. 1. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe & Lyfandro. Ctesias. Justin, lib. 5. c. 5. Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. p. 368.

^d Xenophon. ibid. Diodor. Sic. ibid. Thucydides, lib. 2. Justin. ibid. Plutarchus in Lyfandro.

means to rekindle the war again in *Greece*, which necessitated the *Lacedæmonians* to recal their forces for their own defence, just when they were going to march into the heart of that empire, and there strike at the very vitals of it. So dangerous a thing is it in neighbouring states to break the balance of power which is between them, so as to put any one of them into a capacity of oppressing and over-powering the rest. And this instance also shews, that it is no new thing for the managers of publick affairs, to barter away their national interest for their private gain, and sell it for money, even to those whom they have most reason always to hate, and always to be aware of.

CYRUS at *Sardis* * having put to death two noble *Persians*, who were sons to a sister of *Darius*, for no other reason, but that they did not on their meeting of him wrap up their hands within their sleeves, as was used to be done among the *Persians* on their meeting of the King: *Darius*, on complaint made hereof by the parents of the slain, was grievously offended, not only for the death of his two nephews, but also for the presumption of his son, in challenging to himself the honour which was due only to the King; and therefore not thinking it fit any longer to trust him with that government, recalled him to court, on pretence that he was sick, and therefore desired to see him. But before *Cyrus* did put himself upon this journey, † he ordered such large subsidies to *Lyfander* general of the *Lacedæmonians*, as enabled him to pay his fleet, and strengthen it so far, as to put it in that condition, by virtue whereof he gained that memorable victory over the *Athenians* at the *Goats River* in the *Hellepont*, whereby he absolutely overthrew the *Athenian* state. For after this they being no longer able to defend themselves, he took from them all their cities in *Asia*, and having besieged *Athens* it self, forced them to a surrender, on the very hard conditions of dismantling their city, and giving up their fleet, which did put an end to the *Athenian* power, and vested the government of *Greece* wholly in the *Lacedæmonians*, after they and the *Athenians* had contended for it in a very bitter war full seven and twenty years. This was called the *Peloponnesian* war, and is made very famous by the excellent accounts which are written of it by *Thucydides* and *Xenophon*; two of the best historians *Greece* ever had, their writings having ennobled it in the same manner as *Homer's* did the war of *Troy*.

ABOUT the time of the ending of this war ‡ died *Darius Nothus* King of *Persia*, after he had reigned nineteen years. Before his death *Cyrus* was come to him, and his mother *Parysatis* the Queen, to whom he was the best beloved of all her children, not being content to have made his peace with his father, whom he had greatly offended by his male-administration in his government, pressed hard upon the old King to have him declared the heir of his crown, upon the same pretence whereby *Xerxes* had obtained the preference before his elder brothers in the time of *Darius Hystaspis*; that is, that he was born after his father came to the crown, and the other before. But *Darius* refusing to comply with her herein, bequeathed to *Cyrus* only the government of those provinces which he had before, and left his crown to *Arfaxes* his eldest son by the same *Pary-*

An. 405.
Darius
Nothus
19.

* Xenophon Hellenicorum, lib. 2.
lib. 2. Diodorus Sic. lib. 13.
Justin, lib. 5. c. 8. & c. 11. Cicilius.

† Plutarchus in Lyfandro. Xenophon Hellenic.
‡ Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Diodorus Sic. lib. 13.

satis, who on his ascending the throne took the name of *Artaxerxes*, and is the same to whom the *Greeks*, for his extraordinary memory, gave the name of *Mnemon*, i. e. the rememberer. When his father lay a dying, and he was attending on him at his bed-side, he desired to be instructed by him, by what art it was that he had so happily managed the government, and so long preserved himself in it, to the end that he, by following the same rule, might attain the same success; to which ^a he had this memorable answer give him by the dying King, *That it was by doing in all things that which was just both towards God and man*; a saying worthy to be written up in letters of gold in the palaces of princes, that having it constantly in their view, they might be put in mind to order all their actions according to it.

An. 404.
Artaxerxes I.

CTRVUS being discovered to have laid a plot for the murdering of *Artaxerxes* in the temple at *Pasargada*, when he was to come thither according to the ancient custom to be inaugurated King, was taken into custody for the treason, and ordered to be put to death for it. But his mother *Parysatis* was so importunate with *Artaxerxes* for the saving of his life, that at length by her means he obtained his pardon, and was sent again into the lesser *Asia*, unto the government left him by his father's will. But carrying thither with him his ambition, and also his resentments for the danger of his life which he was put into, he took such courses for the gratifying of these passions, which soon made his brother repent of his clemency towards him.

As soon as *Artaxerxes* was settled in the throne, ^a *Statira* his Queen, who for her great beauty was very much beloved by him, made use of her power with him to be revenged on *Udiastes*, for the death of her brother *Teriteuchmes*. The whole matter had its rise in the reign of *Darius*, and was a complication of adultery, incest and murder, which caused great disturbances in the royal family, and ended very tragically upon all that were concerned in it. The father of *Statira* was *Hidarnes* a noble *Persian*, and governor of one of the principal provinces of the empire. *Artaxerxes*, the King's eldest son, then called *Arfaces*, falling in love with her took her to wife; and *Teriteuchmes*, her brother, about the same time married *Hamestris*, one of the daughters of *Darius*, and sister of *Arfaces*; by reason of which marriage on the death of his father he succeeded him in his government. But having a sister named *Roxana* of as great beauty as *Statira*, and excellently skill'd in archery and the throwing of the dart, he fell desperately in love with her, and that he might with the greater freedom have the enjoyment of his lust upon her, he resolved to make away with *Hamestris*, and rebel against the King. Of which wicked designs *Darius* having notice, engaged *Udiastes*, a chief confidant of *Teriteuchmes*, by great rewards and great promises, to endeavour to prevent both by cutting off *Teriteuchmes*. This *Udiastes*, to earn the rewards, readily undertook, and falling upon *Teriteuchmes* slew him, and thereon had the government of his province conferred on him for his reward. *Mithridates*, the son of *Udiastes*, being one of *Teriteuchmes*'s guard, and engaged much in friendship and affection to him, on the hearing of this fact of his father's, bitterly imprecated vengeance upon him for it; and in ab-

^a Athenæus, lib. 12.
Justin, lib. 5. c. 11. Ctesias.

^a Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Xenophon de expeditione Cyri, lib. 1.
^b Ctesias.

horrence of what was done seized the city *Zaris*, and there declaring for the son of *Teritenchmes* rebelled against the King. But *Darius* having soon mastered this revolt, and shut up *Mithridates* within his fortress, got all the family of *Hidarnes*, excepting the son of *Teritenchmes*, whom *Mithridates* protected, into his power, and delivered them into the hands of *Parysatis* to execute her revenge upon them for the ill usage of her daughter; who having caused *Roxana* in the first place to be sawn in two, who was the chief cause of all the mischief, ordered all the rest to be put to death, only at the earnest entreaty and importunate tears of *Arfaces* she spared *Statira* his beloved wife, contrary to the sentiments of *Darius*, who told her, that she would afterwards have reason to repent of it, and so accordingly it hapned. Thus this matter stood at the death of *Darius*; but *Arfaces* was no sooner settled on the throne, but *Statira* prevailed with him to have *Udiastes* delivered into her hands, whereon she commanded his tongue to be drawn out at his neck, and thus cruelly did put him to death, in revenge for the part which he acted in the ruin of her family, and made *Mithridates* his son, for the affection he expressed to it, governor of the province in his stead. But *Parysatis* bitterly resenting this fact, in revenge hereof poisoned the son of *Teriteuchmes*, and not long after *Statira* herself, in the manner as will be hereafter related. This gives us instances of the bitterness of woman's revenge, and also of the exorbitant liberties which such are apt to run into of doing all manner of wickedness, who being put above all restraint of laws, have nothing but arbitrary will and pleasure to govern themselves by.

CYRUS designing a war against his brother, ¹ employed *Clearchus* a *Lacedæmonian* captain to raise an army of *Greeks* for his service, which he listed with a pretence of making war with the *Thracians*; but they being maintained by *Cyrus's* money, were kept on foot for the executing of those designs which he was forming against the King. *Alcibiades* the *Athenian* finding out the true end for which these levies were made, passed over into the province of *Pharnabazus* with purpose to go to the *Persian* court, there to make known to *Artaxerxes* what was a brewing against him. But those who were the partizans of the *Lacedæmonians* at *Athens*, fearing the great genius of that man, did let them know, that their affairs could not long stand unless he were cut off; whereon they sent to *Pharnabazus* to have him put to death, and he accordingly executed what they desired; and in his death the *Athenians* lost the great hopes they had conceived of speedily again recovering by him their former state. For had he got to the *Persian* court, he would so far have merited the favour of *Artaxerxes*, by the discovery which he intended to make unto him, as no doubt he would have gotten his assistance for the restoration of his countrey; and with that assistance, a person of his valour and other great abilities would have turned the scales, and again set the *Athenians* as high as ever, and brought the *Lacedæmonians* as low as they had brought them; for the preventing of which the *Lacedæmonians* took the course of having him cut off, in the manner as I have mentioned.

An. 403.
Artax-
erxes 2.

THE cities that were under the government of *Tissaphernes* revolting

An. 402.
Artaxer-
xes 3.

¹ Plutarchus in Artaxerxe; Xenophon de expeditione Cyri, lib. 1.^o Diodorus Sic. lib. 14.

² Plutarchus in Alcibiade. Diodorus Sic. & Xenophon, ibid. Cornelius Nepos in Alcibiade.

from

from him to *Cyrus*, " this produced a war between them ; and *Cyrus*, under the pretence of arming against *Tissaphernes*, went more openly to work in getting forces together ; and to blind the matter the more, he wrote letters of heavy complaints to the King against *Tissaphernes*, and prayed in the humblest manner his favour and protection against him ; by which *Artaxerxes* being deceived, thought all the preparations which he was making were against *Tissaphernes* only, and not being at all displeased that they should be at variance with each other, took no farther care of the matter, but permitted his brother to go on still to raise more forces, till at length he had got an army on foot sufficient to put his designs in execution, for the dethroning of him, and the setting up of himself in his stead. And since he had helped the *Lacedæmonians* against the *Athenians*, and thereby put them into a capacity of gaining those victories over them, whereby they had made themselves masters of *Greece*, in confidence of the friendship which he had merited from them thereby, he communicated his designs unto them, and asked their assistance for the accomplishing of them, which they readily granted, and ordered their fleet to join that under *Tamus*, *Cyrus's* admiral, and obey such orders as that prince should give them. But this they did without declaring any thing against *Artaxerxes*, or pretending to know at all of the designs which *Cyrus* was carrying on against him. With this caution they thought fit to act, while the event of the war was uncertain, that in case *Artaxerxes* gained the victory, they might not, by what they did in favour of his enemy, draw on them his resentments for it.

An. 401.
Artax-
erxes 4.

At length *Cyrus* having raised all those forces which he thought sufficient for his designs, and mustered them all together, ° he marched with them directly against his brother. He was followed in this expedition by thirteen thousand *Greeks*, under the command of *Clearchus* (which were the flower and main strength of his army) and by an hundred thousand of other forces, raised from among the *Barbarians*. *Artaxerxes* having notice of this from *Tissaphernes*, who posted to the *Persian* court to give him information of it, prepared to meet him with a numerous army. *Cyrus's* greatest difficulty was to pass the streights of *Cilicia*, where *Siennesis*, King of that countrey, was making ready to stop his progress, and would certainly have effected it, but that *Tamus*, and the *Lacedæmonians* with their fleet, coming upon the coasts of that countrey, diverted him to defend his own territories. For a small guard, in those narrow passes, might be sufficient to impede the march of the greatest army. But after *Cyrus* had by this means got through them, he then marched on without any farther difficulty or obstruction, till he came to the plains of *Cunaxa*, in the province of *Babylon*, where *Artaxerxes* meeting him with an army of nine hundred thousand men, it there came to a decisive battel between them, in which *Cyrus* rashly venturing his person too far into the heat of the battel, was unfortunately slain, after his auxiliary *Greeks* had in a manner gotten the victory for him. This put those *Greeks* into a great distress. For they were now at a great distance from their own homes, in the heart of the *Persian* empire, and there surrounded with the numerous forces of a

" Plutarchus, Xenophon & Diodor. ibid. ° Xenophon de expeditione Cyri. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Ctesias, Justin, lib. 5. c. 11. abricht. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

conquering army, and had no way to return again into *Greece*, but by breaking thorough them, and forcing their retreat through a vast tract of their enemies countrey, which lay between them and home. But their valour and resolution mastered all these difficulties. For the next day after, having on consultation together resolved to attempt their return by the way of *Paphlagonia*, they immediately set themselves on their march, and in spite of all oppositions from a numerous army of *Persians*, which coasted them all the way, made a retreat of two thousand three hundred twenty five miles, all the way through provinces belonging to the enemy, and got safe to the *Grecian* cities on the *Euxin* sea, which was the longest and the most memorable retreat that was ever made through an enemy's countrey. *Clearchus* first commanded in it, but he having in the beginning of it been cut off by the treachery of *Tissaphernes*, it was afterward conducted chiefly by *Xenophon*, to whose valour and wisdom it was principally owing, that they at length got safely again into *Greece*. The same *Xenophon* having written a large account of this expedition, the preparations that were made for it, and the retreat of the *Greeks* from the place of the battle after it was lost, and that book being still exant, and published in the *English* language, I need say no more, than refer the reader to it for a full history of all this matter.

* *PSAMMITICHUS*, who was descended from the ancient *Psammitichus* that was King of *Egypt* some ages before, and of whom I have spoken in the first book of this history, reigned over the *Egyptians* after *Pausiris*. To him fled *Tamus*, *Cyrus's* admiral. For after the death of that prince, *Tissaphernes* being sent down into his former government, with an enlargement of power, (as having, in reward of the great service which he had done the King in the late war, the same command given him in those parts that *Cyrus* had,) all the governors of those cities and districts, within the verge of his authority, who had espoused the interest of *Cyrus*, fearing the account which he might call them to for it, sent their agents to make their peace with him on the best terms they could. Only *Tamus*, who was the most powerful of them, took another course. He was by birth an *Egyptian* of the city of *Memphis*, and being a person of great valour, and of great skill in maritim affairs, he was first employed by *Tissaphernes* in the *Persian* fleet, and afterwards, under *Cyrus*, became chief commander of it, and also governor of *Ionia*; by which means having amassed great wealth, instead of courting the favour of *Tissaphernes*, or at all trusting to his clemency, he put his wife, children, and servants, with all else that he had, on board his ships, and made his retreat into his own countrey, much confiding in the friendship of *Psammitichus*, which he had merited by many good offices that he had done him, while he served the *Persians*. But the perfidious man having no regard to former obligations, or the common laws either of humanity or hospitality, as soon as he had received an account of his arrival, and of the great riches which he brought with him, for the sake of them, instead of receiving him as a friend, he fell upon him as an enemy, and having slain him, with all his family and followers, made a prey of all that they had. Only *Gaus*, one of his sons, staying behind in *Asia*, escaped this massacre, and afterwards

became admiral of the *Persian* fleet in the *Cyprian* war; all the rest were barbarously murdered for the sake of what they had. Such horrid wickednesses doth the greedy desire of gain too often prompt men to, when they give up their minds to it. But providence, no doubt, suffered it not to go unpunished, though we have no account of it; this barbarous murder being the only act that history hath recorded of this prince.

STATIRA being very troublesome to *Parysatis* her mother-in-law, in expressing her resentments and reproaches, for the countenance which she gave unto *Cyrus* her younger son against King *Artaxerxes*, to be revenged for this, and other grudges formerly conceived against her, she caused her to be poisoned, which was effected by this stratagem. They supping both together, and a certain bird being served up at table, which was a great rarity among the *Persians*, it was divided between her and her daughter-in-law, by a knife poisoned on one side only; that part which was cut off on the unpoisoned side of the knife was given to *Parysatis*, and she having eaten it, this encouraged *Statira* without any suspicion to eat the other part, which was cut off on the poisoned side of the knife, and she died of it within a few hours after. The loss of this his much beloved wife greatly afflicted *Artaxerxes*, and therefore afterwards full discovery having been made how it came to pass, he banished his mother to *Babylon* for it, and for some years after never saw her; but at length, time having mollified his grief and resentments, he permitted her again to return to court, and from that time she made it her chief business to humour him in every thing, right or wrong, and no more crossed him in any thing, whatsoever it was, that he had an inclination to do; and by this means she regained her interest with him, and held it to her death. She was a most crafty woman, and of great understanding and penetration in all affairs, and of as great wickedness, as what is above related of her doth sufficiently shew.

An. 400.
Artax-
erxes 5.

TISSAPHERNES being settled in his government, and with that enlargement of power which I have mentioned, he began to set hard upon the *Grecian* cities in those parts; whereon they sent to the *Lacedaemonians* to pray their protection against him, and they being now freed from that long war which they had with the *Athenians*, gladly laid hold of this occasion of again breaking with the *Persians*, and sent *Thimbro* into those parts with an army against them, which being strengthened by the conjunction of those forces to it which *Xenophon* brought back from *Persia*, and such others as were raised out of the *Grecian* cities which he came to protect, he took the field with it against *Tissaphernes*, and wore out the time of his government in several military actions in that countrey, in which he had some few, but not any great successes.

An. 399.
Artax-
erxes 6.

BUT he having kept very bad discipline in his army, and permitted his soldiers to make great depredations on the allies, complaint was made hereof to the *Lacedaemonians*, whereon they sent *Dercyllidas* to take charge of that war in his stead, who being an able general, as well as a most excellent engineer, (which last he was more particularly famous for) he managed it with better order, and much better success; and *Thimbro* being

^a Ctesias. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.
lib. 14.

^c Xenophon & Diodorus, *ibid.*

^e Xenophon *Hellenicorum*, lib. 3. Diodor. Sic.

called home to answer for what he was accused of, and convicted of it, was sent into banishment for the punishment of his crime.

DERCYLLIDAS, after he had entered on his charge, finding that he was not strong enough to wage war with *Tissaphernes* and *Pharnabazus* both together, resolved to agree with one of them, that thereby he might be the better enabled to encounter the other; and therefore having, according to this scheme, made peace with *Tissaphernes*, he marched against *Pharnabazus* with all his forces, and took from him all *Æolis*, and dispossessed him of several cities besides in those parts; whereon *Pharnabazus*, fearing that he might invade *Phrygia* also, where was the chief seat of his government, was glad to make a truce with him, to be secured from his farther insults.

ABOUT this time *Conon*, by the means of *Ctesias the Cnidian*, who was chief physician to *Artaxerxes*, procured peace from that King for *Euagoras* of *Salamine* in the island of *Cyprus*. This *Euagoras* having expelled *Abdymon the Citian* out of that city, where he was governor for the *Persian* King, set himself up in his stead, and reigned there as King of that place many years. *Conon* having been one of the generals of the *Athenians* at the battle of the *Goates River*,^w as soon as he saw all was there brought to a desperate point, made his escape with nine of the *Athenian* ships, and having sent one of them to *Athens*, to acquaint his citizens with the ill fate of the battle, fled with the rest to this *Euagoras*, with whom he had contracted a former friendship, and there continuing with him, made use of the interest he had with the said *Ctesias* at the *Persian* court, to do his friend this good office. For *Ctesias* being chief physician to *Artaxerxes* (as I have already said) was much in his favour, and had a great interest with him. He was^x at first physician to *Cyrus* his brother, and followed him to the battle in which he was slain, where being taken prisoner, he was made use of to cure *Artaxerxes* of the wounds received by him in that battle, in which having well succeeded, he was retained as chief physician in ordinary to that King; and lived with him in that quality seventeen years. While he resided at this court, having well informed himself in the histories of those countries he wrote them in twenty three books. The six first of them contained an account of the empire of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, from the time of^z *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, to that of *Cyrus*; the other seventeen were of the affairs of *Persia*, from the beginning of the reign of *Cyrus*, to the third year of the ninety fifth olympiad, which was coincident with the year before *Christ* 398, the very next immediately following after this of which I now write. For here *Diodorus Siculus*^a tells us it ended. And he wrote also an history of *India*. Out of both these *Photius* hath written extracts, and these are all the remains which are extant of his writings. He often^b contradicts *Herodotus*, and in some things also differs from *Xenophon*. We find but a poor character of him among the ancients, they generally speaking of him as a fabulous writer; yet

^x Xenophon Hellen. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. ^v Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. Ctesias. Theopompus in excerptis Photii, n. 176. ^w Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 13. Plutarchus in Lyfandro. Cornelius Nepos in Conone. Isocrates in Euagora.

^y Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 84. ^z Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 84. & lib. 14. p. 421. ^a Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 84. & lib. 14. p. 421. ^b Photius, ibid. ^c Aristoteles in Historia Animalium, lib. 8. c. 28. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

^x Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. ^y Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 84. ^z Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 84. & lib. 14. p. 421. ^a Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 84. & lib. 14. p. 421. ^b Photius, ibid. ^c Aristoteles in Historia Animalium, lib. 8. c. 28. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.

Diodorus Siculus and *Trogus Pompeius* take most of that from him which they have written of the *Affyrian* affairs. For he having professed,^d that all which he wrote was taken out of the royal records of *Persia*, in which all transactions were, according to a law there ordained for this purpose, faithfully registred, this imposed on many to give him more credit than he deserved. For that there were such royal records then in *Persia*, in which all the affairs and transactions of the government were faithfully entered, was a thing well known; and the books of *Ezra* and *Esther*^e give us a testimony of them. And his appealing to those records for the truth of what he wrote, was the readiest way he could take to gain authority there-to. While he lived in the *Persian* court, he was employed by the *Grecians*, as their common solicitor in most of the businesses which they had there depending; and in this quality *Conon* made use of him in the affair I have mentioned.

THIS year^f the *Athenians* put *Socrates* to death for contemning their gods. He was the father of the moral philosophy of the *Greeks*, and a very excellent person; but finding the theology of his countrey-men too gross for a wise man to follow, he endeavoured to reform it among his scholars; for which being accused, as one that believed not in the gods that the city believed, and corrupted the youth, he was condemned to death for it, and accordingly executed, being then full seventy years old. But afterwards the *Athenians* repenting of it did put all to death that had an hand in the prosecution that was made against him.

DERCYLLIDAS having made the truce with *Pharnabazus* that is above mentioned, marched into *Bithynia*,^g and there took up his winter quarters. While he was there, messengers came to him from *Lacedæmon* to let him know, that his command was continued for another year; and by them he was also acquainted, that it had been desired by the *Grecian* cities in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, that the *Isthmus* of that *Peninsula* might be fortified with a wall, to secure them from the *Thracian* freebooters, who continually made inroads upon them, and laid their lands waste, so that they were discouraged from manuring them.

An. 398.
Artaxerxes 7.

AND therefore having the next spring again made a truce with *Pharnabazus*,^h he marched with his army into the *Chersonesus* or *Peninsula* above mentioned, and there built the wall which was desired; within which he included eleven *Grecian* cities; whereby they being secured from all farther ravages of the barbarians, thenceforth safely manured their lands, and in great plenty reaped the fruits of them. On his return into *Ionia*, after this work was finished, he found that a company of banditi having fortified the city of *Atarna* against him, from thence made great depredations on the adjoining countries; this necessitated him to sit down in a formal siege before it, which cost him eight months time before he could reduce it.

PHARNABAZUS, after the second truce with *Dercyllidas*,ⁱ made a journey to the *Persian* court, and there accused *Tissaphernes* to the King,

^d Diodor. Sic. lib. 2. p. 84.

^e Ezra iv. 15. Esther vi. 1.

^f Diogenes Laertius

in Socrate. Plato in Apologia pro Socrate & in Phædone. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. Stanley's *History of Philosophy*, Part 3.

^g Xenophon Hell. lib. 3.

^h Xenophon, ibid. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14.

ⁱ Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 417. Justin, lib. 6. c. 1. Pausanias in Atticis. Isocrates in Euagora & in Oratione ad Philipum.

for the peace which he had made with *Dercyllidas*, blaming him, that whereas he ought to have joyned with him, for the driving of those *Grecians* out of *Asia*, he had scandalously bought a peace of them, and thereby contributed to the maintaining of them there at the King's expences, and to the great damage of his affairs. This no doubt contributed much to the creating of that suspicion in the King, of that great commander of his, which being afterwards encreased by other causes, at length made him resolve on his ruine. And at the same time consultation being had, how the mischiefs which the King suffered from this invasion of the *Lacedæmonians* might be best remedied, *Pharnabazus* earnestly pressed him forthwith to equip a great fleet, and make *Conon* the *Athenian*, then an exile in *Cyprus*, admiral of it, who was looked upon as the ablest commander of his time for a sea war, telling him, that hereby he would make himself master of the seas, and that this would put him in a condition to obstruct the passages of all farther recruits from the *Lacedæmonians* into *Asia*, which would soon put an end to their power in those parts. And *Euagoras* the *Cyprian* having at the same time made the same proposal, and offered his assistance in it, *Artaxerxes* was prevailed upon by their concurrent advice, to resolve upon what they proposed. And therefore having delivered to *Pharnabazus* five hundred talents out of his treasury, he sent him with orders to get ready such a fleet as he had advised, and to make *Conon* the admiral of it. And accordingly *Conon* had his commission, and all hands were set to work on the coasts of *Phœnicia*, *Syria* and *Cilicia*, to make ready the fleet that was to be under his command.

DERCYLLIDAS, after he had reduced *Atarna*, and set a strong garrison therein, ^h marched into *Caria*, where *Tissaphernes* had the chief seat of his residence. For the *Lacedæmonians* being made believe, that in case he were attacked there, he would, for the saving of that province, yield to all their demands, they sent special orders to *Dercyllidas* for the making of this expedition, wherein he had like to have lost all his army. For *Pharnabazus* having joyned *Tissaphernes*, they marched both after him with a great army, and soon had him at such an advantage, that had they made use of it, and immediately fallen on him, they could not have failed of cutting him and all his forces in pieces. *Pharnabazus* was very earnest for making the assault; but *Tissaphernes* having experienced the extraordinary valour of the *Grecian* troops, that followed *Cyrus* to the battle of *Cunaxa*, dreaded all *Grecians* in arms ever since, thinking all of that nation to be of the same valour and resolution with those which he had encountered with at that battle, and therefore could not be brought to hazard any conflict with them; but instead of making use of the opportunity which he had in his hands, and absolutely destroying them, sent Heralds to *Dercyllidas* to invite him to a parley, in which proposals of peace having been offered on both sides, time was given for each to consult their principals, and in the interim a truce was agreed on between them. And thus *Dercyllidas* escaped ruine only by the cowardice of his enemy, when there was nothing else that could have delivered him from it.

ONE ⁱ *Herod* a *Syracusan* being in *Phœnicia*, and seeing a great many ships there a new building, and learning that a great many more were

An. 397.
Artaxerxes 8.

An. 396.
Artaxerxes 9.

^h Diodor. Sic. ibid. Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 3. Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Agesilao.

ⁱ Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 3. Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Agesilao.

preparing on all the coasts of *Phœnicia*, *Syria* and *Cilicia*, to make up a fleet for some extraordinary expedition, and supposing it could be only against the *Greeks*, he went on board the first ship he could meet with that was bound for *Greece*, and hastening to *Lacedæmon*, informed the *Lacedæmonians* of what was a doing in those parts; at which news they being terrified, and much confounded, as not knowing what course to take for the preventing of the mischief that was coming upon them, *Lyfander* proposed to them the sending *Agésilas*, who was one of their Kings, into *Asia*, that by making a strong assault there he might divert the storm, wherever else it was intended. Which advice being approved of, *Agésilas* was accordingly sent with a great augmentation of forces into *Asia*, there to take upon him the command which *Dercyllidas* then had, and prosecute the war with the utmost vigour he could in those parts; and *Lyfander*, with several others of the principal *Lacedæmonians*, to the number of thirty in all, were sent with him, to assist him with their counsel in this expedition. And this whole matter was dispatch'd with that speed and secrecy, that *Agésilas* arrived at *Ephesus* before any of the King's officers had the least intimation of it. So that there being no preparations made to obstruct him, he took the field as soon as he arrived with ten thousand foot and four thousand horse, and bore all before him wherever he went. Whereon *Tissaphernes* sending to him, to know for what end he came thither, *Agésilas* answered, that it was to restore the *Grecian* cities in *Asia* to their liberty; hereon a parley being appointed to treat of this matter between them, *Tissaphernes* prayed a truce, till he should send to the King, and receive his instructions what to do herein. Accordingly a truce was agreed, and sworn on both sides. But *Tissaphernes* having little regard to his oath, made no other use of this truce, than to send to the King for more forces; and to gain a respite till they should arrive, was all that he intended by it. For as soon as those auxiliaries were joined him, he sent to *Agésilas*, to denounce war against him, unless he immediately left the countrey; at which the *Lacedæmonians* and confederates then present were very much concerned, as fearing that the forces of *Tissaphernes*, now augmented with his new auxiliaries, might be too much superior to be withstood by theirs, who scarce amounted to a fourth part of their number. But *Agésilas* not being at all moved or dismayed thereat, with a pleasant countenance, bid the embassadors who came with the message tell *Tissaphernes*, that he was very much beholden to him, in that by his perjury he had made the Gods enemies to himself, and friends to the *Grecians*. And thereon immediately drawing all his forces together, he made a feint, as if he intended to invade *Caria*; but as soon as he understood that he had thereby drawn all the *Persian* forces into that province to defend it against him, he turned short, and marched directly into *Phrygia*, a province of the government of *Pharnabazus*, and where he had the chief seat of his Residence. His coming thither being wholly unexpected, he found nothing there in a posture to resist him, and therefore over-run a great part of the province without any opposition, till he came to *Dasylum*, the place of *Pharnabazus*'s usual abode, where some of his horse meeting with a defeat, he marched back by the sea-coast into *Ionia*,

^mPlutarchus in *Agésilao* & *Lyfandro*. Cornelius Nepos in *Agésilao*. Pausanias in *Laconicis*. Justin, lib. 6: c. 2. Xenophon, *ibid*.

carrying with him vast spoils gotten in this expedition, and wintered at *Ephesus*.

NEPHEREUS succeeding *Psammitichus* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, An. 395. Artaxerxes 10. the *Lacedæmonians* sent to him to solicit his aid in their war against the *Persians*, who thereon presented them with an hundred gallies for their sea war, and six hundred thousand bushels of corn for the subsistence of their forces. At this time *Pharax*, admiral of the *Lacedæmonians*, held the mastery of the seas, with a fleet of one hundred and twenty sail, who hearing at *Rhodes*, where he put in, that *Conon* was with forty ships at *Cadmus*, a city of *Caria*, set sail thither, and besieged him in that place. But an army of *Persians* coming to his succour, *Pharax* was forced to raise the siege with disadvantage, and return again to *Rhodes*; whereon *Conon* having augmented his fleet to the number of eighty sail, took the seas and sailed to the *Doric Chersonesus*; but he had not long been there, before he was recalled by the *Rhodians*. For they being weary of the *Lacedæmonians*, for some disorders and insolencies there committed, drove them thence, and sent for *Conon* to protect them, and received him with all his fleet into their harbour. While he was there the ships which were carrying *Nephereus's* gift of corn to the *Lacedæmonians* put in at *Rhodes*, not knowing of the change of the party which had been there lately made; whereon *Conon* having seized them all, plentifully furnished both his fleet, and also that city, with the freight they were loaded with. After this he was re-inforced with ninety other ships, which came to him from *Phœnicia* and *Cilicia*, whereby he was made much superiour to the *Lacedæmonians*; and strong enough to have effected all that was expected from him; but he was hindered by the mutiny of his soldiers, occasioned for their want of pay, which they, whom the King had entrusted with the care of this matter, fraudulently detained from them.

In the interim *Agésilas* coming out of his winter quarters, prepared to invade the *Persians* in the strongest part of the countrey which they were possessed of in those parts; and accordingly gave out his orders for his march towards *Sardis*. *Tissaphernes*, thinking that this was intended only to deceive him with another scint, like that of the last year, took it that now he really intended for *Caria*, because he had given out to go another way, and therefore marched into that province to defend it against him. But *Agésilas*, now truly acting as he had given out, led his army into *Lydia*. *Tissaphernes* hereon recalled his forces from their former rout. But *Caria* being a very rugged countrey, and unfit for horse, he had gone thither only with his foot, leaving his horse behind upon the borders of that countrey, and therefore on their marching back for the relief of *Lydia*, the horse being much before the foot, *Agésilas* took the advantage of falling upon the former, before the latter could come up to their assistance, and thereby having gotten a great victory over them, and taken the *Persian* camp, he became absolute master of the field, and having thereon over-run all the countrey, brought back from thence vast spoils, with which he enriched both himself and all his army.

THE loss of this battel very much incensed the King against *Tissapher-*

* Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 438. Justin, lib. 8. c. 2. Orofius, lib. 3. * Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 439. Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Agésilao.
† Diodor. ibid. Plutarchus in Artaxerxe & Agésilao. Xenophon, ibid.

nes, and augmented the suspicion which he had before conceived of him, as if he had other designs than truly were for his master's interest; and *Conon* coming at this time to the *Persian* court much heightened the King's displeasure by farther accusations which he there brought against him. For the depriving the foldiers of their pay on board *Conon's* fleet, disabling him from doing the King any service, and he having often in vain wrote to court of it, ^a at length being encouraged thereto by *Pharnabazus*, and having a commission from him for this purpose, he went himself to the *Persian* court then at *Babylon*, and by the means of *Tithraustes*, captain of the guards, so represented the matter to the King, as procured full redress; and the blame of what had been hitherto done amiss in this matter resting on *Tissaphernes*, this completed his ruin. For the King forthwith ^c sent *Tithraustes* into the maritime provinces of the *lower Asia*, with orders to put *Tissaphernes* to death, and succeed him in his government; which he accordingly executed, and sent his head to the King, of which he made a very acceptable present to his mother, who could never pardon him for the assistance he gave the King, against *Cyrus* her most beloved son. But this very consideration ought to have moved *Artaxerxes* not to have dealt thus with him, since to that assistance he owed both his life and his crown. But no merit can be sufficient to secure any one, either in his life or fortunes, where arbitrary will and pleasure reign without controul, and princes are at a full loose to execute whatsoever their groundless suspicions, their extravagant humours, or their wild capricious may prompt them to.

As soon as *Tissaphernes* was cut off, ^c *Tithraustes* sent to *Agésilas*, that the King having inflicted due punishment upon him that was the cause of the war, he ought to be content with it, and return home, promising on this condition to grant full liberty to the *Grecian* cities in *Asia*, to live according to their own laws, they paying their usual tribute to the King, which was all the *Lacedæmonians* desired when they first began the war. But *Agésilas* thirsting after greater conquests would not hearken hereto, but to put off the matter, referred him to the magistrates of *Lacedæmon*, telling him he could do nothing herein without them. However, for the price of thirty talents paid him by *Tithraustes*, the storm was diverted from his provinces, and *Agésilas* ordered his army to prepare for a march into *Phrygia*.

BUT while he was making ready for this war, ^a a new commission came to him from *Lacedæmon*, whereby he was made generalissimo of their fleet, as well as of their armies, and had all their forces in *Asia*, both by sea and land, put under his command, that by thus having the entire direction of the whole war, he might conduct it with a greater uniformity for the good of the state. This drew him down to the sea-coast to take care of the fleet, which having put in good order, he made *Pisander* his wife's brother admiral of it, and sent it to sea under his command. And in this it is certain he was more influenced by private affection to his brother-in-law,

^a Cornelius Nepos in *Conone*. Justin, lib. 6. c. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 438, 439.

^c Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 3. Diodor. *ibid*. Polyænus *Stratagem*. lib. 7. Plutarchus in *Artaxerxe & Agésilao*. ^f Xenophon, *ibid*. Plutarchus in *Agésilao*. ^e Pausanias in *Laconicis*. Xenophon & Plutarchus, *ibidem*.

or some other by-end of his own, than by that due regard which he ought to have had for the publick good of the state. For altho' *Pisander* were a man of valour, and great courage, yet he was in other respects no way adequate to that trust, as the event afterwards sufficiently proved.

AGESILAUS having thus settled the sea-affairs, ^v pursued his designs of invading *Phrygia*, where having taken several cities, and made great wastes and depredations in the province, he passed on into *Paphlagonia*, being invited thither by *Spithridates*, a noble *Persian*, who had revolted from the King; where having made a league with *Cotys*, the King of that countrey, and married the daughter of *Spithridates* to him, he returned into *Phrygia*, and taking the city of *Dascylium*, there wintered in the palace of *Pharnabazus*, and fed his army with the spoils which he there got from the circumjacent countrey.

TITHRAUSTES ^w seeing that *Agésilau*s was for carrying on the war in *Asia*, to divert him from it sent emissaries into *Greece*, with large sums of money, to corrupt the leading men in the chief cities, and thereby induce them to re-kindle a war in *Greece* against the *Lacedæmonians*, that so *Agésilau*s might be called home to defend his own countrey; which had that effect, that *Thebes*, *Athens*, *Argus* and *Corinth*, with other cities of *Greece*, entering into a confederacy together, raised such a war against the *Lacedæmonians*, as produced all that was intended by *Tithraustes* in his stratagem, as will by and by be related in its proper place. And the putting of the people of the same nation and interest together by the ears, hath elsewhere been found the most successful means to advance the interest of a neighbouring tyrant. And money will never fail of this effect, where there are minds corrupted with vice, luxury, and irreligion to prepare men for it.

IN the beginning of the next spring, *Agésilau*s being ready to take the field, ^{*} a parley was procured between him and *Pharnabazus*, at which *Pharnabazus* having recited the great services which he had done the *Lacedæmonians* in their war with the *Athenians*, and reproached them with the ill requital they had returned him for it, especially in the devastations which they had made in his palace, park, gardens, and estate at *Dascylium*, that were his own proper inheritance; and all this being truths which could not be denied, *Agésilau*s and his *Lacedæmonian* council that attended him at the conference, were so confounded at it, that they wanted an answer to excuse the ingratitude which they were charged with. However, to make him the best amends they could, they made him a solemn promise that they would no more invade him, nor any of the provinces under his Government, as long as there were any else against whom they might prosecute the war which they had with the *Persian* King; and then immediately withdrew out of those parts, and thereon formed a design of invading the upper provinces of *Asia*, and carrying the war into the very heart of the *Persian* empire. But ^v while *Agésilau*s was projecting this expedition, there came messengers to him from *Lacedæmon*, to recal him thither. For the *Persian* money having procured a very strong

An. 394.
Artaxerxes II.

^v Plutarchus in *Agésilao*. Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 4. ^w Pausanias in *Laconicis* & *Messenicis*. Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 3. Plutarchus in *Agésilao* & *Artaxerxe*. ^{*} Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 4. ^v Plutarchus in *Agésilao* & *Artaxerxe*. Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 4. Cornelius Nepos in *Agésilao*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 441. Justin, lib. 6. c. 4.

confederacy of several of the *Grecian* states and cities against them, they needed him at home to defend his own countrey; and accordingly he made all the haste thither that he could, complaining at his departure out of *Asia*, that the *Persians* had driven him thence by thirty thousand archers, meaning so many *Darics*, which were pieces of gold that had the impression of an archer upon them; but so small a sum did not do this job, it cost the *Persians* much more, and they could not have bestowed their money better to their own advantage. For hereby they saved vastly greater expences, which otherwise they must have been at in the war, had they not this way got rid of it. And there are instances of other crafty princes, who by following the same methods have gained the same success, and in the way of bribery and corruption have done that by hundreds of pounds in the councils of their adversaries, which they could never bring to pass by millions in the open field.

CONON, on his return from the *Persian* court, ² having brought money enough with him to pay the soldiers and mariners of his fleet all their arrears, and supply it with every thing else that was wanting, took *Pharnabazus* on board him, and forthwith set sail to seek the enemy; and finding their whole fleet riding near *Cnidus*, under the command of *Pisander*, he fell upon them, and obtained a complete victory, having slain *Pisander* himself in the fight, and taken fifty of his ships, which did put an end to the empire of the *Lacedæmonians* in those parts, and was a prelude to their losing it every where else. For after this it continued to decline, till at length the overthrows which they received at *Leuctra* and *Mantineia* put an absolute period to it. But it is not my purpose to treat of what was done in *Greece*, any farther than as the affairs of *Greece* interfere with what is the main design of this history.

AFTER ³ this victory, *Conon* and *Pharnabazus* sailed round the isles and maritime coasts of *Asia*, and took in most of the cities which the *Lacedæmonians* had in those parts; only *Sestus* and *Abydus*, two cities in the mouth of the *Hellepont*, being under the command of *Dercyllidas*, held out against them; whereon *Pharnabazus* assaulted them by land, and *Conon* by sea; but not succeeding in the attempt, *Pharnabazus* on the approach of winter returned home, and *Conon* was left to take care of the fleet, with orders to recruit and augment it, with as many ships from the cities on the *Hellepont* as he could get from them against the next spring.

AND *Conon* having according to this commission, gotten ready a strong fleet of ships by the time appointed, ⁴ *Pharnabazus* went on board it, and sailing through the islands, landed on *Melos* the farthest of them, and having taken in that island, as lying convenient for the invading of *Laconia*, the countrey of the *Lacedæmonians*, they from thence made a descent upon its maritime coasts, and having ravaged them all over, loaded their fleet with the spoils which they there got. After this *Pharnabazus* being on his return home into his province, ⁵ *Conon* obtained of him to send him with eighty ships of the fleet, and fifty talents of money, to rebuild the

An 393.
Artaxer-
xes 12.

² Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 4. Justin, lib. 6. c. 3. Cornelius Nepos in Conone. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 441. Isocrates in Euagora & in oratione ad Philippum. ³ Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 4. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 441. ⁴ Xenophon & Diodor. Sic. ibid. ⁵ Cornelius Nepos in Conone. Plutarchus in Agesilao. Justin, lib. 6. c. 5. Isocrates in Euagora. Xenophon & Diodor. ibid. Pausanias in Atticis.

walls of *Athens*, having made him to understand, that nothing could conduce more to the bringing down the pride of the *Lacedæmonians*, than by this means to put *Athens* again in a condition to rival their power. And therefore being arrived at *Piræus*, the port of *Athens*, he immediately set about the work, and having gotten together a great number of workmen, and made all that could be spared from on board the fleet, as well as the people of the city, to set to their helping hand, he rebuilt both the walls of *Athens* and the walls of the port, with the walls also called the long walls, leading from the former to the latter; and distributed the fifty talents which he had received from *Pharnabazus* among his citizens, whereby he restored that city again to its pristine state, and may on this account be reckoned as the second founder of it.

THE *Lacedæmonians* being exceedingly moved at the hearing of this, forthwith dispatch'd *Antalcidas*, a citizen of theirs, to *Tiribazus*, then governor for the *Persian* King at *Sardis*, to propose terms of peace. And the confederates on the other hand, on notice hereof, sent their ambassadors thither also, and among them *Conon* was one from the city of *Athens*. The terms^d which *Antalcidas* proposed were, that the King should have all the *Grecian* cities in *Asia*, and that all the rest, both in the isles and in *Greece*, should be restored to their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. Which being a peace that would be very advantageous to the King, and very disadvantageous and dishonourable to the *Greeks* in general, none of the other ambassadors would consent to it. And therefore they all returned without effecting any thing, excepting *Conon*. For the *Lacedæmonians* bearing an implacable spight to him for what he had done in the restoration of *Athens*, accused him of purloining the King's money for the carrying on of that work, and also of having designs for the taking of *Æolis* and *Ionia* from the *Persians*, and subjecting them again to the *Athenian* state; whereon^e *Tiribazus* clapped him in chains, and then going to the *Persian* court to communicate to the King the proceedings of this treaty, he acquainted him also of the accusation which he had received against *Conon*; hereon *Conon* being ordered to be brought to *Susa*,^f was there put to death by the King's command.

WHILE *Tiribazus* was attending the court, ^g*Struthas* was sent down from thence to take care of the maritime coasts of *Asia*; where finding the great devastations which the *Lacedæmonians* had made in those parts, he conceived from hence such an aversion against them, as carried him wholly over to the *Athenian* side. Whereon the *Lacedæmonians* sent *Thymbro* into *Asia* again to renew the war there, but they not being able at that time to furnish him with strength sufficient for the undertaking, he was soon cut off by the superior power of the *Persians*, and all his forces broken and dissipated. After him *Dephridas* came thither to gather up the remains of this army, and carry on the war; and after him others were sent with the same commission. But all their doings in *Asia*, after the battel of *Cnidus*, were only as the faint strugglings of a dying power, and therefore they were at length forced to give up all there, when they could no longer

An. 392.
Artaxerxes 13.

^d Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 4. Plutarchus in Agesilao. Sic. lib. 14. p. 442. Cornelius Nepos in Conone. in Panegyrico.

^e Xenophon ibid. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 447.

^f Xenophon, ibid. Diodor. Cornelius Nepos; ibid. Isocrates

hold it, by a treaty of peace, which was very disadvantageous, as well as very dishonourable to all that were of the *Grecian* name.

An. 391.
Artaxerxes 14.

AND therefore *Artaxerxes* being in a manner almost wholly eased of the *Grecian* war, ^b turned his whole power against *Euagoras* King of *Cyprus*, and began a war against him which he had long designed, but was not till now at leisure to prosecute it. How *Euagoras* seized *Salamine*, by expelling the *Persian* governor, and made himself King of that city, and procured by the means of *Conon* to be confirmed herein by *Artaxerxes*, I have already given an account. But *Euagoras* being a man every way qualified for great undertakings, in a little time so enlarged his strength, and his power, that he made himself in a manner King of the whole island of *Cyprus*. The *Amathusians*, the *Solians*, and the *Citians*, were those only that held out against him; and *Artaxerxes* becoming jealous of the growing power of this active and wise prince, first countenanced them herein, and afterwards openly embraced their cause, and declared war against *Euagoras*, in which, *Isocrates* tells us, he expended above fifty thousand talents, which may be reckoned at ten millions of our money.

An. 390.
Artaxerxes 15.

THE *Athenians*, notwithstanding the alliance they now had with the *Persians*, and the Benefits they had lately received from them, ^c would not deny their assistance to *Euagoras*, who had much befriended them, especially in the kind reception which those, who fled with *Conon* from the battel of the *Goats* river, had found with him; and perchance their resentments against the King, for the death of that gallant *Athenian* their restorer, did not a little move them to this resolution. And therefore they forthwith equipped ten ships of war, and sent them to the aid of *Euagoras*, under the command of *Philocrates*. But a fleet which the *Lacedaemonians* had at sea, under the command of *Telautias* the brother of *Agésilas*, falling in with them in the isle of *Rhodes*, took them all; whereby it came to pass, that those who were enemies to the King of *Persia*, destroyed those who were going from his friends to make war against him.

An. 389.
Artaxerxes 16.

ACHORIS succeeding *Psammitichus* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, ^d *Euagoras* drew him, and also the *Barceans*, a people of *Libya*, into confederacy with him against the *Persians*, and all of them engaged in conjunction together to carry on the war with vigour against them.

An. 388.
Artaxerxes 17.

PHILOCRATES having miscarried in his attempt of carrying succours to *Euagoras*, in manner as hath been related, the *Athenians* ^e sent *Chabrias* into the same service with another fleet, and a good number of land forces on board of it, who arriving safe in *Cyprus*, managed the war with that success, that he reduced the whole island under the power of *Euagoras* before he again left it; which redounded much to the honour of his own conduct, and also to that of the *Athenian* arms.

An. 387.
Artaxerxes 18.

THE *Lacedaemonians* finding themselves hardly pressed by the confederacy of the *Grecian* cities against them, became desirous of a peace with the *Persian* King, and ^f appointed *Antalcidas* again to treat with *Tiribazus*

^b Isocrates in *Euagora*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 458.

^c Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 4.

^d Theopompus in excerptis Photii. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 459.

^e Cornelius Nepos

in *Chabria*. Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 5.

^f Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 5. Plutarchus in

Agésilao & Artaxerxe. Isocrates in *Panathenaico*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 14. p. 452, 453. Justin, lib. 6. c. 6.

about it; and resolving to make it on such terms as should necessarily engage that potent monarch on their side, instructed their embassador accordingly; and having made him admiral of their fleet, under that blind sent him with it into *Asia* to transact this matter. On his arrival at *Ephesus*, having appointed *Nicolochus* his lieutenant to take care of the fleet, he went to *Sardis*, and there communicated to *Tiribazus* the commission on which he was sent. But *Tiribazus* having no powers to enter into such a treaty, instead of sending for orders about it from the *Persian* court, they both went thither; where on their arrival the matter was soon concluded. For *Artaxerxes* being at that time as much desirous of a peace as the *Lacedæmonians*, that so he might be the better at leisure to prosecute the *Cyprian* war, which he had then his heart much set upon, greedily accepted of the proposal, upon the scheme which *Antalcidas* offered. And accordingly peace was made thereupon. The terms of it were, That all the *Grecian* cities in *Asia*, with the islands of ^a *Clazomenæ* and *Cyprus* should be under the power of the *Persian* King; and that all the other Cities of *Greece*, and the isles, as well small as great, should be free, and wholly left to be governed by their own laws, except the islands of *Scirus*, *Lemnus* and *Imbrus*, which having been anciently subject to the *Athenians*, should still continue so to be; and that *Artaxerxes* should join with the *Lacedæmonians*, and all others that accepted of this peace, to make all the rest of *Greece* submit thereto. Which peace being ratified under the seal of King *Artaxerxes*, *Tiribazus* and *Antalcidas* returned with it, and caused it to be proclaimed in all the cities of *Greece*. Hereby the *Grecian* cities in *Asia* finding themselves betrayed by the *Lacedæmonians*, were forced to submit; and scarce any other of the *Grecian* states were pleased therewith, it being very disadvantageous to many of them, and dishonourable to all. The *Athenians* and *Thebans* of all others were the most dissatisfied with it. But not being able alone to cope with the *Persians*, now joined with the *Lacedæmonians*, their allies, to see it executed, were forced for a while to acquiesce therein. And it was not long that the *Lacedæmonians* themselves were well pleased with it; but at this time being pressed on the one hand by the *Persians*, and on the other hand by the confederacy of the *Grecian* cities against them, and not being able to withstand both, they had no other way to extricate themselves from the ruin which seemed to threaten them, than by making this peace. For hereby they engaged the *Persians* into an alliance with them; and by virtue thereof, made all the confederated cities of *Greece* desist from that war, which they were preparing against them; and by this means they saved themselves from the present danger, but at the same time they betrayed the common interest of *Greece*, and also their own, as far as it was involved in it. And *Antalcidas* at last met with his ruin from it. For the *Lacedæmonians*, after the blow they had received from the *Thebans* at *Leuctra*, needing the assistance of the *Persian* power to support them, and being made believe, that *Antalcidas* could do every thing at that court since the making of this peace, sent him thither, to solicit for money to help bear them up in that distress. But King *Artaxerxes* finding his interest no way

^a The city of *Clazomenæ* then stood on an island, but afterwards that Island was joined to the continent in the same manner as were the islands of *Tyrus* and *Pharus*. Strabo, lib. 1. p. 58.

^c Plutarchus in *Artaxerxe*.

concerned in this proposal, as it was in the former, rejected it with scorn and contempt. And therefore being sent away without success, either out of shame for being thus disappointed, or out of fear of the resentments of his fellow-citizens for his failing in this negotiation of what they expected from it, he furnished himself, and so put an end to his life. This peace, 'Polybius, 'Trogus Pompeius, 'Diodorus Siculus, and 'Strabo, tell us, was made in the same year that Rome was taken by the Gauls. It was called, from the author of it, the peace of *Antalcidas*, but it was not with any honour, but rather with infamy to his name; because of the prejudice and dishonour which it brought with it to all Greece.

Ar. 356.
Art. 107-
108 109

THE *Athenians*, on their accepting of this peace, were forced to call home *Chabrias* out of *Cyprus*; and 'Artaxerxes, now freed of all trouble from the *Greeks*, bent his whole force against *Euagoras* King of that island. For having drawn together an army of three hundred thousand men, and a fleet of three hundred sail, he made *Gaus* the son of *Tamus* (who hath been before spoken of) admiral of the fleet, and *Oronces* one of his sons-in-law general of the army, and *Tiribazus* generalissimo over both, and sent them to invade *Cyprus*; and accordingly they landed this great army on that island for the reducing of it. *Euagoras* being pressed with so great a power, strengthened himself for the war the best he could, having drawn into confederacy with him the *Egyptians*, *Libyans*, *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and other nations, who were then at enmity with the *Persians*; and with his money, of which he had amassed a vast treasure, he hired a great number of mercenaries, out of all places wherever he could get them, which all together made a very numerous army. And he also got together a considerable fleet of ships. These at first he sent out in parties to intercept the tenders and victualers, which brought provisions to the *Persian* army from the continent, which in a few days reduced them to that distress, that the soldiers mutinied, and slew many of their officers and commanders for their want of bread. For the remedying of this, their whole fleet was forced to set to sea to fetch provisions from *Cilicia*, whereby the army being plentifully supplied, an end was put to the mutiny. In the interim *Euagoras* received a great supply of corn from *Egypt*, and fifty sail of ships, which, with others that he fitted up at home, making up his fleet to two hundred sail, he ventured with them to engage the whole naval force of the *Persians*, though in strength and number much superior to him. He had fought a part of the *Persian* army and gained the victory, and being flustered with this, and some other advantages which he had obtained at land, he was emboldened hereby to make this attempt upon them by sea. But here he had not the same success. In the first onset he had the advantage, and took and destroyed several of their ships. But *Gaus* at length having brought up his whole fleet into the fight, his valour and his conduct bore all before him, and drove *Euagoras* out of the seas, with the loss of the greatest part of his fleet; with the remainder he escaped to *Salamine*, where the *Persians*, after his victory, shut him up in a close siege both by sea and land, and *Tiribazus* went to the *Persian* court with the news of this success, and having there obtained two

' Lib. 1.
lib. 15.

' Justin, lib. 6. c. 6.

' Lib. 4.

' Lib. 6.

' Diodor. Sic.

thousand talents for the use of the army, he returned with them farther to carry on the war. During his absence, *Euagoras*, to relieve himself in the distress he was reduced to, got thorough the enemies fleet in the night with ten ships, and sailed for *Egypt*, leaving *Protagoras* his son to manage all affairs in his absence. His end in this voyage was to engage *Acoris* to join his whole power with him for the raising of this siege.

BUT failing in the main of what he there expected, he was sent back only with some supplies of money, which were far short of what he needed to relieve him in his present distress; and therefore being returned to *Salamine*, and got again into the place by the favour of the night, in the same manner as he came out, and finding himself deserted by his allies, and destitute of all other helps for the raising of the siege, he sent to *Tiribazus* to treat of peace, but could be allowed no other terms, than to be divested of all that he had in *Cyprus*, excepting the city of *Salamine* only, and to hold that of the King as a servant of his lord, and pay him tribute for it. However considering the necessity of his affairs, he yielded to all this, excepting only the holding of *Salamine* as a servant under his lord; he desired it might be as a King under a King. But *Tiribazus* not consenting to this the war went on. In the mean time *Orontes*, who commanded the land army, not brooking the superiority which *Tiribazus* had over him, as being generalissimo, and having the chief conduct of the whole war; and envying also the success which he had in it, and the honour which he had gotten thereby, wrote secretly calumniating letters to the King, accusing him of having secret designs against the King's interest; and that for this purpose he held private correspondence with the *Lacedæmonians*, and had causelessly procrastinated the war, had admitted a treaty with *Euagoras*, when it was in his power to have suppressed him by force, and by counting the affection of the officers and commanders of the army, had engaged them all to him for the promoting of his hidden purposes; whereon he was taken into custody by order from the King, and sent prisoner to the court, and *Orontes* had the chief command conferred on him, which was the thing he desired, as what he thought belonged to him, much rather than to the other, as being the King's son-in-law. But the army being very much dissatisfied with the change, things went very heavily on under his conduct. For all his orders through this discontent of the soldiery were very negligently executed, and the enemy recovered courage and strength hereby; so that at length *Orontes* was forced to renew the treaty with *Euagoras*, for which he had accused his predecessor, and concluded it upon terms which the other had refused. For he consented that he should hold *Salamine* of the King of *Persia* as King of that city, yielding only tribute to him for it. So peace was made with *Euagoras*, but this did not put an end to the war in those parts. For *Gaus* taking ill the unjust usage of *Tiribazus*, whose daughter he had married, and fearing that this affinity might involve him also in the same prosecution, he entered into a confederacy with the *Egyptians* and the *Lacedæmonians*, and revolted from the King, and a great part both of the fleet and army joined with him herein. The *Lacedæmonians* entered gladly into this confederacy, because of the dislike which they now had of the peace of *Antalcidas*. For by this time discerning all the disadvantages of it, espe-

An. 385.
Artaxerxes 20.

v Diodor. ibid.

w Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

cially the ill consequence which it had in alienating the affections of all the other *Greeks* from them, because of the dishonour, as well as the damages, which it brought with it to all of the *Grecian* name, they would, for the redeeming of this fault, and the recovery of the credit which they lost by it, have gladly laid hold of this opportunity of again renewing the war with the *Persians*. But *Gaus* the next year after, when he had brought his matters in some measure to bear, being treacherously slain by some that were under him, and *Tachos*, who set himself up to carry on the same design, soon dying, the whole of it fell to nothing; and after this the *Lacedaemonians* no more meddled with the *Asian* affairs.

An. 384.
Artaxer-
xes 21.

ARTAXERXES having thus finished the *Cyprian* war, ^aled an army of three hundred thousand foot and ten thousand horse against the *Cadusians*. But the countrey, by reason of its barrenness, not affording provisions enough to feed so large an army, he had like to have lost them all for want thereof, but that *Tiribazus* extricated him from this danger. He followed the King in this expedition, or rather was led with the court in it as a prisoner, being in great disgrace because of *Orontes's* accusation; and having received information, that whereas the *Cadusians* had two Kings, they did not act in a thorough concert together, by reason of the jealousy and mistrust which they had of each other, but that each led and encamped his forces apart from the other, he proposed to *Artaxerxes* the bringing of them to submission by a treaty; and having undertaken the management of it, he went to one of the Kings, and sent his son to the other, and so ordered the matter, that making each of them believe, that the other was treating separately with the King, brought both separately to submit to him, and so saved him and all his army. These people ^binhabited some part of the mountainous countrey, which lies between the *Euxin* and the *Caspian* seas to the north of *Media*, where ^cthey having neither seed-time nor harvest, liv'd mostly upon apples and pears, and other such tree-fruits, the land, by reason of its ruggedness and unfertility, not being capable of tillage. And this was that which brought the *Persians* into such distress when they invaded them, the countrey not being capable of affording provisions for so great an army. *Fuller* ^dhath a conceit, that these *Cadusians* were the descendants of the *Israelites* of the ten tribes, which the Kings of *Assyria* carried captive out of the land of *Canaan*; but his reason for it being only, that he thinks they were called *Cadusians* from the *Hebrew* word *Kedushim*, which signifieth *holy people*, this is not foundation enough to build such an assertion upon. It would have been a better argument for this purpose, had he urged for it, that ^ethe *Colchians* and neighbouring nations are said anciently to have used circumcision. For not far from the *Colchians* was the countrey of the *Cadusians*.

ARTAXERXES lost a great number of men in this ill-projected expedition; among others who perished in it was *Camissares*, by nation a *Carian*, and a very gallant man. He was governor of *Leuco-Syria*, a province lying between *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*, and was on his death succeeded therein by *Datames* his son, who was also with *Artaxerxes* in this

^a Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 462.
^b 510, 523, 524. ^c Plutarchus in Artaxerxe.
lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 1.

^d Strabo, lib. 11. p. 507, 508,
^e Miscel. lib. 2. c. 5. ^f Herodot.

expedition, and did him great service in it, for the reward of which he had his father's government conferred on him. He was for valour and military skill the *Hannibal* of those times. *Cornelius Nepos* hath given us his life at large, by which it appears, no man ever exceeded him in stratagems of war, or in the valour and activity by which he executed them. But these eminent qualities raised that envy against him in the *Persian* court, as at last caused his ruine; as it hath been the fate of too many gallant men to have been thus undone by their own merit.

ON the King's return to *Susa*, the service which *Tiribazus* did him in this expedition procured him a fair hearing of his cause, and it having been thoroughly examined before indifferent judges appointed by the King for it, he was found innocent, and honourably discharged; and *Orontes* his accuser was condemned of calumny, and with disgrace banished the court, and put out of the King's favour for it.

ARTAXERXES being now free from all other wars, resolved on the reducing of the *Egyptians*, they having freed themselves from the yoke of the *Persians*, and stood out in revolt against them now full thirty six years; and accordingly he made great preparations for it. *Acoris* foreseeing the storm, provided against it the best he could, having armed not only his own subjects, but drawn also a great number of *Greeks* and other mercenaries into his service, under the command of *Chabrias* the *Athenian*. *Pharnabazus* having the care of this war committed to his charge, sent embassadors to *Athens* to make complaint against *Chabrias*, for engaging in this service against the King, threatening them with the loss of the King's friendship, unless he were forthwith recalled. And at the same time he demanded *Iphicrates* another *Athenian*, and the ablest general of his time, to be sent to him, to take on him the command of the mercenary *Greeks* in the *Persian* army for this war. The *Athenians* at that time much depending on the favour of the *Persian* King, for the support of their affairs at home, amid the broils which they had with the other cities of *Greece*, readily complied with both these demands. For they immediately recalled *Chabrias*, setting him a day for his return, and at the same time sent *Iphicrates* into the *Persian* army, to take on him the charge he was designed for. On his arrival, he having mustered his men, applied himself to exercise them in all the arts of war, in which he made them so expert, that thenceforth under the name of *Iphicratesian* soldiers, they became as famous among the *Greeks*, as formerly the *Fabian* were among the *Romans* for the same reason. And they had time enough before they entered on action, to grow up hereto by the instruction that was given them.

An. 377.
Artaxerxes 28.

FOR the *Persians* being very slow in their preparations, it was two years after e'er the war commenced; in the interim died *Acoris* King of *Egypt*, and was succeeded by *Psammuthis* in that kingdom, who reigned only one year.

An. 376.
Artaxerxes 29.

AFTER *Psammuthis*, reigned in *Egypt* *Nepherites*, the last of the *Mendesian* race in that kingdom. For after a reign of four months, he was succeeded by *Nectanabis*, the first of the *Sebennite* race, who reigned twelve years.

An. 375,
Artaxerxes 30.

ARTAXERXES, that he might the easier get *Grecian* auxiliaries

^a Diodor: Sic. p. 463.
Iphicrate.

^a Diodor: Sic. lib. 15. p. 471.
^c Eusebius in Chronico. Syncellus, p. 257.

Cornelius Nepos in *Chabria* &
^f Eusebius in Chronico.

for his *Egyptian* war, sent embassadors into *Greece* to put an end to all war there, requiring that all the different states and cities in that country should live in peace with each other, upon the terms of the peace of *Antalcidas*, and that all garrisons being withdrawn, all should be left to enjoy their liberty, and be governed according to their own laws. This proposal was readily accepted by all the cities of *Greece*, excepting the *Thebans*, who having then in view the gaining the empire over all, were the only *Grecian* people that refused to comply herewith.

An. 374.
Artaxerxes 31.

ALL things being now ready for the *Egyptian* war, ^s the *Persian* army was all drawn together at *Ace*, afterwards called *Ptolemais*, and now *Acon*, in *Palestine*; and were there mustered to be two hundred thousand *Persians*, under the command of *Pharnabazus*, and twenty thousand *Grecian* mercenaries under the command of *Iphicrates*, and their forces by sea were proportionable hereto. For their fleet consisted of three hundred gallies, and two hundred ships, besides a vast number of victuallers and tenders, which followed to furnish both the fleet and army with all things necessary. At the same time the army marched by land, the fleet set also to sea, that so they might the better act in concert with each other; for the carrying on of the war. The first attempt which they made was upon *Pelusium*. Their design was to besiege it by sea and land; but the *Persians* having been long in preparing for this war, gave *Nectanabis* time enough to provide for the defence of the place, which he did so effectually, that they could not come at it either by land or sea. And therefore their fleet, instead of making a descent at this place, as was first intended, sailed from thence to the *Mendesian* mouth of the *Nile*. For that river then discharged it self into the *Mediterranean* by seven mouths, (tho' now there are but ^h two) each of these was guarded by a fortress and a garrison; but the *Mendesian* mouth not being so well fortified against them as the *Pelusian*, because they were not here expected, they easily landed at this place, and as easily took the fortress which guarded it, destroying all those who were there set for its defence. After this action *Iphicrates* advised, that they should immediately have sailed up the *Nile* to *Memphis*, the capital of *Egypt*. And had they followed his advice, before the *Egyptians* had recovered from the consternation which this powerful invasion and the first success thereof had put them into, they would have found the place wholly unprovided for its defence, and therefore must have certainly taken it; and with it, all *Egypt* must again have fallen under their power. But the main of the army not being yet come up, *Pharnabazus* would not engage till he had gotten all his strength together, thinking that then his power would be invincible, and he must necessarily carry all before him. But *Iphicrates* rightly judging, that by that time the opportunity would be lost, pressed hard for leave to attempt the place with the mercenaries only that were under his command. But *Pharnabazus* envying him the honour which would redound to him from hence, should he succeed in the enterprise, would not hearken to the proposal. In the interim, the *Egyptians* having gotten all their forces together, and put a sufficient guard into *Memphis*, with the rest took the field, and so harassed the *Persians*, that they kept them from making any farther progress,

^s Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 478. Cornelius Nepos in Iphicrate. Rosetta.

^h That is Damietta and

till at length ¹ the *Nile*, in its proper season, overflowing all the countrey, forced them to withdraw again into *Phœnicia*, with the loss of a great part of their army. And so this expedition, in which were expended such vast sums of treasure, and so much time in preparing for it, all miscarried and came to nothing. This produced great dissensions between the two generals. For *Pharnabazus*, to excuse himself, laid the whole blame of this miscarriage upon *Iphicrates*; and *Iphicrates*, with much more reason, on *Pharnabazus*. But *Iphicrates* being aware, that *Pharnabazus* would be believed before him at the *Persian* court, and remembering the case of *Conon*, that he might not meet with the like fate, privately hired a ship, and got safely away to *Athens*. Hereon *Pharnabazus* sent ambassadors after him, to accuse him of making this expedition into *Egypt* miscarry, to which the *Athenians* gave only this answer, That if he were found guilty of this, they would punish him for it according to his demerit. But it seems they were so far convinced of his innocency, as to this matter, that they never called him to a tryal for it; and a little while after they made him sole admiral of their whole fleet.

THAT which made most of the expeditions of the *Persians*, under this empire, miscarry, was their slowness in the execution of their designs. For the generals having nothing left to their own discretion, but being in all things strictly tied up to orders, durst not proceed on any emergency without instructions from court, and usually before these could arrive the opportunity was lost. And this was signally the case in this war. And therefore *Iphicrates* observing *Pharnabazus* to be very quick in his resolves, and very slow in the execution of them, and having thereon asked him how it came to pass that he was so forward in his words and so backward in his actions, ² had the whole truth told him in this memorable answer, That his words were his own, but his actions wholly depended on his master. And many like instances may be given, wherein noble opportunities of acting great things for the good of the publick have been wholly lost, by too streightly tying up the hands of those who are to execute them.

THE same year that these things were done in *Egypt*, ³ *Euagoras* King of *Salamine*, in the island of *Cyprus*, being murdered by one of his eunuchs, *Nicocles* his son reigned in his stead, and is the same for whose sake two of *Isocrates*'s orations were composed, and they still bear the title of his name. In the first of these is proposed the duty of a King to his subjects; in the second, the duty of subjects to their King; for which *Nicocles* gave him ⁴ twenty talents, *i. e.* three thousand seven hundred and fifty pound of our money.

¹ The nature of this river is to be six months a rising, and six months a falling; and when it is at the height, it doth for two months together overflow the whole countrey, and then there is no marching or encamping of an army in any part of it. This is caused by the rains, which for six months together fall in the upper parts of *Ethiopia*, where the rise of the *Nile* is. These rains begin to fall in April, and continue till October, and send great floods into the *Nile*, which beginning to reach *Egypt* in the April following, do there cause this rising or increase of the *Nile*, which from thence continues to rise higher and higher, till the beginning of October following, and then it again falls in the same gradual manner as it rose, till the April following. The months of the overflow are August and September, and some part of October. It must rise sixteen cubits to make a fertile year; but sometimes it riseth to three and twenty. If it riseth no higher than twelve or thirteen cubits, a famine followeth in that countrey.

² Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 478.

³ Aristoteles, Politic. lib. 5. c. 10. Theopompus in bibliotheca Photii. N. 176.

⁴ Plutarchus in vita Isocratis.

An. 373.
Artaxer-
xes 32.

THE "next year after, which was the thirty second of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, *Joiada* the high-priest of the *Jews* being dead, ° *Johanan* his son, called also *Jonathan*, succeeded him in his office, and held it thirty two years.

An. 371.
Artaxer-
xes 34.

ARTAXERXES ^a again sent ambassadors into *Greece*, to exhort the states and cities, which were there at war with each other, to lay down their arms and come to an accord upon the terms of the peace which he had made with *Antalcidas*. All expressed a readiness to submit hereto, except the *Thebans*. That which made them at that time dissent, was, that by that peace it was provided, that all the cities of *Greece* should be left to enjoy their own liberties, and be governed according to their own laws. Upon this article, the *Lacedæmonians* pressed the *Thebans* to set all the cities of *Bæotia* free, and to rebuild *Platæa* and *Thespia*, two cities of that countrey, which they had demolished, and restore them again to the former inhabitants, with the territories appertaining to them. And on the other side, the *Thebans* retorting upon the *Lacedæmonians* the same argument, pressed them to permit all the towns of *Laconia* to enjoy their liberties, and restore *Messena* to its ancient owners. For they urged, that the article of the peace insisted on, did as much require the one as the other, and that therefore if the *Lacedæmonians* would not execute this article on their part, neither would they on theirs. But the *Lacedæmonians*, not being sufficiently humbled by the loss of their fleet at *Cnidus*, would not understand this way of arguing, but looking on themselves still as much superior to the *Thebans*, would have them submit to that, which they would not do themselves; and therefore sent an army against them, to force them to it, which produced the battel at *Leuctra*, ^c in which the *Lacedæmonians* were overthrown, with the loss of *Cleombrotus* one of their Kings, and above four thousand of their citizens; which was the greatest blow they had received in many ages past. For it brought the *Thebans* in pursuit of this victory into *Laconia*, which they wasted all over, even home to the city of *Lacedæmon* it self, where they had not seen an enemy in five hundred years before; and it was with difficulty that they preserved this their capital from falling under the same devastation.

An. 370.
Artaxer-
xes 35.

THE *Lacedæmonians* being brought to this distress, ^d sent *Agésilas* into *Egypt*, and *Antalcidas* to the *Persian* court, to solicit for succours. But the *Lacedæmonians*, since their overthrow at *Leuctra*, becoming contemptible to the *Persians*, *Antalcidas* had that ill success in his embassy, as caused him to put an end to his life, in the manner as hath been above related.

An. 369.
Artaxer-
xes 36.

HOWEVER, this embassy prevailed so far with *Artaxerxes*, that *Phibiscus* of *Abydus* ^e was by his order the next year after sent into *Greece*, to endeavour the composing of the wars which were there risen, and the bringing of all to peace upon the terms agreed on by *Antalcidas*. But the *Lacedæmonians* refusing to consent that *Messena* should enjoy its liberty, (to which it had been restored by the *Thebans*, in their late expedition in-

^a Chronicon Alexandrinum.

^b Nehem. xii. 22. and xiii. 28.

^c Nehem. xii. 11.

^d Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 483. Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 6.

^e Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. Xe-

nophon ibid. Plutarchus in Pelopida. Cornelius Nepos in Epaminonda. & Pelopida.

^f Plutarchus in Agésilao. & Artaxerxe.

^g Xenophon Hellenic. lib. 7. Diodor. Sic.

lib. 15. p. 494.

to *Peloponnesus*, after the battel of *Leuctra*) and the *Thebans* refusing to come to peace on any other terms, this embassy ended without any effect; only *Philiscus* thinking the *Thebans* stood upon too high terms, and being much offended thereat, sent to the assistance of the *Lacedæmonians* two thousand mercenaries, which he had raised with the King's money, and so returned.

THE truth of the case was, the *Thebans* being elevated with their late success, and much confiding in their two generals, *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas*, (the latter of which was one of the greatest men that ever *Greece* produced) aimed now at nothing less than the empire of *Greece*. And therefore to strengthen themselves for the obtaining of it, they sent *Pelopidas* and *Ismenias*, two of the eminentest of their citizens, in an embassy to King *Artaxerxes*, to secure him on their side. And on the hearing of this, the *Athenians* sent *Timagoras* and *Leontes*, and the other cities of *Greece* other ambassadors, to take care of their respective interests at that court on this occasion. At their admission to audience, they being required to adore the King, *Ismenias* on his entrance into the presence of the King dropped his ring, and stooping to take it up, thought by this trick to satisfy the ceremonial, and save his honour at the same time. But *Timagoras*, the *Athenian*, to gain the greater favour with *Artaxerxes*, directly, without any trick or subterfuge, paid him that ceremony of adoration which was required, for which he was put to death on his return, the *Athenians* thinking the honour of their whole city sullied by this low act of submission in one of their citizens, though made to the greatest of Kings. *Pelopidas* and *Leontes* would not submit to the *Persian* ceremonial in this particular. However, they often had free access to the King, and *Pelopidas*, by the fame of his great actions, as well as by his noble demeanour at this court, got that ascendant above all the other ambassadors, both in the King's esteem and favour, that he obtained all that he desired in behalf of his citizens, and returned with full success from his embassy. For he brought back letters from the King under his seal royal, whereby it was required that the *Lacedæmonians* should let *Messena* be free, and that the *Athenians* should recall their fleet, and that all the other cities of *Greece* should have the full enjoyment of their liberties; and war was threatened against all that should not comply herewith. The success of this embassy was much to the satisfaction of the *Thebans*, they thinking hereby most certainly to gain the superiority over all the other cities and states of *Greece*. For should the peace be accepted of on these terms, and the *Messenians* thoroughly restored, the *Lacedæmonians* would lose one half of their territory, and thereby would be brought too low to be any more a match for them; and should the other cities of *Greece*, as well small as great, be all set at liberty, and made distinct states, free, and independent of each other, this would so divide their power, that none of them would be in a condition to contend with them, but all must submit to them. And if the peace were not accepted of, then the King being engaged in this case to joyn with them to force all to it, they thought by this addition of strength they should easily overpower all, and thereby gain to themselves the same

An. 368.
Artaxerxes 37.

† Plutarchus in *Pelopida* & *Artaxerxe*. Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 7.
mus, lib. 5. c. 3.

* Plutarchus in *Pelopida*. Xenophon *Hellenic*. lib. 7.

‡ Valerius Maxi

empire over the rest of *Greece*, as first the *Athenians*, and afterwards the *Lacedaemonians*, had for some time enjoyed. But they failed of their expectations in both these particulars. For the cities of *Greece*, when met together by their delegates to hear the contents of the King's letters, all refused to swear to the peace on those terms. And *Artaxerxes* not being at leisure to execute the other part of the treaty, did not, on this refusal of the *Grecian* cities to come into his measures, proceed to make that war upon them which he threatned; and so this whole embassy came to nothing, and the *Thebans* failed of all that they designed by it. For

An. 366.
Artaxerxes 39.

ALL that *Artaxerxes* did hereupon, was ¹to send another embassy into *Greece* about two years after, whereby although he could not draw all the cities to subscribe to his terms, and swear to the peace upon them, yet he prevailed so far, that all laid down their arms, and submitted to be at quiet with each other on the scheme proposed.

ABOUT this time ²a wicked fact of *Johanan* the high-priest of the *Jews* brought a great oppression upon the temple at *Jerusalem*. For *Jeshua* his brother having much insinuated himself into the favour of *Bagoses*, then governor of *Syria* and *Phuenicia* for the *Persian* King, obtained of him a grant of the high priesthood, with which *Johanan* had been invested several years, and came with this grant to *Jerusalem*, to take possession of the office, and depose his brother from it. But *Johanan* not submitting hereto, the matter came to a great contention between them, and while the one endeavoured by force to enter on the execution of the office, and the other by force to keep him from it, it happened that *Johanan* slew *Jeshua* in the inner court of the temple; which was a very wicked act in itself, but aggravated and rendered much more so, by the great prophanation which was brought hereby on the holy place where it was committed. *Bagoses* hearing of this, came in great wrath to *Jerusalem*, to take an account of the fact. And when on his going into the temple, to see the place where it was perpetrated, they would have hindered his entrance, (all *Gentiles* being reckoned by them as impure, and prohibited to enter thither) he cried out with great indignation, *What, am I not more pure than the dead carcass of him whom ye have slain in the temple?* whereon entering without any farther opposition, and having taken a thorough cognizance of the fact, he imposed a mulct on the temple for the punishment of it, obliging the priests to pay out of the publick treasury, for every lamb they offered in the daily sacrifice, the sum of fifty drachms, which is about one pound eleven shillings and three pence of our money. This, if extended only to the ordinary sacrifices which were offered every day, amounted to thirty six thousand five hundred drachms for the whole year, which is no more than one thousand one hundred and forty pounds twelve shillings and six pence of our money. But if it extended also to the extraordinary sacrifices, which were added to the ordinary on solemn days, it will come to about half as much more. For the ordinary sacrifices, which were offered every day, and called the daily sacrifices, were a lamb in the morning, which was called the morning sacrifice, and a lamb in the evening, which was called the evening sacrifice, and these in the

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 497.
Numb. xxviii. 3--8.

² Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 7.

³ Exod. xxix. 38.

whole year came to seven hundred and thirty. But besides these, there were added ^b on every sabbath two lambs more, on ^c every new moon seven, on ^d each of the seven days of the paschal solemnity seven, besides ^e one more on the second day, when the wave sheaf was offered, on ^f the day of pentecost sixteen, on ^g the feast of trumpets seven, on ^h the great day of expiation seven, on ⁱ each of the seven days of the feast of tabernacles fourteen, and ^k on the eighth day seven. So that the additional lambs being three hundred seventy and one, these if reckoned to the other make the whole number annually offered at the morning and evening sacrifices to be eleven hundred and one. And therefore if the mule of fifty drachms a lamb was paid for them all, it would make the whole of it to amount to fifty five thousand and fifty drachms, which is of our money seventeen hundred and twenty pounds six shillings and three pence. But this sum being too small for a national mule, and far short of what governors of provinces on such occasions are apt to exact from their provincials, it seems probable, that all lambs that were offered in the temple, in any sacrifice whatsoever, were taken into the reckoning; and without this, there will be no sufficient cause for that complaint which *Josephus* makes hereof. For he speaks of it as such a calamity and grievance upon the *Jews*, which a payment of seventeen hundred and twenty pounds a year upon the whole nation of them could not amount to. *Capellus* ^lreckons this mule at sixty talents. This proceeds from his laying it at five hundred drachms a lamb instead of fifty, which is a plain mistake of his. For the text of *Josephus* in all copies hath *πενήκοντα* fifty, and not *πεντακοσια* five hundred. But whatever this mule was, the payment of it lasted no longer than seven years. For on the death of *Artaxerxes*, the changes and revolutions which then happened in the empire, having made a change of the governor in *Syria*, he that succeeded *Bagoses* in that province no farther exacted it.

A new war having broke out in *Greece*, between the *Arcadians* and the *Elians*, and that having produced another among the *Arcadians* themselves, ^m one party called in the *Thebans* to their assistance, and the other party the *Lacedemonians* and the *Athenians*. Hereon the *Lacedemonians* set forth a great army under the command of *Agésilas*, to help that party which they favoured, and the *Thebans* another under the command of *Epaminondas* to support the other party, which produced the famous battle of *Mantineia*, wherein the *Lacedemonians* lost the victory, and the *Thebans* their general *Epaminondas*, which was the greater loss of the two. For with him all the vigour of the *Theban* state expired, and they never more signified any thing after this. But as they had attained all their power and glory by the conduct and valour of this one great man, so they lost it all again with him. These losses being received on both sides, they made both weary of the war, and therefore soon after this battle both parties, and with them all the rest of the *Grecian* states, came to a general peace among themselves, and the *Messenians*, notwithstanding what the *Lacedemonians* endeavoured to the contrary, were also included in it, according as had been decreed by the King of *Persia*.

An. 363.
Artaxerxes 42.

^b Numb. xxviii. 9, 10. ^c Numb. xxviii. 11. ^d Numb. xxviii. 16--24.
^e Levit. xxiii. 12. ^f Levit. xxiii. 17, 18. Numb. xxviii. 27. ^g Numb. xxix. 2.
^h Numb. xxix. 8. ⁱ Numb. xxix. 13, 17, 20, 23, 26, 29, 32. ^k Numb. xxix. 36.
^l *Historia Sacra & Exotica* sub A. M. 3639. ^m *Plutarchus* in *Agésilao*. *Diodor. Sic.* lib. 15. p. 501, 502. *Cornelius Nepos* in *Epaminonda*.

WHILE these things were doing in *Greece*, *Tachos* succeeded *Nectanabis* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and gathered together all the strength he could, to defend himself in it against the King of *Persia*, who still pursued his designs of recovering that kingdom again to his empire, notwithstanding he had so often miscarried in them.

An. 362.
Artaxerxes 43.

AND to make himself the stronger against so potent an enemy, he sent into *Greece* to raise mercenaries, and prevailed with the *Lacedæmonians*^a to aid him with a good number of their forces under the command of *Agésilas*. For the *Lacedæmonians* being angry, that *Artaxerxes* had forced them to include the *Messenians* in the late peace, were glad to lay hold of this occasion to express their resentments for it. And *Agésilas*, either out of fondness still to be at the head of armies, or else out of a greedy desire of gaining riches by it, galdly accepted of the employment, tho' it neither suited his age (which was above eighty) to be engaged in such an undertaking, nor the dignity of his person, thus to become a mercenary, and let himself to hire to a barbarous King. That which chiefly tempted him to it was, *Tachos* promised him to make him generalissimo of all his forces; but when he was landed in *Egypt*, and instead of a great and glorious King, which his great actions had represented him to be, the *Egyptians* found him a little old man, ill cloathed, and of a contemptible presence, and living without pomp and ceremony, they very much despised him, and *Tachos* would allow him no other command, but that of his mercenaries at land, committing to *Chabrias* the *Athenian* the charge of his fleet, and reserving to himself the chief command over all. And when he had joined the *Grecian* mercenaries to the rest of his army, he marched with his whole strength into *Phœnicia*, thinking it better to meet the war there, than to expect till it should be brought home to him to his own doors; and *Agésilas* was forced to attend him thither. But the old *Grecian* King saw the ill consequence of this resolution, and advised him against it, telling him, that in the present unsettled state of his kingdom, it was his interest to tarry in *Egypt*, and look well to his affairs there, and manage the war abroad by his lieutenants. But *Tachos* contemning his advice in this particular, and flighting him in most things else, this so far alienated *Agésilas* from him, that when in his absence in *Phœnicia*, the *Egyptians* revolted from him, and set up *Nectanebus* his kinsman to be King in his stead, *Agésilas* joined with the revolters, and drove *Tachos* out of his kingdom; who thereon fled to *Sidon*, and from thence went to the *Persian* court. *Plutarch* condemns *Agésilas* as guilty of treachery, in thus turning his arms against the person into whose service he was hired. *Agésilas*'s excuse for it was, that he was sent to aid the *Egyptians*, and that therefore the *Egyptians* having armed against *Tachos*, he could not fight against them, unless he had new instructions from *Lacedæmon*; whereon messengers being sent thither, the orders returned by them were, that *Agésilas* should act herein according to what he judged would be best for the interest of his countrey; whereon *Agésilas* going over to *Nectanebus*, *Tachos* was forced to make his flight out of *Egypt*, in the manner as hath been related.

^a Cornelius Nepos & Plutarchus in *Agésilao*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 504.

^o Plutarchus, Cornelius Nepos & Diodor. *ibid*.

AND he was no sooner gone,^p but another from among the *Mendesians* did set up in his stead against *Neftanebus*, and got together an army of an hundred thousand men to support his pretensions. *Agefilaus*'s advice to *Neftanebus* was, that he should fall on them immediately, before they were well formed and disciplined; and they being most of them raw and unexperienced men, they might easily have been dissipated and broken, had this advice been followed. But *Neftanebus* mistrusting it to be given with an ill design, and growing jealous that *Agefilaus* intended to betray him, as he had *Tachos* before, would not hearken to him, but delayed the matter to gain more strength. In the interim, his adversary having brought his army into form and order, grew too strong for him, whereon he was forced to coop himself up with all his forces in one of his towns, and the other sat down before it to besiege him therein, and began to draw lines of circumvallation about it. *Neftanebus* seeing the danger, would then have had *Agefilaus* engage the enemy to extricate him out of it. This he refused for some time to do, which encreased the jealousy of that prince against him. But when the lines were so far drawn round, as only to leave a sufficient space for the besieged to draw up their army in, then *Agefilaus* told *Neftanebus*, that this was his only time to fall on, that the lines which the enemy had drawn, secured him from being encompassed, and that the gap which was still left void, allowed room enough for him to bring all his forces to the battel; whereon an engagement ensuing the besiegers were put to the rout, and after this *Agefilaus* managed the rest of the war with that success, that he every where vanquished the other King, and at length took him prisoner. And thereon having settled *Neftanebus* in full and quiet possession of the kingdom, returned homeward in the ensuing winter; but being in his way driven by contrary winds on the *African* shore, at a place called the haven of *Menelaus*, he there sickned and died, being full eighty four years old.

An. 361.
Artaxerxes 44.

TOWARDS the latter end of the reign of *Artaxerxes* great disturbances grew in the *Persian* court, which^q were occasioned by the contention of his sons, in making parties among the nobility about the succession. For he had an hundred and fifteen sons by his concubines, and three by his Queen; the names of the latter were *Darius*, *Ariaspes* and *Ochus*. For the stilling of these commotions, *Artaxerxes* declared *Darius* the eldest of them to be his successor; and for the firmer settling of the matter, allowed him to assume the name of King, and wear the royal *Tiara* even in his life time. But this not contenting him, and there being also some disgust about one of the King's concubines, which he would have had from him, he formed a design against his father's life, and drew in fifty of his brothers into the same conspiracy with him. He was chiefly excited to this by *Tiribazus*, whose name hath been often above-mentioned. *Artaxerxes* had promised him one of his daughters, but falling in love with her, he had married her himself, and to make him amends, having promised him another of his daughters, he married this also; such abominable incest was in those times allowed in *Persia*, by the religion which they then pro-

An. 360.
Artaxerxes 45.

^p Plutarchus in Agefilao. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. Justin. lib. 10. cap. 1, 2. ^q Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Ctesias. This Tiara was a turban or cap with the peke upright. For the seven counsellors wore their turbans with the peke forward, all others with the peke backward, excepting the King, who wore it always with the peke upright.

feſſed. Theſe two diſappointments greatly diſcontenting *Tiribazus*, and provoking his reſentments againſt the King for them, to be revenged of him, he excited the young king to this flagitious act. But the whole being diſcovered, *Darius* was cut off in ſuch manner as he deſerved, and all his accomplices with him..

An. 359.
Artaxerxes 46.

AFTER the death of *Darius*, 'the ſame contention was again revived, which was in the *Persian* court before his being declared King, three of his ſurviving brothers in the ſame manner making parties for the ſucceſſion. Theſe were *Ariaſpes*, *Ochus*, and *Arſames*; the two former being the King's ſons by his Queen, claimed as the lawful heirs, but the other only by the favour of his father, to whom he was the moſt beloved of the three, tho' born to him only by one of his concubines. But the reſtleſs ambition of *Ochus* prompting him to all manner of ways to obtain the crown, he carried it from the other two by the wickedſt and the worſt of means. For *Ariaſpes* being an eaſy and credulous prince, he terrified him ſo by menaces, which he ſuborned the eunuchs of the court to bring to him as from his father, that apprehending himſelf to be juſt ready to be uſed by him in the ſame manner as *Darius* had been, he poiſoned himſelf to avoid it. But *Arſames* ſtill remaining to rival him in his pretenſions, and being in the opinion of his father, as well as of all others, both for his wiſdom and all other accompliſhments, the worthieſt of the throne, to remove this obſtacle, he cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated by *Harpates* the ſon of *Tiribazus*. This loſs added to the former, and both aggravated by the wickedneſs, whereby they were cauſed, ſo overwhelmed the old King with grief, that being now ninety four years old, he had not ſtrength enough to ſupport himſelf under it, but broke his heart and died. He was a mild and generous prince, and governed with great clemency and juſtice, and therefore being honoured and revered through the whole empire, he had a fixed and thorough ſettled authority in all the parts of it; which *Ochus* being ſenſible of, and knowing that it would be quite otherwiſe with him on his ſucceeding, (the death of his two brothers having rendred the generality of the people, as well as the nobility, ill affected to him) for the avoiding of the inconveniences which might from hence follow, he dealt with the eunuchs, and all others that were about the dead King, 'to conceal his death, and took on him to govern as under his direction; and giving out orders, and ſealing decrees in his name, as if he had ſtill been alive, in one of thoſe decrees he cauſed himſelf, as by his father's command, to be proclaimed King through the whole empire. And when he had governed in this manner about ten months, thinking now his authority fully eſta- bliſhed, he owned his father's death, and openly aſcending the throne took the name of *Artaxerxes*; but by the name of *Ochus* is he moſtly ſpoken of in hiſtory.

An. 358.
Ochus 1.

BUT this artifice had not that full ſucceſs which he propoſed. For as ſoon as it was known that the old King was dead, and that *Ochus* had taken poſſeſſion of the throne, 'all *leſſer Aſia*, *Syria*, and *Phœnicia*, and ſeveral other provinces of the empire, reſuſed him their obedience, and fell off from him, which very much diſtreſſed him. For hereby one half of

^f Cteſias & Plutarchus, ibid.

^v Polyænus Stratagem, lib. 7.

^t Plutarchus in Artaxerxe. Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 506.

^w Diodor. Sic. lib. 15. p. 504, 505, 506.

the revenues of his crown were cut off, and the remainder could not have sufficed to carry on the war against so many revolters, had they continu'd firm to each other. But this union being wanting, they had not long been in the revolt, e'er those who were the first promoters of it were at a strife which should soonest betray each other, and thereby reconcile themselves to the King. The provinces of *lesser Asia*, when they first fell off from him, resolving on a joint confederacy for their mutual defence, chose *Orontes* governor of *Mysia* for their common head, and having agreed on the raising of twenty thousand mercenaries, to be added to their other forces, they committed the care of it to him; but when he had received for this purpose a sum sufficient, both for the raising of these forces, and also for the maintaining of them for a year's time, he put the money in his own pocket, and betrayed those to the King that brought it to him from the revolted provinces. And *Rheomitbres*, another prime leader in this revolt in *lesser Asia*, being sent from thence into *Egypt*, to gain succours in that kingdom for the carrying on of this rebellion, practised the same treachery. For on his return with five hundred talents, and fifty ships of war, having called together at *Leucas*, a city in *lesser Asia*, several of the prime ringleaders of the revolt, on pretence of giving them an account of his agency, he there seized them all, and made his peace with the King by betraying them into his hands, and kept the money for a prey unto himself. And by these means the danger of this formidable revolt, which threatned the *Persian* empire with absolute ruin, was all blown over, and *Ochus* became settled in the throne much firmer than he deserved. For he was the cruellest and the worst of all that had reigned of that race in *Persia*, which his actions soon made appear. For he had not been long on the throne e'er he fill'd the palace, and all parts of the empire, with a great number of murthers. That the revolted provinces might have none other of the royal family to set up in his stead, and that there might not be any of them left on any other pretence whatsoever to give him any disturbance, * he cut them all off, without having any regard to sex, age, or nearness of blood. For he caused *Ocha*, his own sister, who was also his mother-in-law, (for he had married her daughter) to be buried alive; and having shut up one of his uncles, with an hundred of his sons and grandsons, in an empty yard, he there caused them by his archers to be all shot to death. This seems to have been the father of *Sisigambis* the mother of *Darius Codomannus*. For † *Quintus Curtius* tells us, that *Ochus* slew eighty of her brothers, together with their father, in one day. And with the same cruelty he proceeded against all others through the whole empire, of whom he had any suspicion, leaving none of the nobility alive whom he thought to be any way ill affected towards him. *Diodorus Siculus* placeth this revolt in the last year of *Artaxerxes*; but he being a prince, whose conduct in the government had thoroughly settled him in the esteem and affection of all his people, it is not likely that so great an insurrection against the royal authority should have happened in his days. But *Ochus* giving reason enough for it, when the next year after he ascended the throne, I have rather chosen here to place it. For his ill disposi-

* Justin, lib. 10. c. 3. Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. c. 2. Quintus Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 8.

† Lib. 10. cap. 8.

tions, and the wicked means whereby he made away with two of his brothers to come at the throne, were causes sufficient to make many of the nobility, who had the government of the provinces of the empire, to abhor the man and refuse their submission to him. And he having taken the name of *Artaxerxes*, this might lead *Diodorus* into the mistake of placing that in the father's reign which was done in the son's. But this revolt was soon again quash'd by the means I have mentioned. Only *Datames*, governor of *Cappadocia*, having seized also *Paphlagonia*, gave him much trouble. But when he began his revolt, or when it ended, is nowhere clearly expressed. But by what is written of him by ^z*Corneilius Nepos*, and ^a*Polyænus*, it appears he maintained himself in both these provinces, in rebellion against the King of *Persia* a long while; and it was not till the time of *Ochus*, and some years after he had been King, that he was by the treachery of *Mithridates*, one of his confidents, at length cut off.

An. 356.
Ochus 3.

IN the first year of the hundred and sixth olympiad, about the middle of the summer quarter, *Alexander the Great*, who overthrew the *Persian* empire, was born at *Pella* in *Macedonia*. ^b*Plutarch* and ^c*Justin* tell us, that at the time of his birth, King *Philip* his father had the news that his horse had won the victory in the horse-race at the olympick games, which proves him to be born a little after the celebrating of those games. And ^d*Arrian* telling us out of *Aristobulus* (who accompanied *Alexander* in all his expeditions) that he dyed in the one hundred and fourteenth olympiad, in the year when *Hegeſias* was archon of *Athens*, (which was the first year of that olympiad) after having lived thirty two years and eight months, these thirty two years and eight months being reckoned backward from the said first year of the one hundred and fourteenth olympiad, and the month *Dæsius*, in which he died, will lead us directly to the same time for his birth which I have said. But ^e*Eusebius*, and the ^f*Parian* chronicle, place it one year later, that is, in the second year of the said one hundred and sixth Olympiad. On the same day in which he was born, ^gthe famous temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* was designedly burnt by one ^h*Erostratus*; when he was put upon the rack, to make him confess his inducements, he acknowledged it was, that by destroying so excellent a work he might perpetuate his name, and make it to be remembered in after-ages. Whereon the common council of *Asia* made a decree, that no one should ever name him; but this made him so much the more remembered; so remarkable an extravagance scarce escaping any of the historians, that have written of those times.

ARTABAZUS, governor of one of the *Asian* provinces, ⁱbeing in rebellion against the King, drew *Chares* the *Athenian* to join him, with such forces as he then commanded in those parts, and by this assistance overthrew an army of seventy thousand of the King's forces which were sent to reduce him; for the reward of which service, *Artabazus* gave unto *Chares* as much money as paid all his fleet, and the army which he had on board it. This greatly offended the King, and the *Athenians* being then

^z In vita Datamis.

^a Stratagem, lib. 7.

^b In vita Alexandri.

^c Lib. 12. c. 16.

^d Lib. 7.

^e In Chronico, p. 175.

^f Marm. Oxon.

^g Plutarchus in Alexandro. Cicero de natura deorum, lib. 2. & de divinatione, lib. 1.

^h Valerius, Maximus, lib. 8. c. 14. Aulus Gellius, lib. 2. c. 6. Solinus, cap. 40.

ⁱ Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 527, 528.

engaged in a war against the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, who were associated in a revolt against them, threats were given out, that the King to be revenged of them was preparing a fleet of three hundred sail, to help their enemies in this war. Whereon the *Athenians* not only recalled *Chares*, but came also to an accommodation with their revolted subjects, that thereby being freed from all embarrassments at home, they might be in a better posture to defend themselves from all such invasions as might be made upon them from abroad.

ARTABAZUS therefore being thus deserted by the *Athenians*,^k applied himself to the *Thebans*, from whom having obtained a band of auxiliaries, to the number of five thousand men, under the command of *Pammenes*, he did by their assistance gain two great victories over the King's forces, which redounded much to the honour of the *Thebans*, and their general that commanded in this expedition.

An. 354.
Ochus 5.

ABOUT the same time 'hapned the death of *Mausolus* King of *Caria*, which was rendered famous by the great grief which^m *Artemisia* (who was both his sister and his wife) expressed hereat. For she having gathered together his ashes, and beaten his bones to powder, took a portion of them every day in her drink, till she had in this manner drunk them all down, aiming hereby to make her body the sepulchre of her dead husband, and in two years time pined her self to death in sorrowing for him. But before she died she took care for the erecting of that famousⁿ monument for him at *Halicarnassus*, which was reckoned among the seven wonders of the world, and from whence all monuments of more than ordinary magnificence are called *Mausoleums*.

As *Artemisia* succeeded *Mausolus* in the kingdom, so on her death she was succeeded by^o *Idrieus* her brother, who married *Ada* his sister, in the same manner as *Mausolus* had married *Artemisia*; it being usual for the *Carian* Kings to marry their sisters, and for those sisters on the death of their husbands to succeed them in the kingdom before their brothers or children.

An. 351.
Ochus 8.

THE^p *Sidonians*, and other *Phœnicians*, being oppressed, and ill used by those whom the King of *Persia* had set over them, revolted from him, and entred into confederacy with *Nectanebus* King of *Egypt* against him. The *Persians* had long waged war with *Nectanebus*, in order to reduce *Egypt* again under their yoke, and were then preparing a great army to invade him. But there being no other way for them to enter *Egypt*, but through *Phœnicia*, the revolt of that countrey hapned very opportune for him; and therefore to encourage them to stand out in it he sent *Mentor the Rhodian*, with four thousand of the *Grecian* mercenaries to their assistance, hoping thereby to make *Phœnicia* a barrier to *Egypt*, and there keep the war out of his own countrey. The *Phœnicians*, strengthened by these auxiliaries, took the field, and by their assistance overthrew the governors of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, two of the King's lieutenants, that were sent to reduce them, and drove the *Persians* wholly out of *Phœnicia*.

^k Diodor. ibid.

^l Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 529. Plinius, lib. 36. c. 5. & 6.

^m Valerius Maximus, lib. 4. c. 6. Aulus Gellius, lib. 10. c. 18.

ⁿ Cicero Tusc.

Quæst. lib. 3. Strabo, lib. 14. p. 656. A. Gellius, lib. 10. c. 18. Pausanias in Arcadicis.

^o Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 534. Arrian de expeditione Alexandri, lib. 1. Strabo, lib. 14. p. 656.

^p Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 531, 532, & 533.

THE *Cyprians* being provoked by the like ill usage, were encouraged by this success of the *Phœnicians*^a to revolt also; and therefore they joined with them and the *Egyptians* in the same confederacy. Hereon *Ochus* dispatched his orders to *Idrieus* King of *Caria* to make war upon them, who having accordingly got ready a fleet, sent it with eight thousand *Grecian* mercenaries, under the command of *Phocion* the *Athenian*, and *Euagoras*, to invade that island; who having there landed, and augmented their army to double its number by other forces, which came to them from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, besieged *Salamine* by sea and land. Another *Euagoras* had formerly reigned in that city, of whom we have above spoken; on his death he was succeeded by *Nicocles* his son, and ^cthis *Euagoras* seems to have been the son of *Nicocles*, and to have succeeded him in that kingdom; but being driven out by *Protagoras* his uncle, was in banishment when this war begun, and therefore gladly joined in it, as hoping thereby again to recover his crown. And the knowledge which he had of the countrey, and the party which he might still have in it, made him thought a very proper person to command in this expedition. *Cyprus* had then ^dnine chief cities, and each of them had its King, but subject to the King of *Persia*. All these joined together in this confederacy, with a view of getting rid of the *Persian* yoke, and making themselves each supreme in his own city.

OCHUS finding his wars with the *Egyptians* to have been unfortunately managed, and that this proceeded from the ill conduct of his lieutenants, ^e resolved thenceforth to lead his forces in person; and therefore having gotten together an army of three hundred thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse, marched with them into *Phœnicia*. *Mentor*, who was then in *Sidon* with the *Grecian* mercenaries, being terrified with the approach of so great an army, sent privately to *Ochus* to make his peace with him, offering not only to deliver *Sidon* into his hands, but also to give him his assistance in his wars with *Egypt*, where through his knowledge of the countrey he was enabled to do him great services. *Ochus*, glad of this proffer, spared no promises to engage *Mentor* in his service. And he accordingly having received such assurances from *Ochus* as he desired, engaged *Tennes* King of *Sidon* into the same treason, and by his assistance delivered *Sidon* into his hands. The *Sidonians*, on his approach to lay siege to their city, had designedly burnt all their ships, that none might make use of any of them to withdraw from the defence of their countrey. And therefore, when they found they were betrayed, and that the enemy was within their walls, having no way now left to escape either by sea or land, they retired into their houses, and setting fire to them over their heads, were all consumed with them, to the number of forty thousand men, besides women and children; and *Tennes* escaped not any better than the rest. For *Ochus*, after he had thus subdued *Sidon*, having no more need of him, caused him to be put to death also, which was a reward the traitor sufficiently deserved, for thus selling his countrey to destruction; and may all those who practise the like courses meet the like fate. There

^a Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 532.

^b This being a petty prince, was subject to the King of Persia, and reigned under his protection, and therefore was obliged to obey his orders.

^c Vide Isocratem in Nicocle & Euagora, & Usserii Annales ad A. M. 3639. & 3654.

^d Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 532.

^e Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 531, 532, &c.

were vast riches of gold and silver in *Sidon* when this calamity happened to it, which being all melted down by the flames, *Ochus* sold the ashes of the city for great sums of money. The terrible destruction of this city frightening the rest of the *Phœnicians*, they all submitted, and made their peace with the King, upon the best terms they could. And *Ochus* was the willingest to compound with them, that he might be no longer retarded from the designs which he had upon *Egypt*.

BUT before he marched thither, he was recruited with ten thousand mercenaries, which were sent him out of *Greece*. For in the beginning of this expedition, *Ochus* had sent thither for auxiliaries. The *Atbenians* and the *Lacedæmonians* excused themselves, telling the *Persian* ambassadors that were sent to them for this purpose, that they should be glad to maintain peace and friendship with the King, but could not send him any succours at that time. But the *Thebans* sent him a thousand men under the command of *Nicostratus*. The rest came from the *Grecian* cities of *Asia*, and all these joined him immediately after his taking of *Sidon*.

THE *Jews* seem to have been engaged in this war of the *Phœnicians* against *Ochus*. For after he had taken *Sidon* he marched into *Judea*, and besieged and took *Jericho*, and making many of the *Jews* captives, he led part of them with him into *Egypt*, and sent a great number of others into *Hyrkania*, and there planted them on those parts of that country, which lay on the *Caspian* sea.

OCHUS at the same time also got rid of the *Cyprian* war: For having his mind wholly bent on the reducing of *Egypt*, that he might not be diverted from it by any other embarrassment, he was content to come to a composition with the nine *Cyprian* Kings, and therefore having removed their grievances, they all again submitted to him, and were confirmed by him in the government of their respective territories. The greatest difficulty in the bringing of this matter to a composition, was to content *Euagoras*, who claimed to be restored to his kingdom of *Salamine*; but he being convicted before *Ochus* of great crimes there committed, for which he was justly ejected, *Protagoras* was continued at *Salamine*, and amends was made *Euagoras*, by conferring on him the government of another place. But having there run into the same misdemeanours which he had been guilty of at *Salamine*, he was ejected thence also, whereon being forced to flee into *Cyprus*, he was there taken, and put to death for them.

CYPRIUS, as well as *Phœnicia*, being thus wholly reduced, and settled again in peace, *Ochus* set forward for the *Egyptian* expedition. In his way he lost many of his men at the lake of *Serbonis*. This lake lay in the entrance into *Egypt* from *Phœnicia*, of the extent of about thirty miles in length. The south wind blowing the sand of the desert upon it, made a crust upon the surface of the water, that in appearance looked like firm land, but if any went on upon it, they were soon swallowed up and lost. And thus it happened to as many of *Ochus's* men, as for want of good

An. 350.
Ochus 9.

* Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 533.

Orosius, lib. 31. cap. 7. Josephus ex Hecataeo, lib. 1. Contra Apionem. Eusebius in Chronicis.

† Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 534.

* Solinus, cap. 35. Syncellus ex Africano, p. 256.

† Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 534, 535.

guides marched on upon it. And there are instances of whole armies which have been thus lost in that place. On his arrival in *Egypt* he planted his camp near *Pelusium*, and from thence sent out three detachments to invade the countrey, setting a *Grecian* and a *Persian* in joint commission over each of them. Over the first he put *Lachares* the *Theban*, and *Rofaces* governor of *Lydia* and *Ionia*; over the second *Nicostratus* the *Argive*, and *Aristazanes*; and over the third *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, and *Bagoas* one of his eunuchs. To each of which having given his orders, he retained the main of the army about himself, in the place where he had first encamped, there to watch the events of the war, and to be ready from thence to relieve all the distresses, and prosecute all the advantages of it. In the interim, *Nectanebus* having sufficient notice from these preparations against him, to provide for his defence, had gotten together an army of an hundred thousand men, of which twenty thousand were mercenaries out of *Greece*, and twenty thousand out of *Libya*, and the rest *Egyptians*. With some of these he garrisoned his towns on the borders, and with the rest guarded those passes, through which the enemy was to enter into the countrey. The first of *Ochus's* detachments, under the command of *Lachares*, sat down before *Pelusium*, which was garrison'd with five thousand *Greeks*. While this siege was carrying on, *Nicostratus* having put his detachment on board a squadron of the *Persian* fleet, of eighty ships that attended him, sailed up through one of the channels of the *Nile*, into the heart of the countrey, and having there landed his forces, strongly encamped them in a place convenient for it. Whereon all the foldiers of the neighbouring garrisons taking the alarm, gathered together under the command of *Clinius* a *Grecian* of the island of *Cos*, to drive him thence. This produced a fierce battel between them, in which *Clinius* with above five thousand of his men being slain, and all the rest dissipated and broken, this in a manner determined the whole fate of the war. For hereon *Nectanebus*, fearing lest *Nicostratus* should sail up the river with his victorious forces, and take *Memphis* the metropolis of his kingdom, he hastened thither for its defence, leaving those passes into his countrey open, which it was his chief interest to have defended. When the *Grecians* who garrison'd *Pelusium* heard of this retreat, they gave all for lost, and therefore coming to a parley with *Lachares*, agreed upon terms of being safely conveyed into *Greece*, with all that belonged to them, to yield the town to him. And *Mentor* with the third detachment, finding the passes deserted and left open, marched through them, and without any opposition took in all that part of the countrey. For having given it out through all his camp, that *Ochus* had given orders graciously to receive such as should yield unto him, but utterly to destroy all those that should stand out, in the same manner as he had destroyed the *Sidonians*, he permitted all his captives to escape, that they might carry the report of it all over the countrey; who accordingly returning to their respective cities, and dispersing every where what they had heard was ordered by *Ochus*, and the brutal cruelty of the man making it believed; this so frightened the garrisons through all the countrey, that in every city both *Greeks* and *Egyptians* were at strife, which of them should first yield to the invader; which *Nectanebus* perceiving, despaired of any longer being able to defend himself, and therefore gathering together all the treasure he could get into his hands, fled with it into *Ethiopia*, and never again returned.

And

And this was the last *Egyptian* that ever reigned in this countrey, it having been ever since enslaved to strangers, according ^a to the prophecy of *Ezekiel*, which hath been already taken notice of. *Ochus* having thus made an absolute conquest of *Egypt*, he dismantled their chief cities, and plundered their temples, and then returned in triumph to *Babylon*, loaded with vast treasures of gold and silver, and other spoils gotten in this war, leaving *Pherendates*, one of his nobles, governor of the countrey. And here ^b *Manetho* endeth his commentaries, which he wrote of the *Egyptian* affairs. He was a priest of *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, and wrote in the ^c *Greek* language an history of all the several *Dynasties* of *Egypt*, from the beginning of that kingdom to this time, which is often quoted by *Josephus*, *Eusebius*, *Plutarch*, *Porphyry*, and others; an epitome whereof is preserved in *Syncellus*. He lived in the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*; for to him he dedicates his book.

THE chief cause of *Neftanebus*'s losing of his kingdom, ^d was his overconfidence in himself. He had gained his kingdom by the assistance of *Agefilaus*, and had preserved himself in it by the prudence and valour of *Diaphantus* an *Athenian*, and *Lamius* a *Spartan*, who managing his wars, and commanding his armies for him, made him victorious against the *Persians*, in all the attempts which they had hitherto made upon him; with which being elevated, he thought himself now sufficient to conduct his own affairs, and therefore dismissing those by whose help he had hitherto subsisted, he was now ruin'd for want of it.

OCHUS having thus mastered this war, and recovered *Phœnicia* and *Egypt* again to his crown, he ^e nobly rewarded the service of *Mentor the Rhodian*. The other *Greeks* he had sent back into their countrey, with ample rewards, before he left *Egypt*; but the success of the whole expedition being chiefly owing to *Mentor*, he not only gave him an hundred talents, with many other valuable gifts, but also made him governor of all the *Asiatic* coasts, and committed to his charge the management of the war, which he still had with some of the provinces that had there revolted from him in the beginning of his reign, and made him generalissimo of all his forces in those parts. *Mentor* having thus gained so great a share in the favour of *Ochus*, he ^f made use of it to reconcile unto him *Memnon* his brother, and *Artabazus* who had married their sister. For they had both been in war against him. Of the revolt of *Artabazus*, and the several victories which he had gained over the King's forces, I have already spoken; but he being at length overpowered, took refuge with *Philip* King of *Macedon*; and *Memnon*, who had joined with him in those wars, was forced to bear with him the same banishment. After this reconciliation they both became very serviceable to *Ochus*, and his successors of that race, especially *Memnon*, who was a person of the greatest valour and military skill of any of his time. And *Mentor* was not wanting in answering that confidence which the King had placed in him. For when settled in his province, he soon restored the King's authority in those parts, and made all that had revolted again submit to him. Some he circumvented by stratagem and military skill, and others he subdued by open force, and so wise-

An. 349.
Ochus
10.

^a Chap. xxix. ver. 14, 15.

^b Syncellus, p. 256.

^c Vide Vossium de historicis

Græcis, cap. 14.

^d Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 535.

^e Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 537.

^f Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 538.

ly managed all his advantages, that at length he reduced all again under their former yoke, and thoroughly re-established the King's affairs in all those provinces.

An. 348.
Ochus
11.

IN ^e the first year of the hundred and eighth olympiad, died *Plato*, the famous *Athenian* philosopher. The eminentest of his scholars was *Aristotle*, the founder of the peripatetic philosophy. He ^h was by birth of *Stagira*, a small city on the river *Strymon*, in the northern confines of *Macedonia*. He was born in the first year of the ninety ninth olympiad, (which was the year before *Christ* 384.) At the age of seventeen he came to *Athens*, and became one of the scholars of *Plato*, and heard him till his death. *Speusippus* succeeding *Plato* in his school, *Aristotle* went into *Asia* to *Hermias* the eunuch, who was King of *Atarna* a city of *Mysia*, and having married his niece, lived with him three years; till at length *Hermias* being circumvented, and drawn into a snare by *Mentor the Rhodian*, who commanded for *Ochus* in those parts, was taken prisoner, and sent to the *Persian* court, where he was put to death. Hereon *Aristotle* fled to *Mitylene*, and from thence went into *Macedonia*, and became præceptor to *Alexander the Great*, with whom he tarried eight years. After this he returned to *Athens*, and there taught the peripatetic philosophy in the *Lyceum* twelve years. But being accused of holding some notions, contrary to the religion there established, and not daring to venture himself on a tryal for fear of *Socrates's* fate, he withdrew to *Chalcis* a town in *Eubœa*, and there died about two years after, being then sixty three years old. While he lived with *Hermias* in *Asia*, he there fell acquainted with a *Jew* of wonderful wisdom, temperance, and goodness; who came thither from the upper parts of *Asia* upon some business, which he had on those maritime coasts, and having frequent conversation with him, learned much from him. This *Josephus* tells us from a book written by *Clearchus*, who was one of the chiefest of *Aristotle's* scholars. And from what he then learned from this *Jew*, it's most likely proceeded what *Aristobolus*, ^k and out of him *Clemens Alexandrinus*, have observed of *Aristotle's* philosophy, that is, that it contains many things which agree with what is written by *Moses* and the prophets in the scriptures of the *Old Testament*.

An. 347.
Ochus
12.

OCHUS, after he had subdued *Egypt*, and reduced again all the revolted provinces, gave himself wholly up to his ease, spending the rest of his life in luxury, laziness, and pleasure; and left the administration of his affairs wholly to his ministers; the chiefest of which were *Bagoas* his favourite eunuch, and *Mentor the Rhodian*; who agreeing to part the power between them, the former governed all the provinces of the upper *Asia*, and the latter those of the lower.

An. 341.
Ochus
18.

JOHANAN, high-priest of the *Jews*, died in the eighteenth year of *Ochus*, after he had been in that office ^m thirty two years, and was succeeded ⁿ by *Jaddua* his son, who held it twenty years.

An. 338.
Ochus
21.

OCHUS died after he had reigned ^o one and twenty years, being ^p poisoned by *Bagoas* the eunuch. This eunuch being an *Egyptian* by

^e Diogenes Laertius in Platone. Dionysius Halicarnassæus in epistola ad Ammæum de Demosthene. Athenæus, lib. 5. c. 13. ^h Diogenes Laertius in Aristotele. See also Mr. Stanley's account of the life of Aristotle, in his history of philosophy. ⁱ Joseph. lib. 1. contra Apionem.

^k In libro 5^{to} Stromatum. ^l Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 537. ^m Chronicon Alexandrinum. ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. c. 7. ^o Can. Ptol. ^p Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564.

birth, had a love for his countrey, and a zeal for his countrey religion, and thought to have influenced *Ochus* in favour of both, on the conquest of that kingdom; but not being able to over-rule the brutal ferity of that prince, those acts were done in respect of each of them, which he deeply resented ever after. For *Ochus*, on his conquering of *Egypt*, not only dismantled their cities, robbed the inhabitants, and plundered their temples, (as hath been already mentioned) but also ' carried away all their publick records, (which were repositied and kept with great sacredness in their temples) and in contempt of their religion slew their god *Apis*, that is, the sacred bull which they worshipped under that name. For ' *Ochus* being as remarkable for his sloth and stupid inactivity, as he was for his cruelty, the *Egyptians* for this reason nick-named him *the ass*; which angered him so far, that he caused their *Apis* to be taken out of the temple where he was kept, and made him be sacrificed to an ass, and then ordered his cook to dress up the flesh of the slain beast, to be eaten by his attendants. All this greatly offended *Bagoas*. The records he afterwards redeemed with a great sum of money, and sent them back again to their former archives. But the affront offered his religion he most resented, and it is said that it was chiefly in revenge of this that he poisoned him. And his revenge did not rest here; but ' having caused another body to be buried instead of his, he kept the true carcass, and in revenge of his having caused the flesh of their *Apis* to be eaten by his attendants, he cut his flesh into bits, and gave it to be eaten by cats, and made of his bones handles for swords. And no doubt, when he did all this, there were other causes concurring to excite him hereto, which reviving the old resentments, and creating new ones, provoked the traitor to all this villany against his master and benefactor, which he executed upon him.

AFTER the death of *Ochus*, *Bagoas*, who had now the whole power of the empire in his hands, ' made *Arses*, the youngest of his sons, King in his stead, and put all the rest to death; thinking that by thus removing all rivals, he might best secure to himself the authority which he had usurped. For the name of King was all that he allowed to *Arses*, the power and authority of the government he wholly reserved to himself. Ar. 337. Arses 1.

PHILIP King of *Macedon*, ' having overthrown the *Thebans* and *Athenians*, in a great battel at *Charonea*, made himself thereby in a manner lord of all *Greece*; and therefore ' calling together at *Corinth* an assembly of all the *Grecian* cities and states, he there caused himself to be chosen captain-general of all *Greece*, for the carrying on of a war against the *Persians*, and made every city to be taxed at a certain number of men, which each of them was to send and maintain in this expedition.

AND the next year after ' he sent *Parmenio*, *Amyntas*, and *Attalus*, three of his chiefest captains, into *Asia* to begin the war, purposing soon after to follow in person with all his forces, and carry the war into the heart of the *Persian* empire. But when he was just ready to set forward on this expedition, he ' was slain at home, while he was celebrating the Ar. 336. Arses 2.

' Diodor. lib. 16. p. 537
cap. 8. Suidas in $\tau\omicron\gamma\gamma\epsilon$.

lib. 17. p. 564.

Justin, lib. 9. cap. 3.

' Justin & Diodor. ibid.

' Severus Sulpitius, lib. 2. *Æliani varia historia*, lib. 4.

' *Æliani varia historia*, lib. 6. c. 8.

' Diodor. Sic.

' Plutarchus in *Demosthene* & *Phocione*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 555.

' Justin, lib. 9. c. 5. Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 557.

' Justin, lib. 9. cap. 6. Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 558, 559.

marriage of *Cleopatra* his daughter with *Alexander* King of *Epirus*. *Pausanias*, a young noble *Macedonian*, and one of his guards, having had his body forced, and sodomitically abused by *Attalus*, the chief of the King's confidents, he had often complained to *Philip* of the injury, but finding no redress, he turned his revenge from the author of the injury, upon him that refused to do him justice for it, and slew him as he was passing in great pomp to the theatre to finish the solemnities, whereby he honoured his daughter's marriage. It is observed by *Diodorus*, that in this solemnity, the images of the twelve gods and goddesses being carried before him into the theatre, he added his own for the thirteenth, dressed in the same pompous habit, whereby he vainly arrogated to himself the honour of a god; but he being slain as soon as this image entered the theatre, this very signally proved him to be a mortal. After his death he was succeeded by *Alexander* his son, being then twenty years old.

ABOUT the same time, *Arses* King of *Persia* was slain by the like treachery, but not for so just a cause. For *Bagoas* finding that *Arses* began to be apprized of all his villanies and treasons, and was taking measures to be revenged on him for them, for the preventing hereof, he came beforehand with him, and cut off him and all his family.

Ar. 336. AFTER *Bagoas* had thus made the throne vacant by the murder of *Ar-*
Darius 1. *ses*, he placed on it ^a *Darius*, the third of that name that reigned in *Persia*. His true name was *Codomannus*; that of *Darius* he took afterwards, when he came to be King. He is said not to be of the royal family, because he was not the son of any King that reigned before him. However, he was of the royal seed, as descended from *Darius Nothus*. For that *Darius* had a son called *Ostanes*, of whom mention is made in *Plutarch*, and he had a son called *Arfanes*, who marrying *Sysigambis* his sister, was by her the father of *Codomannus*. This *Ostanes*, *Ochus* put to death on his first ascending the throne, and with him above eighty of his sons and grandsons. How *Codomannus* came to escape this slaughter is no where said; only it is to be observed, that in the former part of *Ochus's* reign he made a very poor figure; for he was then no more than an *Astanda*, that is, one of the publick posts or couriers, that carried the royal dispatches thorough the empire. If we suppose him to have been the chiefest of them, in the same manner, as there is a post-master in *England*, and a chaous-bashee at *Constantinople*, over all the rest of that order and employment, (which is the highest interpretation the word will bear) this will be but a low office for one of the royal blood to be employed in. But in the war which *Ochus* had with the *Cadusians*, toward the latter end of his reign, a bold champion of that nation, having challenged the whole *Persian* army to find him a man to fight a single combat with him, and *Codomannus* having accepted the challenge after all others had refused, and slain the *Cadusian*, for the reward of this action he was made governor of *Armenia*, and from thence, after the death of *Arses*, by the means of *Bagoas*, ascended the throne in the manner as I have mentioned. But he had not been long on it, e'er *Bagoas*, finding that he was not one that would

^a Diodor. Sic. lib. 16. p. 558.

^b Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564.

^c Diodor. ibid.

^d In Artaxerxe.

^e Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564.

^f Q. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 5.

^g Plutarchus de fortuna Alexandri & in vita ejusdem. lib. 10. cap. 3.

^h Diodor. ibid. Justin.

answer his purpose, in permitting him to govern all in his name, (which was the thing he aimed at in his advancement) resolved to remove him in the same manner as he had his predecessor, and accordingly provided a poisonous potion for him. But ^h *Darius* being advised of the design, when the potion was brought to him, made him drink it all himself, and so got rid of the traitor by his own artifice, and thereby became thoroughly settled in the kingdom, without any farther difficulty. The character given of him is, that he was for his stature and the make of his body the goodliest person in the whole *Persian* empire, and of the greatest personal valour of any in it, and of a disposition mild and generous. But having the good fortune of *Alexander* to encounter with, he could not stand against it. And he had been scarce warm on the throne before he found this enemy preparing to dismount him from it.

FOR *Alexander*, soon after his father's death, ⁱ having called the general council of all the states and free cities of *Greece* to meet again at *Corinth*, there prevailed with them to be chosen his successor in the same general command, which they had conferred on him before his death, for a war against the *Persians*, and all excepting the *Lacedæmonians* consented hereto. But the war which *Alexander* had with the *Illyrians* and *Triballians* calling him north, as far as the river *Danube*, in his absence the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and some other cities, agreed to revoke this decree made in his favour, and entered into a confederacy against him. But *Alexander* returning conqueror from his northern war, soon brake this league. For ^k passing the streights of *Thermopylæ* with his victorious army he terrified the *Athenians* into a submission, and several other cities following their example made their peace with him, only the *Thebans* stood out; whereon *Alexander* laying siege to their city took it by storm, and absolutely destroyed it, slaying ninety thousand of the inhabitants, and selling the rest, to the number of thirty thousand more, into slavery. The severity of which execution spread such a terror of his arms over all *Greece*, as brought all to submit. So that in a second council which he called at *Corinth*, he was again chosen captain general of all *Greece* against the *Persians* by an universal suffrage, and every city consented to its quota both of men and money for the carrying on of the war.

HEREON *Alexander* returned into *Macedonia*, and having by the next ^{An. 334.} spring there gotten his forces together, marched ^{Darius 2.} ^l with them to *Sestus*, and there passed the *Hellepont* into *Asia*. The army which he led thither, according to the highest account, amounted to no more than thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse. And with so small an army he attempted, and also accomplished, the conquest of the whole *Persian* empire, and added *India* also to his acquisition. But that which was most remarkable in this undertaking was, that he set out on it only with ^m seventy talents, which was scarce sufficient to furnish the army with necessaries for thirty days. For the rest he wholly cast himself upon providence, and providence did not fail him herein. For within a few days after having encountered the *Persian* army at the river *Granicus*, he gained a great victory over them, though they were above five-times his number, which

^h Diodor. ibid.

ⁱ Justin, lib. 11. cap. 2. Arrian, lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 564.

^k Plutarchus in Alexandro. Arrian, lib. 1. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 566, 567, &c.

^l Arrian, lib. 1. Plutarchus in Alexandro.

^m At the highest reckoning it comes to no

more than 14437l. 10s. of our money.

put him in possession not only of *Darius's* treasure at *Sardis*, but also of all the provinces of *Lesser Asia*. For immediately all the *Grecian* cities in those parts declared for him, and after that several of the provinces made their submission to him, and those which did not were subdued by force; and in these transactions was spent the remaining part of the year.

BEFORE he went into winter quarters, ^a he ordered all of his army that had married that year to return into *Macedonia*, and spend the winter with their wives, and return again in the spring, appointing three captains over them to lead them home, and bring them back again at the time appointed; which exactly agreeing with the *Jewish* law, (*Deut. xxiv. 5.*) and being without any instance of the like to be found in the usages of any other nation, it's most likely *Aristotle* learnt it from the *Jew* he so much conversed with while in *Asia*, and approving of it as a most equitable usage, communicated it to *Alexander* while he was his scholar, and that he from hence had the inducement of practising it at this time.

THE next year after, in the beginning of the spring, he reduced *Phrygia* under his obedience, and after that *Lycia*, *Pisidia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia*, and settled all these provinces under the government of such of his followers as he thought fit to appoint.

An. 333.
Darius 3.

IN the interim *Darius* was not wanting to prepare for his defence. The advice which *Memnon* the *Rhodian* then gave him, was to carry the war into *Macedonia*, and a wiser course could not be taken to extricate him out of the difficulties he was then involved in. For he would be sure there to have the *Lacedaemonians*, and several other of the *Grecian* states, who maligned the *Macedonian* power, to join with him, which would soon have brought back *Alexander* out of *Asia* to defend his own country. *Darius* being made fully sensible of the reasonableness of this advice, resolved to follow it, and therefore committed the execution of it to its author, making *Memnon* admiral of his fleet, and captain-general of all his forces that were appointed for this expedition, and he could not have made a better choice. For he was the wisest man, and the ablest general that *Darius* had of his side, and for some years had very faithfully adhered to the *Persian* Interest, and was one of their generals at the battle of *Granicus*, and had he been hearkened to by the other generals, the misfortune which there hapned would have been avoided. For his advice was, not then to have hazarded battle, but to have desolated the country through which the *Macedonians* were to march; and had this been followed, *Alexander* would have been forced soon to have returned for want of provisions to support his army. But the rashness and folly of the other generals overbearing what he wisely offered, that defeat ensued, which opened the way to the ruine of the *Persian* empire. However he did not desert *Darius's* interest on the misfortune of that day; but having gathered up the remains of the *Persian* army, retreated with them first to *Miletus*, and from thence to *Halicarnassus*, and lastly to the isle of *Cos*, where *Darius's* commission and the *Persian* fleet meeting him, he set himself on the executing of the design committed to his charge; in order whereto he took in *Chios* and all *Lesbus*, except *Mitylene*, purposing next

^a Arrian, lib. 1.
Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

^a Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 3. Arrian, lib. 1.

to pass into *Eubœa*, and from thence to have made *Greece* and *Macedonia* the seat of the war. But that city holding out a siege, he there unfortunately died, which proved the ruine of that design, and the ruine of the *Persian* empire was the consequence of it. For *Darius* having no other general of valour and wisdom equal to him for the carrying on of that undertaking, he was forced to drop it. And therefore having nothing now to depend upon for his defence but his eastern armies, he drew them all together at *Babylon*, to the number, saith *Plutarch*, of six hundred thousand men, and marched from thence to meet the enemy; which *Alexander* hearing of, made haste through *Cilicia* to take possession of the streights which led from that countrey into *Syria*, purposing there to expect and fight the *Persian* army. For within those streights there not being room any where to draw up above thirty thousand men in battel array, the *Macedonians* could there bring all their men to fight, and the *Persians* scarce the twentieth part of theirs, and therefore should it there come to a battel, they would have no advantage of their numbers. Some of the *Greeks* who followed *Darius*, seeing the disadvantage he would have in fighting in that place, advised him to march back into the plains of *Mesopotamia*, and there expect the enemy, where he might have room enough to draw up his great army, and bring them all to bear their part in the battel; but the flattery of the courtiers, and his adverse fate, would not suffer him to hearken to this advice. For he was made believe that *Alexander* was withdrawing from him, and that therefore he ought to press forward to take him while entangled in those streights, lest otherwise he should escape his hands. This drew *Darius* to fight in those streights, where being able to extend his front no longer than the *Macedonians*, by reason of the mountains which enclosed him on either side, he could dispose of his great army no otherwise, than by drawing them up in many lines one behind the other. But the valour of the *Macedonians* soon breaking the first line, and that being made to recoil upon the second, and that hereby again upon the third, and so on, this did soon put the whole *Persian* army into disorder; and the *Macedonians* pursuing the advantage, by pressing forward upon those that fled, this increased the confusion, till at length their whole army was driven to a rout, and the crowd, which was made in the flight of so numerous an army through those narrow passes, being very great, the greatest number that fell that day were of such as were trampled to death by their own men, as they pressed to escape. *Darius*, who fought in the first line, with great difficulty got out of the rout, and secured himself by flight, but all his camp, bag and baggage, with his mother, wife, and children, (which according to the usage of the *Persian* Kings were carried with him in the campaign) fell into the enemies hands, and above an hundred thousand *Persians* were left dead upon the field of battel. This battel was fought at *Iffus* in *Cilicia* towards the latter end of the year, about the beginning of our *November*, and the immediate consequence of it to the advantage of *Alexander* was, that it settled all the provinces behind him in their subjection to him, and added all *Syria* to his former acquisitions, the capital whereof was *Damascus*. Thither *Darius* before the battel had sent his

^p *Plutarchus in Alexandro.* ^Q *Curtius, lib. 3.* *Arrian, lib. 2.* *Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.*

treasure, and most of his valuable moveables, with his concubines, and the greatest number of the court ladies that followed the camp, under a guard to protect them. All these with the town, the governor, as soon as he heard of the flight of *Darius*, betrayed unto *Alexander*, and *Parmenio* was sent to take possession of the place; where besides a vast treasure in money and plate, he found three hundred and twenty nine of *Darius's* concubines, and a great many other ladies, that were the wives and daughters of the principal nobility of *Persia*, whom he made all captives. And among them was *Barsena* the Widow of *Memnon*, who being a lady of great beauty, as soon as she came into the sight of *Alexander*, she made a captive of him; for he fell in love with her, and taking her into his bed had a son by her called *Hercules*, who at the age of seventeen being called for by the *Macedonians* to be their King, was murdered by the treachery of *Cassander* and *Polysperchon* to prevent it.

WHILE *Parmenio* took in *Damascus* and *Cæle-Syria*,^a *Alexander* marched with the main of his army along the sea coasts towards *Phœnicia*. As he advanced all yielded to him, and none more readily than the *Sidonians*. Eighteen years before *Ochus* had miserably destroyed that city, and all in it, as hath been above related. On his going back again into *Persia*, those who by being absent on traffic at sea, or on other occasions, had escaped that massacre, returned, and again built their city. But ever after detesting the *Persians* for that cruelty to it, they were glad of this occasion of shaking off their yoke, and therefore were of the first in those parts that sent to *Alexander* on his march that way to make their submission to him. But when he came to *Tyre*, he there found a stop. As he approached their territories, the *Tyrians* sent ambassadors to him with presents to himself, and provisions for his army; but being rather desirous to have peace with him as a friend, than willing to submit to him as a master, when he would have entered their city; they denied him admittance; which *Alexander*, now flush'd with so many victories, not being able to bear, resolved to force them by a siege, and they on the other hand resolved to stand it out against him. What encouraged them to this resolution was the strength of the place, and the confidence which they had in the assistance promised them by their allies. For the city then stood on an island, at the distance of half a mile from the shore, and was fortified with a strong wall drawn round it upon the brink of the sea of one hundred and fifty foot in height; and the *Carthaginians*, who were a powerful state, and then masters of the seas, had engaged to send them succours in the siege. And what gave them this confidence for the war, gave *Alexander* no less trouble in mastering the difficulties which he found in it. For the city being so situated, (as I have said) he had no way of approaching to it for the making of an assault, but by carrying a bank from the continent through the sea to the island on which the city stood.

An. 332.
Darius 4.

AND therefore having resolved at any rate to take that city, he resolved on the making of such a bank to approach it, which he accomplished with unwearied labour in seven months time, and by means thereof at length took the city. Had he here suffered a baffle, it would have con-

^a Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. Arrian, lib. 2. Joseph. lib. 11. cap. 8. Justin, lib. 11.

duced much to the sinking of his credit, and this might have lessened his success every where else in the future progress of his affairs; of which being thoroughly sensible, he spared no pains to surmount this obstacle, and by assiduous application at last carried his point. To make this bank, or causey, the town of old *Tyre*, which lay on the continent, furnished him with stones and rubbish, (for he pulled it all down for this purpose) and mount *Libanus*, which is so famous in scripture for its cedars, being near, supplied him with timber for the work. And by this means having carried home his causey from the continent to the island, he there stormed the town and took it. And that bank, or causey, is there still remaining, even to this day, and of the very same length as anciently described, that is, of half a mile, whereby what was formerly an island, at that distance from the shore, was thenceforth made a *Peninsula*, and so it hath ever since continued.

THE *Carthaginians* having troubles at home, the *Tyrians* could not have from them that assistance which was promised; however, they fainted not in their resolutions of standing to their defence, and therefore when *Alexander* sent to them ambassadors with terms of peace, they threw them into the sea, and went on with the war. But many of them, for fear of the worst, sent their wives and children to *Carthage*. They had in their city a brazen statue, or *Colossus* of *Apollo*, of a great height: This formerly belonging to the city of *Gela* in *Sicily*, the *Carthaginians* having taken *Gela* in the year 405, sent it to *Tyre* their mother-city, where it was set up and worshipped by the *Tyrians*. During this siege, a fancy taking them, upon a dream which some one among them had to this purpose, that *Apollo* was about to leave them, and go over to *Alexander*; for the preventing hereof, they chained this statue with golden chains to the altar of *Hercules*, thinking thereby forcibly to detain this their god from going from them. To such ridiculous imaginations and superstitions was the religion of those times degenerated. But whatever confidence they might then place in their false gods, the oracles of the true God having destined them to destruction, this became their fate. For although what is predicted of the destruction of *Tyre* by *Isaiah* (chap. xxiii.) and by *Ezekiel* (chap. xxvi, xxvii, xxviii.) was in part verified in the destruction of that city by *Nebuchadnezzar*, yet there are several particulars in these prophecies which seem applicable to this only. For *Nebuchadnezzar's* devastation reached no farther than old *Tyre*, those who were in the island escaped that ruine. But the desolation of both is plainly threatned in some parts of these prophecies, that is, of that which stood on the island, as well as that which was on the continent, and this *Alexander* only effected. Old *Tyre* he wholly demolished to make his causey to the new, by the means of which having taken that new town, he burnt it down to the ground, and destroyed or enslaved all the inhabitants. Eight thousand he slew in the sackage of the town, and two thousand of those he took prisoners he caused to be crucified. Those who were before sent to *Carthage* escaped this ruine, and a great number were saved by the *Sidonians*, and secretly conveyed away in their ships on the taking of the

* See Maundrel's journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 48, 49, 50.
lib. 13. p. 390.

† The number of those who were thus saved, Curtius tells us, were fifteen thousand.

place; all the rest, to the number of thirty thousand, were sold for slaves. The cruelty to the two thousand who were crucified, was unworthy of a generous conqueror. This *Alexander* did to gratify his rage, for being so long detained before the place, and there so valiantly resisted: but afterwards, to palliate the matter, he gave out, that it was done by way of just revenge upon them for their murdering their masters, and that being slaves by origin, crucifixion was the punishment proper for them. This depended upon an old story. For some ages before the slaves of *Tyre* having made a conspiracy against their masters, murdered them all in one night, (save only *Strato*, whom his slave secretly saved) and marrying their mistresses continued masters of the town; and from them the present *Tyrians* being descended, *Alexander* pretended thus to revenge on them the murder committed by their progenitors some ages before; and to make it look the more plausible, he saved all the family of *Strato*, as not being involved in that guilt, and among them *Azelmelic* their King, who was of it, and continued the crown still to him and his family, after he had again re-peopled the place. For having thus rid it of its former inhabitants, he planted it a-new with colonies drawn from the neighbouring places, and from thence would be esteemed the founder of that city, though in truth he was the cruel destroyer of it.

On his taking this city he unchained *Apollo*, rendered thanks to him for his intentions of coming over to him, sacrificed to *Hercules*, and did a great many other superstitious follies, which were reckoned as acts of religion in those days, and then marched towards *Jerusalem*.

For the *Tyrians* being wholly given to merchandise, and neglecting husbandry, were mostly supplied with provisions by their neighbours, and *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judea*, being the countries from which they were chiefly furnished, *Alexander*, when he sat down before *Tyre*, was forced to seek for his provisions from the same quarters; and therefore sent out his commissaries to require the inhabitants to submit to him, and furnish him with all necessaries for the support of his army. The *Jews* pleaded their oath to *Darius*, by which thinking themselves obliged not to own any new master, as long as he lived, would not obey his commands. This exceedingly anger'd *Alexander*, who in the flush of his late victories thinking all ought to submit to him, could bear no contradiction herein. And therefore, as soon as he had done with *Tyre*, he marched against *Jerusalem*, with intention to punish the *Jews* as severely as he had the *Tyrians*, for not obeying his commands. In this distress *Jaddua* the high-priest, who had then the immediate government of that people under the *Persians*, being in great perplexity, and all *Jerusalem* with him, they had no other course to take but to fling themselves upon God's protection, and implore his mercy to them for their deliverance from this danger; and therefore in order hereto, they made their devout addresses to him with sacrifices, oblations, and prayers. By which God being moved to compassion towards them, directed *Jaddua*, in a vision of the night, to go out and meet the conqueror in his pontifical robes, with the priests attending him in their proper habits, and all the people in white garments. *Jaddua*, in obedience hereto, the next day went forth in the manner directed, with

• Justin, lib. 18. cap. 3.

• Acts xii. 20.

• Joseph. lib. 11. cap. 8.

the priests and people ranged as in a sacred procession, and all habited as the vision commanded, and advancing to a place called ^y *Sapha* (an eminence without *Jerusalem*, which commanded a prospect of all the country round, as well as of the city and temple of *Jerusalem*) there waited the coming of *Alexander*, and on his approach met him in this pompous and solemn manner. As soon as the King saw the high-priest in this manner coming towards him, he was struck with a profound awe at the spectacle, and hastening forward bowed down to him, and saluted him with a religious veneration, to the great surprize of all that attended him, especially of the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*, who expected nothing less than that *Alexander* should have destroyed this people as he had the *Tyrians*; and they came thither with an eager desire, out of the hatred they had to them, to bear a part in the execution. While all stood amazed at this behaviour, which was so much contrary to their expectations, *Parmenio* asked the King the reason of it, and how it came to pass, that he, whom all adored, should pay such adoration to the *Jewish* high-priest; to which he answered, that he did not pay that adoration to him, but to that God whose priest he was. For that when he was at *Dio* in *Macedonia*, and there deliberating with himself how he should carry on his war against the *Persians*, and was in much doubt about the undertaking, this very person, and in this very habit, appeared to him in a dream, and encouraged him to lay aside all thoughtfulness and diffidence about this matter, and pass boldly over into *Asia*, promising him that God would be his guide in the expedition, and give him the empire of the *Persians*; and that therefore, on his seeing this person, and knowing him by his habit, as well as by his shape and countenance, that he was the very same that appeared to him at *Dio*, he assured himself from hence, that he made the present war under the conduct of God, and should certainly by his assistance conquer *Darius*, and overthrow the *Persian* empire, and succeed in all things concerning it according to his desire; and that therefore, in the person of this his high-priest, he paid adoration unto him. Hereon turning again to *Jaddua*, he kindly embraced him, and entered *Jerusalem* with him in a friendly manner, and offered sacrifices to God in the temple, where *Jaddua* having shewn him the prophecies of *Daniel*, ^z which predicted the overthrow of the *Persian* empire by a *Grecian* King, he went from thence with the greater assurance of success in his farther carrying on of the war, not doubting but that he was the person meant by those prophecies. All which particulars rendring him kindly affected to the *Jews*, he called them together when he was on his departure, and bid them ask what they had to desire of him. Whereon they having petitioned him, that they might enjoy the freedom of their country-laws, and religion, and be exempted every seventh year from paying any tribute, because in that year, according to their law, they neither sowed nor reaped, *Alexander* readily granted them all this request, which brought another very troublesome solicitation upon him.

^y It was so called from the Hebrew *Zapha*, which signifyeth to see as from a watch tower, or any other eminence.

^z That is, what is written in *Daniel* of the ram and he-goat, chap. viii. where that he-goat is interpreted to be the King of *Græcia*, who should conquer the *Medes* and *Persians*, (ver. 21.) and also what is written by the same prophet of the said *Grecian* King, chap. xi. 3. For both these prophecies foretold the destruction of the *Persian* empire by a *Grecian* King.

FOR he was scarce gone out of *Jerusalem*, but^a he was accosted by the *Samaritans*, who met him in great pomp and parade, and prayed him that he would honour also their city and temple with his presence. These are *Josephus's* words, and they plainly prove, that the temple which they invited *Alexander* to, must have been built long before that time, and not by leave from him, while he was at the siege of *Tyre*, as he elsewhere by mistake relates. For if it had not been built, but by leave from him while at that siege, the first foundations of it could scarce have been laid by this time. For the siege of *Tyre* lasted only seven months, and immediately from the taking of it he came to *Jerusalem*. The same *Josephus* indeed tells us, that *Alexander* from *Tyre* went immediately to *Gaza*, and did not, till after two months more spent in the taking of that city, come to *Jerusalem*. But herein he must be again^b mistaken. For *Jerusalem* lying in the way from *Tyre* to *Gaza*, it's by no means likely that *Alexander* should from *Tyre* go directly to *Gaza*, then passing by *Jerusalem*, and afterwards return three or four days march with all his army back again to that city, or that he should at all think it safe to begin the siege of *Gaza*, while such a city as *Jerusalem* was left untaken behind him: And moreover, all that write of the life and actions of *Alexander* tell us, that from the taking of *Gaza* he went directly into *Egypt*. And therefore taking it for certain, that his progress was from *Tyre* to *Jerusalem*, and from thence to *Gaza*, I have related it in this order. However, supposing it were otherwise, there would hereby be only two months more added to the seven above-mentioned, for the building of this temple, the siege of *Gaza* lasting no longer, and this would not much mend the matter, it being as improbable that such a temple could be built in nine months as in seven. When the *Jews* refused to obey that summons which *Alexander* sent them from *Tyre* to submit to him, these *Samaritans* readily complied with it, and to ingratiate themselves the more with him, sent eight thousand of their men to assist him in that siege; and valuing themselves upon this merit, thought they had a much better title to his favour than the *Jews*, and therefore finding how well the *Jews* had fared, thought they might obtain at least the same, if not much greater grants from him; and in order hereto, made this procession to invite him to their city, and the eight thousand *Samaritans* that were in *Alexander's* army joined with them herein. *Alexander* answered them kindly, telling them, that he was hastning into *Egypt*, and had not then time to spare, but that when he should come back again he would comply with their desires, as far as his affairs would permit. They then requested of him to be discharged from paying tribute on the seventh year. Hereon *Alexander* asked them whether they were *Jews*, for to them only had he granted this privilege. To this they answered, that they were *Hebrews*, who observing the same law the *Jews* did, neither reaped nor sowed in that year, and he having for this reason granted the *Jews* this immunity, they desired of him, that having the same plea for it, they might have the same grant also. *Alexander* not being then at leisure to make full enquiry into this matter, referred this also to his return, telling them that then he would fully inform himself as to what they proposed, and would do therein what should be reasonable, and then marched on to *Gaza*.

^a Josephus *ibid.*^b Vide Usserii *annales* sub anno mundi 3673.^c Josephus *ibid.*

ON his arrival at that city, ^d he found it strongly garrison'd under one of *Darius's* eunuchs, named *Betis*, who being a very valiant man, and very faithful to his master, defended it to the utmost; and it being the inlet into *Egypt*, *Alexander* could not pass thither till he had taken it. This necessitated him to sit down before it; and notwithstanding that the utmost of military skill, and the utmost of vigor and application, was made use of in the assailing of the place, yet it cost *Alexander* and all his army two months time before they could master it. The stop which this did put to his intended march into *Egypt*, and two dangerous wounds which he received in the siege, provoked his anger to that degree, that on his taking the place, he treated the commander, and all else that he found in it, with inexcusable cruelty. For having slain ten thousand of the men, he sold all the rest, with their wives and children, into slavery; and when *Betis* was brought to him, (whom they took alive in that assault wherein they carried the place) instead of treating him in a manner suitable to his valour and fidelity, as a generous conqueror ought to have done, he ordered his heels to be bored, and a cord to be drawn thorough them, and caused him thereby to be tied to the hinder part of a chariot, and dragged round the city till he died, bragging that herein he imitated his progenitor *Achilles*, who, as *Homer* hath it, thus dragged *Hector* round the walls of *Troy*. But that was a barbarous act in the example, and much more so in the imitation. For it was only *Hector's* dead carcass that *Achilles* dragg'd round *Troy*; but *Alexander* thus treated *Betis* while alive, and thus made him die in a cruel manner, for no other cause, but that he faithfully and valiantly served his master, in the post committed to his charge, which was deserving of reward, even from an enemy, rather than of so cruel a punishment; and *Alexander* would have acted accordingly, had he made the true principles of virtue and generosity, rather than the fictions of *Homer*, the rule of his actions. But that young conqueror having the *Iliads* of this poet in great admiration, always carried them with him, laid them under his pillow when he slept, and read in them on all leisure opportunities; and therefore finding *Achilles* to be the great hero of that poem, he thought every thing said of him in it worthy of his imitation, and the readiest way to make him an hero also; and the vanity of being thought such, and the eager desire which he had of making his name in like manner to be celebrated in after-ages, was the main impulsive cause of all his undertakings. But in reality, were all his actions duly estimated, he could deserve no other character than that of the great cut-throat of the age in which he liv'd. But the folly of mankind, and the error of historians is such, that they usually make the actions of war, bloodshed, and conquest, the subject of their highest encomiums, and those their most celebrated heroes that most excel therein. In a righteous cause, and the just defence of a man's countrey, all actions of valour are indeed just reasons of praise; but in all other cases, victory and conquest are no more than murder and rapin, and every one is to be detested as the greatest enemy to mankind, that is most active herein. Those are only true heroes, who most benefit the world by promoting the peace, welfare, and good of mankind; but such as oppress it with the slaughter of men, the desolation of countries,

^d Joseph. *ibid.* Plutarchus in *Alexandro.* Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 6. Arrian. lib. 2. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

the burning of cities, and the other calamities which attend war, are the scourges of God, the *Attila's* of the age in which they live, and the greatest plagues and calamities that can happen to it, and which are never sent into the world but for the punishment of it; and therefore ought as such to be prayed against, and detested by all mankind. To make these the subject of praise and panegyric, is to lay ill examples before princes, as if such oppressions of mankind were the truest ways to honour and glory. And we knew a late prince, who having broke through treaties, leagues and oaths, to rob his neighbours of their territories, gave no other reason for the war, but that it was for his glory. And it is too plain, that the like vain and false notions of gaining glory this way, is that grand impulse upon the minds of princes, which moves them to most of those destructive wars upon each other, whereby the peace of the world is so often disturb'd, and such great mischiefs and calamities brought upon mankind.

As soon as *Alexander* had finished the siege of *Gaza*, and settled a garrison there, he marched directly for *Egypt*, and on the seventh day after arrived at *Pelusium*, where he was met by great numbers of the *Egyptians*, who thither flocked to him, to own him for their sovereign, and make their submission to him. For their hatred to the *Persians* was such, that they were glad of any new comer that would deliver them from that insolence and indignity, with which they treated them and their religion. For how bad soever any religion may be (and a worse than that of the *Egyptians* could scarce any where be contrived) yet as long as it is their national religion, no nation will bear affront and indignity to be offered to it, and nothing usually provokes a people more than such a treatment. *Ochus* had slain their god *Apis* in a manner of indignity, the most affronting that could be offered to them or their religion; and the *Persians*, whom he left to govern the countrey, carried on the humour of treating them in the same manner, which raised their indignation against them to so great an height, that when *Amyntas* came thither a little before but with an handful of men, they were all ready to have joined with him, for the driving of the *Persians* out of the countrey. This *Amyntas* having revolted from *Alexander* to *Darius*, was one of the commanders of the mercenary *Greeks* at the battel of *Iffus*,^c from whence having brought off four thousand of his men, he got to *Tripoly* in *Syria*, and having seized as many of the ships which he found there as would serve his purpose, he burned the rest, and sailed thence first to *Cyprus*, and then to *Pelusium* in *Egypt*, and seized that place. For coming thither under pretence of a commission from *Darius* to be governor of *Egypt*, in the room of *Sabaces* the former governor, who was slain at *Iffus*, he by this means got quiet admission thither; but as soon as he had made himself master of that strong fortress, he declared his intentions of seizing *Egypt* for himself, and driving the *Persians* thence; and great numbers of the *Egyptians*, out of hatred to the *Persians*, readily joined with him for this purpose; whereon he marched directly for *Memphis*, the capital of that kingdom; and in the first battel which he had with the *Persians* he got the victory, and shut

^c Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. Arrian, lib. 3. Plutarchus in Alexandro.

^f Arrian, lib. 2. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. p. 587, 588.

them up within the walls of that city. But after this success, *Amyntas* permitting his soldiers to straggle for the plundering of the countrey, the *Persians* took the advantage of falling upon them while thus scattered, and cut them all off to a man, and *Amyntas* with them. However this did not quell the aversion which the *Egyptians* bore the *Persians*, but rather increased it. So that when *Alexander* enter'd that countrey, he found the people universally disposed to receive him with open arms; and therefore he had no sooner reached their borders, but multitudes of them came thither to him to welcome him into the countrey, and make their submission to him. For he coming thither with a victorious army, was thereby enabled to give them thorough protection, which they could not so well promise themselves from *Amyntas*, and therefore on his approach, they immediately, without reserve, all declared for him; whereon *Mazeus*, who commanded at *Memphis* for *Darius*, seeing it in vain to struggle against such a power, submitted also, and opening the gates of that city to the conqueror, yielded up all to him, whereby without any farther opposition he became forthwith master of the whole countrey.

FROM *Memphis* he projected a journey to the temple of *Jupiter Hammon*, which was situated among the sands and desarts of *Libya*, at the distance of two hundred miles from *Egypt*. For **Ham* the son of *Noah*, as he was the first planter of *Egypt* and *Libya* after the flood, so he became, in the idolatrous ages that after followed, the great god of those countries; and there being an island of about five miles breadth of firm land among those desarts of sand, they there built a temple to him. He was the same whom the *Greeks* called *Jupiter*, and the *Egyptians*, *Ammon*. And hence it is, that the city in *Egypt* which the scriptures call **No Ammon*, (that is, the city of *Ham* or *Ammon*) is by the *Greeks* called *Diospolis*, (that is, the city of *Jupiter*.) After-times did put the *Egyptian* name and the *Greek* name both together, and called him *Jupiter Hammon*. *Alexander's* journey to this temple was upon a design very foolish and vain-glorious, and according to the religion of those times altogether as impious. For finding in *Homér*, and other fables of ancient times, that most of their heroes were described as sons of some god or other; and aiming to be celebrated an hero as well as they, he would be thought the son of a god also, and having chosen *Jupiter Hammon* to be his father in this farce, he sent messengers before to corrupt the priests, to cause him to be declared the son of that god by their oracle, when he should come to consult it, and then followed after to receive the honour of that declaration.

IN his way thither *observing a place over-against the island of *Pharus* on the sea coast, which he thought a very convenient place for a new city, he there built *Alexandria*, which thenceforth became the capital of that kingdom. For it having a very convenient port, and the Mediterranean before it, and the *Nile* and the red-sea behind it, by virtue of these advantages it drew to it the trade both of the east and the west, and thereby soon grew up to be one of the most flourishing cities of the world. But trade having taken another current in these latter ages, on the finding out

* Vide Bocharti Phaleg. lib. 1. cap. 1.

* Jerem. xlv. 25. Ezek. xxx. 25. Nahum iii. 8.

† Justin, lib. 11. cap. 11. Orosius, lib. 3. cap. 16.

* Arrian, lib. 3. Q. Curtius, lib. 4.

cap. 8. Strabo, lib. 17. p. 590.

of a way to *India* by the *Cape of Good Hope*, it is now degenerated into a poor village, by the *Turks* called *Scandaria*, remarkable for nothing else, but that it still shews some of the ruins of what it anciently was. *Alexander* in the building of this city made use ^m of *Denocrates* for his architect, whose name had been made famous in that art by his rebuilding the temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, which had been burnt by *Erostratus*; and having by his advice drawn a plan of the city, and set out its walls, gates, and streets, he left him to perfect the work according to it, and went on in his journey to the temple of *Jupiter Hammon*. It was from thence at the distance of sixteen hundred furlongs, (that is, two hundred of our miles) and most of the way was through sandy deserts, in which he did run two great hazards, the first of being over-whelmed by the sands, and the other of perishing for want of water. By the former *Cambyfes* lost an army of fifty thousand men in these deserts, (as hath been above related) and by the latter he had like to have been lost himself, and all with him, but that they were miraculously relieved by a shower of rain, when they were just ready to faint to death for want of it. And indeed all his other undertakings were of a piece with this, they being all a series of bold, rash, and dangerous actions, in which he must have perished an hundred times over, had not providence in as miraculous a manner as now preserved him through all of them for the bringing to pass of those events which he was designed for. Having on his coming to the temple there paid his devotions, and received from the oracle the declaration of his being *Jupiter's* son, which he went thither for, he returned in great triumph with that title, and thenceforth in all his letters, orders and decrees, stiled himself *King Alexander Son of Jupiter Hammon*, giving it out, that this god begot him on *Olympias* his mother in the shape of a serpent. But while he prided himself in the honour which he vainly assumed hereon, every body else despised him for the folly of it; however he persisted in it, did many acts of violence and cruelty to make it pass upon others, and suffered it to grow upon him with his prosperity so far, as at length to affect the being thought a god himself, till in the conclusion, when providence had no more for him to do, his death shewed him to be a mortal like other men.

IN his return he came again to *Alexandria*, and ⁿ took care to people his new city with colonies drawn thither from many other places, among which were many of the *Jews*, to whom he gave ^o great privileges, not only allowing them the use of their own laws and religion, but also admitting them equally into the same franchises and liberties with the *Macedonians* themselves, whom he planted there, and then departing from thence he returned to *Memphis*, and wintered in that place.

It is remarked by *Varro*, that at the time that *Alexander* built *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, the use of the *papyrus* for writing on was first found out in that countrey. The *papyrus* ^p in its proper signification is a sort of great *bulrush* growing in the marshes of *Egypt* near the *Nile*. It runs up in a triangular stalk to the height of about fifteen foot, and is usually a foot

¹ See *Thevenot's Travels*, Part 1. Book 2. Chap. 1, 2. ^m *Plin.* lib. 5. cap. 10. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, lib. 22. cap. 16. *Strabo*, lib. 14. p. 641. *Solinus*, cap. 32, 40.

ⁿ *Q. Curtius*, lib. 4. cap. 8. ^o *Josephus contra Apionem*, lib. 2. & *de Bello Judaico*, lib. 2. cap. 36. ^p *Plin.* lib. 12. cap. 13. *Guilandinus de Papyro*. *Panciroli*. Part 2. Tit. 13. *Salmuth in eundem*. *Parkinson's Herbal*, Tribe 13. ch. 39.

and half in circumference, and sometimes more. When the outer skin is taken off, there are next several films or inner skins one within another, and naturally partable from each other. These when separated and flaked from the stalk, made the paper which the ancients used, and which, from the name of the tree that bore it, they called also *papyrus*. The manner how it was fitted for use may be seen in the xith and xiith chapters of the thirteenth book of *Pliny's* natural history, and the book entitled, *De Papyro*, which *Guilandinus* hath written by way of comment upon them. But the clearest and best account hereof is given us by *Salmasius*, in his comment on the life of *Firmus in Vopiscus*, who was one of the writers of the *Historia Augusta*. From this *papyrus* it is, that what we now make use of to write upon hath also the name of *paper*, though of quite another nature from the ancient *Papyrus* of the *Egyptians*. Many other devices were made use of in former times to find fit materials to write upon. *Pliny* tells us, that the ancientest way of writing was upon the leaves of the palm-tree. Afterwards they made use of the inner bark of a tree for this purpose; which inner bark being in *Latin* called *liber*, and in *Greek* βίβλος; from hence a book hath ever since in the *Latin* language been called *liber*, and in the *Greek* βίβλος, because their books anciently consisted of leaves made of such inner barks. And the *Chinese* still make use of such inner barks or rinds of trees to write upon, as some of their books brought in *Europe* plainly shew. Another way made use of among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and which was as ancient as *Homer*, (for he makes mention of it in his poems) was to write on tables of wood covered over with wax. On these they wrote with a bodkin or *style* of iron, with which they engraved their letters on the wax, and hence it is, that the different ways of mens writings or compositions are called different *styles*. This way was mostly made use of in the writing of letters or epistles; hence such epistles are in *Latin* called *tabellæ*, and the carriers of them *tabellarii*. When their epistles were thus written, they tied the tables together with a thread or string, setting their seal upon the knot, and so sent them to the party to whom they were directed, who cutting the string opened and read them. But on the invention of the *Egyptian papyrus* for this use, all the other ways of writing were soon superseded, no material till then invented being more convenient to write upon than this. And therefore when *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt* set up to make a great library, and to gather all sorts books into it, he caused them to be all copied out on this sort of paper. And it was exported also for the use of other countries, till *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* endeavouring to erect a library at *Pergamus*, which should outdo that at *Alexandria*, occasioned a prohibition to be put upon the exportion of that commodity. For the *Ptolemy* that then reigned in *Egypt*, not liking that his library should be outdone by any other, to put a stop to *Eumenes's* emulation in this particular, forbade the carrying any more *papyrus* out of *Egypt*, thinking that without it he could no farther multiply his books. This put *Eumenes* upon the invention of making books of parchment, and on them he thenceforth copied out such of the works of learned men, as he afterwards put into his

^a Vide Vossii Etymologicon in voce *Papyrus*.

Etymologicon in voce *Liber*.

Vossii Etymologicon in voce *Papyrus*.

Lib. 13. cap. 11.

^c Vide Vossii Etymologicon in voce *Tabula*.

^w Plin. lib. 13. cap. 11.

^f Vide Vossii

^v Vide

library, and hence * it is that parchment is called *pergamena* in *Latin*, that is, from the city *Pergamus* in *lesser Asia*, where it was first used for this purpose among the *Greeks*. For that *Eumenes*, on this occasion, first invented the making of parchment, cannot be true; for in ¹ *Isaiah*, ² *Jeremiah*, ³ *Ezekiel*, and other parts of the holy scriptures, many ages before the time of *Eumenes*, we find mention made of rolls of writing; and who can doubt but that these rolls were of parchment? And it must be acknowledged that the authentic copy of the law, ⁴ which *Hilkiah* found in the temple, and sent to King *Josiah*, was of this material, none other used for writing, excepting parchment only, being of so durable a nature as to last from *Moses's* time till then, (which was eight hundred and thirty years.) And it is said by ⁵ *Diodorus Siculus*, that the *Persians* of old wrote all their records on skins. And ⁶ *Herodotus* tells us of sheeps skins and goats skins, made use of in writing by the ancient *Ionians*, many hundreds of years before *Eumenes's* time. And can any one think that these skins were not dressed, and prepared for this use, in the same manner as parchments were in the after-times, tho' perchance not so artificially? It's possible *Eumenes* might have found out a better way of dressing them for this use at *Pergamus*, and perchance it thenceforth became the chief trade of the place to make them; and either of these is reason enough from *Pergamus* to call them *pergamena*. These are found so useful for records and books, by reason of their durableness, that most of the ancient manuscripts we now have are written in them. But from the time that the noble art of printing hath been invented, the paper which is made of the paste of linen rags, is that which hath been generally made use of both in writing and printing, as being the most convenient for both, and the use of parchment hath been mostly appropriated to records, registers, and instruments of law, for which, by reason of its durableness, it is most fit. The invention of making this sort of paper, Mr. *Ray* puts very late. For he tells us, ⁷ in his *Herbal*, that it was not known in *Germany* till the year of our Lord 1470; that then two men, named *Anthony* and *Michael*, brought this art first to *Basil*, out of *Gallicia* in *Spain*, and that from thence it was learnt and brought into use by the rest of the *Germans*. But there must be a mistake in this, there being both printed books, as well as manuscripts, of this sort of paper, which are certainly ancients than the year 1470. There is extant a book ⁸ called *Catholicon*, written by *Jacobus de Janua*, a monk, printed on paper at *Mentz* in *Germany*, anno 1460; and therefore the *Germans* must have had the use of this sort of paper long before the time that Mr. *Ray* saith. And there are manuscripts written on this sort of paper that are much ancients, as may be especially evidenced in several registries within this realm, where the dates of the instruments, or acts registred, prove the time. There is in the bishop's registry, at *Norwich*, a register-book of wills, all made of paper, wherein registrations are made which bear date so high up as the year of our Lord 1370, just an hundred years before the time that Mr. *Ray* saith the use of it begun in *Germany*. And

* Vid. Vossii Etymologicon in voce *Pergamena*.

¹ Chap. viii. 1.

² Chap. xxxvi.

³ Chap. ii. 9. and Chap. iii. 1, 2, 3.

⁴ 2 Kings xxii.

⁵ 2 Chron. xxxiv.

⁶ Lib. 2. p. 84.

⁷ Herodot. lib. 5.

⁸ Lib. 22. cap. 2.

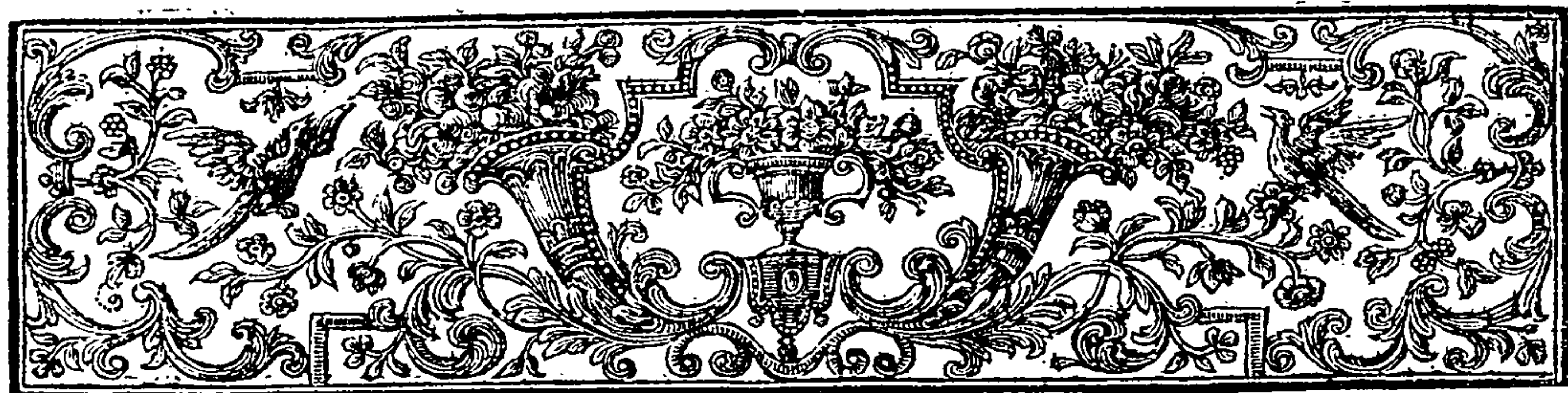
⁹ This book is in the library collected by

Dr. John Moor, late bishop of Ely. See the Oxford catalogue of the manuscripts of England and Ireland. Tome 2. part 1 p. 379.

I have seen a registration of some acts of *John Cranden*, prior of *Ely*, made upon paper, which bears date in the fourteenth year of King *Edward II.* that is, *Anno Domini 1320.* This invention seems to have been brought out of the *East.* For most of the old manuscripts in *Arabic*, and the other oriental languages which we have from thence, are written on this sort of paper, and some of them are certainly much ancients, than any of the times here mentioned about this matter. But we often find them written on paper made of the palse of silk, as well as of linen. It's most likely the *Saracens* of *Spain* first brought it out of the *East* into that countrey, of which *Gallicia* being a province, it might from thence, according to Mr. *Ray*, have been first brought into *Germany*; but it must have been much earlier than the time that he says.

PTOLEMY the astronomer, being an *Egyptian*, and a native of *Alexandria*, begins the reign of *Alexander* over the *East*, from the building of this city, and here ends the reign of *Darius* and the *Persian* empire; and therefore I will here also end this book.





THE
Old and New TESTAMENT
 Connected in the
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 JEWS and Neighbouring Nations,
 FROM THE
 Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
 to the time of CHRIST.

BOOK VIII.

An 331.
 Alexander I.



ALEXANDER, while he wintered at *Memphis*, settled the affairs of *Egypt*. The ^a military command he entrusted only with his *Macedonians*, dividing the countrey into several districts, under each of which he placed lieutenants independent of each other, not thinking it safe to commit the whole military power of that large and populous countrey into one man's hands. But the civil government he placed wholly in *Doloaspes* an *Egyptian*. For his intentions being, that the countrey should still be governed by

^a Arrian, lib. 3. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 8.

its own laws and usages, he thought a native, who was best acquainted with them, the properest for this charge. And ^b that the finishing of his new city *Alexandria* (so called from his name) might be carried on with the more expedition and success, he appointed *Cleomenes* to be his supervisor in that work, who continued many years in this charge; and hence it is, that in ^c *Justin* he is said to be the founder of that city. He was ^d of *Naucratis*, a *Grecian* city in *Egypt*, there built by a colony ^e of the *Milesians* in times long before past. *Alexander* did also set him over the tribute of *Arabia*, but being a very wicked man, he abused both these trusts to the great oppression of all that were under him, till at length he received the just reward of all his evil deeds in an ignominious death. For *Ptolemy*, after he had possessed himself of *Egypt*, finding him plotting against him for the interest of *Perdiccas*, ^f caused him to be executed for it. There is extant a letter of *Alexander's* to him of a very odd nature. For therein commanding him, on the death of *Hephestion*, to build two temples to that favourite, one in *Alexandria*, and the other in the island of *Pharus* adjoining, to excite his diligence herein, he promiseth him such a pardon, as the pope often gives to his deluded votaries, that is, ^g of all his evil deeds, past, present, and to come. But this did not save him from the just vengeance, which providence at length by the hand of *Ptolemy* brought upon him for all his wicked and unjust actions.

WHEN *Alexander* had thus disposed of all matters in *Egypt*, the spring drawing on, he hastened towards the east to find out *Darius*. In ^h the way on his returning to *Palestine*, he had an account from thence which very much displeased him. On his going from that countrey into *Egypt*, he had made *Andromachus*, a special favourite of his, governor of *Syria* and *Palestine*; on ⁱ whose coming to *Samaria* to settle some matters there, the *Samaritans* mutinied against him, and rising in a tumult, set fire to the house in which he was, and burnt him to death. This it is supposed they did out of a rage and discontent, that those privileges should be denied them which were granted to their enemies the *Jews*; whereas by their services to *Alexander*, especially at the siege of *Tyre*, they thought they had merited much more from him than the other, who had then denied him their assistance. *Alexander* being exceedingly exasperated hereby against that people, as the fact sufficiently deserved, caused all that had acted any part in this murder to be put to death, and drove all the rest out of the city of *Samaria*, planting there instead of them a colony of his *Macedonians*, and giving ^j their other territories to the *Jews*. Those that survived this calamity, retired to *Shechem* under mount *Gerizim*; and from this time that place became the head seat of this people, and the metropolis of the *Samaritan* sect, and so continues even to this day. And whereas eight thousand *Samaritans* had joined him at *Tyre*, and followed his camp ever since, that they might not on their return revive this mutinous temper of their countrey-men, to the creating of new disturbances, ^k he sent them into *Thebais*, the remotest province of *Egypt*, and settled them on such lands, as he there caused to be divided unto them.

^b Arrian & Q. Curtius. *ibid.* Aristotelis *Oeconom.* lib. 2.

^c Justin, lib. 13. c. 4.

^d Arrian, lib. 3.

^e Strabo, lib. 17. p. 801. Stephanus & Suidas in *Ναύκρατις*.

^f Pausanias in Atticis

^g Arrian, lib. 7.

^h Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 8. Eusebii Chron-

nicon. p. 177. Cedrenus. lib. 11. cap. 8.

ⁱ Joseph. contra Apionem. lib. 2.

^k Joseph. Antiq.

ON *Alexander's* return into *Phœnicia*, ¹ he staid some time at *Tyre*, that he might there settle the affairs of those countries, which he was to leave behind him, before he did set forward to acquire more. And when he had there ordered all matters as he thought fit, he marched with his whole army to *Thapsacus*, and having there passed the *Euphrates*, directed his course towards the *Tigris* in quest of the enemy. *Darius*, in the interim, having solicited *Alexander* for peace three several times, and finding by his answers that none was to be expected from him, but on the terms of yielding to him the whole empire, applyed himself to provide for another battel; in order whereto he got together at *Babylon* a numerous army, it being, ^m by one half bigger, than that with which he fought at *Iffus*, and from thence took the field with it, and marched towards *Niniveh*; thither *Alexander* followed after him, and having passed the *Tigris*, got up with him at a small village called *Gaugamela*, where it came to a decisive battel between them, in which *Alexander* with fifty thousand men (for that was the utmost of his number at that battel) vanquished the vast army of the *Persians*, which was above twenty times as big; and this in an open plain countrey, without having the advantage of streights to secure his flanks, as in the battel of *Iffus*, and hereby the fate of the *Persian* empire was determined. For none after this could to any purpose make head against him, but all were forced to submit to the conqueror, and he thenceforth became absolute lord of that empire, in the utmost extent in which it was ever possessed by any of the *Persian* Kings. And hereby was fully accomplished all that which in the prophecies ⁿ of *Daniel* was foretold concerning him. This battel happened in the month of *October*, much about the same time of the year in which was fought the battel of *Iffus* two years before, and the place where it was fought was *Gaugamela* in *Assyria*, but that being a small village, and of no note, they would not denominate so famous a battel from so contemptible a place, but called it the battel of *Arbela*, because that was the next town of any note, tho' it were at the distance of above twelve miles from the field where the blow was struck.

DARIUS, after this defeat, ^o fled into *Media*, intending from thence, and the rest of the northern provinces of his empire, to draw together other forces for the farther tryal of his fortune in another battel. *Alexander* pursued him as far as *Arbela*; but before his arrival thither, he was, by the quickness of his flight, got out of his reach. However, he there took his treasure, and his royal equipage and furniture, which was of vast value, and then returned to his camp; where having allowed his army such time of rest as was necessary for their refreshment, after the fatigue of the battel, he marched towards *Babylon*. *Mazæus* was governor of that city, and the province belonging to it, and had been one of *Darius's* generals in the late battel; where after the defeat, having gathered together as many of the scattered forces of the *Persians* as he could, he retreated with them to that place. But on *Alexander's* approach with his victorious army, he had not the courage to stand out against him, but going forth to meet him, surrendered himself and all under his charge to

¹ Plutarchus in *Alexandro*. Q. Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 8. Arrian, lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

^m *Darius had in this battel about eleven hundred thousand men.*

6, 7, 20, 21. and x. 20. and xi. 3.

Arrian, lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

ⁿ Dan. vii. 6. and viii. 5, ^o Plutarchus in *Alexandro*. Q. Curtius, lib. 5.

him; and *Bagaphanes*, the governor of the castle, where the greatest part of *Darius's* treasure was kept, did the same; and both acted herein, as if they were at strife which of them should be most forward to cast off their old master, and receive the new. After thirty days tarrying in that city, he continued *Mazæus*, for the reward of his treachery, in the government of the province, but placing a *Macedonian* in the command of the castle, he took *Bagaphanes* along with him, and marched to *Susa*, and from thence after the taking of that city, to *Persepolis*, the capital of the empire, carrying victory with him over all the provinces and places in the way. Arriving at *Persepolis* about the middle of *December*, he gave the city to be sack'd by his army, reserving only the castle and palace to himself. Hence followed a vast slaughter upon the inhabitants, and all other barbarities, which in this case use to be acted by soldiers let loose to their rage and licentiousness. This city being the metropolis of the *Persian* empire, and that which of all others bore the greatest enmity to *Greece*, he did this (he said) to execute the revenge of *Greece* upon it. After the cruelty of this execution was over, leaving *Parmenio* and *Craterus* in the place, with the greatest part of his forces, he made a range with the rest over the neighbouring countries, and having reduced them all to a submission to him, returned again to *Persepolis* after thirty days, and there took up his winter quarters.

WHILE *Alexander* lay at this place ^phe gave himself much to feasting and drinking, for joy of his victories, and the great conquests he had made. In one of his feasts, wherein he entertained his chief commanders, he invited also their misses to accompany them, one of which was *Thais* a famous *Athenian* courtesan, and then miss to *Ptolemy*, who was afterwards King of *Egypt*. This woman, in the heat of their carousals, proposed to *Alexander* the burning down the city and palace of *Persepolis*, for the revenging of *Greece* upon the *Persians*, especially for the burning of *Athens* by *Xerxes*. The whole company being drunk, the proposal was received with a general applause, and *Alexander* himself, in the heat of his wine running into the same humour, immediately took a torch, and all the rest of the company doing the same, they all went thus armed, with him at their head, and setting fire to the city and palace, burnt both to the ground; which *Alexander*, when he came again to his senses, exceedingly repented of, but then it was too late to help it. Thus, at the motion of a drunken trumpet, was destroyed by this drunken King, one of the finest palaces in the world. That this of *Persepolis* was such, the ruins of it sufficiently shew, ^qwhich are still remaining even to this day, at a place called *Chebel-Minar*, near *Shiras* in *Persia*. The name ^rsignifieth in the *Persian* language *forty pillars*, and the place is so called, because such a number of pillars, as well as other stately ruins of this palace, are there still remaining even to this day.

IN the interim *Darius* being fled to *Ecbatana* in *Media*, ^sthere gathered together as many of his broken forces as fled that way, and endeavoured all he could to raise others to add to them, for the making up of ano-

^p Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 5. Arrian, lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Justin, lib. 11. ^q See the travels of Herbert, Thevenot, and Chardin. ^r Vide Golii notas ad Alfraganum, p. 113. ^s Arrian, lib. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Curtius, lib. 5.

ther army. But *Alexander* having by the beginning of the spring settled all his affairs in *Persia*, made after him into *Media*. Of this *Darius* having received intelligence left *Ecbatana*, with intentions to march into *Bactria*, there to strengthen and augment his army with new recruits. But he had not gone far, e'er he altered his purpose. For fearing lest *Alexander* should overtake him before he could reach *Bactria*, he stopp'd his march, and resolved to stand the brunt of another battel with the forces then about him, which amounted to about forty thousand men horse and foot. But while he was preparing for it, *Bessus*, governor of *Bactria*, and *Nabarzanes*, another *Persian* nobleman, confederated with him in the treason, seized the poor unfortunate prince, and making him their prisoner put him in chains, and then shutting him up in a close cart, fled with him toward *Bactria*, purposing, if *Alexander* pursued after them, to purchase their peace with him, by delivering him alive into his hands; but if he did not pursue after them, then their intentions were to kill him, and seize his kingdom, and renew the war. *Alexander*, on his coming to *Ecbatana*, found *Darius* was gone from thence about eight days before; however, he pursued hard after him for eleven days together, till he came to *Rages*, a city of *Media* often mentioned in *Tobit*, and which was the place where *Nabuchodonosor* King of *Affyria* is said, in the book of *Judith*, to have slain *Arphaxad* King of *Media*. Here finding that it was in vain to pursue after *Darius* any farther, he staid in this place some days for the refreshing of his army, and for the settling of the affairs of *Media*. Of which having made *Oxidates*, a noble *Persian*, governor, he marched into *Parthia*; where having received intelligence of *Darius's* case, and what danger he was in from those traitors who had made him their prisoner, he put himself again upon the pursuit after him, with part of his army, leaving the rest under the command of *Craterus* to follow after him. And after several days hard march, he at last came up with the traitors. Whereon they would have persuaded *Darius* to mount on horse-back for his more speedy flight with them; but he refusing thus to do, they gave him several mortal wounds, and left him a dying in his cart. *Philistratus*, one of *Alexander's* soldiers, found him in this condition, but he expired before *Alexander* himself came up to him. When he saw his corps he could not forbear shedding of tears at so melancholy a spectacle; and having cast his cloke over it, he commanded it to be wrapp'd up therein, and carryed to *Sisigambis* at *Susa*, (where he had left her with the other captive ladies) to be buried by her with a royal funeral, in the burying place of the Kings of *Persia*, and allowed the expences necessary for it. And this was the end of this great King, and also of the empire over which he reigned, after it had lasted from the first of *Cyrus* two hundred and nine years. After this fact, *Nabarzanes* fled into *Hyrkania*, and *Bessus* into *Bactria*; and there he declared himself King by the name of *Artaxerxes*.

ALEXANDER was not stayed by the death of *Darius* from still pursuing after the traitor *Bessus*, but finding at length that he was gotten too far before him to be overtaken, he returned again into *Parthia*; and there having regulated his affairs in the army, as well as in the province, he marched into *Hyrkania*, and received that countrey under his

* Chap. i. 14. and iv. 1. Sic. Arrian. Q. Curtius, & Justin, ibidem.

† Chap. i. 15.

‡ Plutarchus in Alexandro. Diodor.

subjection. After that he subdued the *Mardans, Arians, Drangians, Aracausians*, and several other nations; over which he flew with victory swifter than others can travel, often with his horse pursuing his enemies upon the spur whole days and nights, and sometimes making long marches for several days one after the other, as once he did in pursuit of *Darius* of near forty miles a day for eleven days together. So that by the speed of his marches he came upon his enemy before they were aware of him, and conquered them before they could be in a posture to resist him. Which exactly agreeth with the description given of him in the prophecies of *Daniel* some ages before, he being in them set forth under the similitude of a panther or leopard with four wings: For he was impetuous and fierce in his warlike expeditions, as a panther after his prey, and came on upon his enemies with that speed, as if he flew with a double pair of wings. And to this purpose he is in another place of those prophecies compared to an ^v he-goat coming from the west with that swiftness upon the King of *Media* and *Persia*, that he seemed as if his feet did not touch the ground. And his actions, as well in this comparison as in the former, fully verified the prophecy.

WHILE *Alexander* was among the *Drangians*, ^{*} discovery was made of a conspiracy formed against his life, of which *Philotas* the son of *Parmenio*, one of the chief commanders in his army, and principal confidents, being found to be the head, was put to death for it with all his accomplices. And whether *Alexander* thought *Parmenio* to have been in the plot also, or feared his revenge for the death of his son, he sent to *Ecbatana*, where he had left him with part of his forces to guard his treasure which he had there laid up, and caused him to be put to death also; which brought great envy upon him, this old commander having been his chief assistant in conducting his armies to most of those victories which he had hitherto obtained. After this *Alexander*, notwithstanding the approach of winter, marched still forward to the north, and subdued all in his way, carrying on his conquests as far as mount *Caucasus*, where having built a city, which from his name he called also *Alexandria*, as he had several others, he there terminated the actions of this year.

EARLY the next spring ^v he made after *Bessus*, and having driven him out of *Bactria*, and settled that province under his obedience, he followed him into *Sogdiana*, the countrey now called *Cowaresmia*, where he was retired. This province being separated from *Bactria* by the river *Oxus*, which was large and deep, *Bessus's* chief confidence was in the unpassableness of it. For having taken away or destroyed all the shipping and boats that were to be found on it, he thought *Alexander* could not possibly get over it to pursue him any farther. But no difficulty being unfurmountable to that conqueror, he found means by stuff'd skins, and such other devices, to get his army all over; whereon *Bessus's* followers despairing of his case, seized his person, and delivered him bound to *Alexander*, who gave him into the hand of *Oxatres* the brother of *Darius*, to be punished by him as he should think fit, for the treason he had been guilty of in murdering his King. For after the death of *Darius* this *Oxatres* sur-

An. 329.
Alexander 3.

^v Daniel vii. 6. ^w Daniel viii. 5. ^x Arrian, lib. 3. Plutarchus in Alexandro.
Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius, lib. 6. cap. 7, 8, 9, &c. ^y Arrian, lib. 3. Plutarchus
in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Q. Curtius, lib. 7.

rendred himself to *Alexander*, who very kindly received him, and admitted him into the number of his friends, and treated him with favour as long as he lived. And *Oxatres* having thus gotten the traitor into his hands, made him die such a death as his treason deserved.

SOGDIANA breeding a great number of horses, ^a *Alexander* came thither very opportunely for the remounting of his cavalry. For by the quick and fatiguing marches which he had made, he had either kill'd or spoiled most of the horses of his army. But notwithstanding, he had not such quick success in his conquests here, as in other provinces. For he had not now to do with the effeminate *Persians* and *Babylonians*, but with the *Sogdians*, *Dabans*, and *Massagets*, valiant and hardy people, who were not but with great difficulty to be subdued. And therefore this province found him a full year's work, before he could bring it into thorough subjection to him. It lay upon the eastern side of the *Caspian* sea, between the river *Oxus* on the south, and the river *Orxantes* on the north; the last of these *Quintus Curtius* and *Arrian* call *Tanais* very erroneously. For the river *Tanais* is much more to the west, and dischargeth it self not into the *Caspian* but into the *Euxin* sea, and is the same which we now call the *Don*. *Pliny* ^b takes notice of this mistake, and tells us, it proceeded from *Alexander's* soldiers calling it so, and that in his time it was called *Silyr*. The capital of this province was *Maracanda*, a great city of near ten miles in compass, and is the same, which being now called *Samarcand*, is the chief city of the *Usbeck* Tartars. While *Alexander* lay there with his army, towards the beginning of winter, ^c he basely in a drunken fury murdered *Clitus*, one of the best of his friends; which afterwards he condemned himself for, as much as every body else; for it was a very vile action, and the greatest blot of his life. After he had thoroughly subdued the *Sogdians*, and reduced such of the *Bactrians* as had revolted from him, he took up his winter quarters in *Nautaca*, and there gave his army rest and refreshment for three months.

An. 328.
Alexander 4.

WHILE he lay there, being wholly at ease from the fatigues of war, ^d he fell in love with *Roxana*, the daughter of *Oxyathres* a noble *Persian*, who was among the captive ladies in his camp, and took her to wife. She was the most beautiful woman of her time, and also one of the most wicked, as afterwards by her actions, especially in the murder of *Darius's* daughters, she sufficiently made appear. That *Alexander's* marrying this lady might be made no objection against him among his *Macedonians*, he encouraged as many of their leaders and prime men as he found enclined that way to do the same, and take them wives in like manner from among the *Persian* ladies. So that most of the time that he spent in these quarters, was taken up in making such marriages, and in nuptial feastings upon them.

BUT while these things were a doing in the camp, ^e *Alexander's* head was busy in projecting an expedition into *India*; his main incentive to this dangerous and unprofitable enterprize, was all an excess of vanity and folly. He had read in the old *Grecian* fables, that *Bacchus* and *Hercules*,

^a Q. Curtius, lib. 8. Arrian. lib. 4. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

^c Lib. 6. cap. 16.

^b Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. cap. 1. Arrian. lib. 4. ^d Q. Curtius, lib. 8. cap. 4. Arrianus, lib. 4. Plutarchus in Alexandro. ^e Arrian. lib. 4. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. cap. 5, 9, 10, &c. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Justin. lib. 12. cap. 7.

two of *Jupiter's* sons, had made this expedition into *India*, and he would fain in emulation of them do the same. For having been declared *Jupiter's* son as well as they, he would not be thought to come behind them in any thing, and he had flatterers enough about him to blow him up into this conceit. And about this time it was that he began to require divine honours to be paid to him, and commanded, that all that were admitted to make addressees unto him, should adore him as formerly they had the *Persian* Kings. All his old friends misliked this conduct in him, and none more than *Callisthenes* the philosopher. He ^e was a kinsman of *Aristotle*, *Alexander's* master, and had been sent by him to attend this young conqueror on his first entering on the *Persian* war, and had accompanied him through all his expeditions ever since, and being a very wise and grave man, was thought the properest person to advise and direct him against those excesses, which the heat of his youth might carry him into. And this being the whole end for which he was sent to attend him, he could not but express his dislike of this folly. But *Alexander* not being able to bear the freedom with which he expressed himself in this matter, caused him to be put to death for it; which, next the death of *Clitus*, is that which of all his other actions bore hardest upon his reputation; and indeed, if duly estimated, it was by much the worst of the two: For he was in the heat of wine, and also highly provoked by sawcy and abusive language, when he flew *Clitus*; but *Callisthenes* he did put to death deliberately and designedly, and for no other reason, but that he expressed his dislike of those follies, which he was sent on purpose by his instructions and advice to correct in him.

BUT before ^f he went on this *Indian* expedition, he very providently took care to secure all in quiet behind him, and therefore while he lay in those quarters at *Nautaca*, he removed several of the governors of provinces who had oppressed their provincials, and remedied all the grievances they had been guilty of towards them, that none might have any just cause in his absence to create disturbances, or make any risings against him or his authority, in any parts of the empire. And the better to provide against all such, as well as for the more successful carrying on of the new war which he was going to enter upon, he caused thirty thousand young men, of the sons of the principal men of the conquered countries, to be listed for the augmenting of his army, that having them with him in this expedition, they might be hostages with him for the good behaviour of their relations, as well as useful to him in the war.

ON his marching into *India*, ^g his army, with these augmentations, consisted of an hundred and twenty thousand men, *Grecians* and *Persians*, besides fifteen thousand which he left with *Amyntas* in *Bactria*, to keep those parts in quiet. Many nations on this side the river *Indus* were then reckoned to be of *India*, and in subduing of those was this whole year employed. ^h Some of them he conquered by force, and some he received by submission. But none pleased him more than those that welcomed him as the third son of *Jupiter* that had come among them, meaning *Bacchus* and *Hercules* for the other two; so far was he intoxicated with the vain

^e Laertius in vita Aristotelis. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. cap. 5. Plutarchus in Alexandro.

Plutarchus in Alexandro & in Sylla. ^g Q. Curtius, ibid.

^f Arrianus, lib. 4. ^h Arrian, lib. 4. Q. Curtius, lib. 8.

conceit of being thought the son of that imaginary god. Among those whom he subdued by force were the *Affacans*. But *Cleopbis*, the Queen of that nation, being a very beautiful Woman, redeemed her kingdom by prostituting her body to his lust, whereby she incurred that infamy and contempt among the *Indians*, that they afterwards called her by no other name than that of the *royal whore*. By this concubinage she had a son, whom from the name of his father she called *Alexander*, who afterwards reigned in those parts; and if *Paulus Venetus* may be believed, there were in a certain province of *India*, which he calls *Balascia*, Kings of his race reigning there even to his time.

An. 327.
Alexander 5.

EARLY the next springⁱ he passed the river *Indus*, over a bridge of boats there prepared for him, and from thence marched forward to the river *Hydaspes*. Between these two rivers lay the kingdom of *Taxiles*, who submitted to him. But beyond the *Hydaspes* lay the kingdom of *Porus*, a prince of great valour and power, who was there ready with a great army to impede his farther progress. This, on *Alexander's* passing that river, produced a fierce battle between them, wherein, after a fight of eight hours, *Porus's* army was vanquished with a great slaughter, and he himself was taken prisoner; but the magnanimity and generosity of his carriage under his misfortune so took with *Alexander*, that he again restored to him his kingdom, and also augmented it. For after his having passed the river *Acesinis*, which terminated *Porus's* kingdom on the east, and taken all the territory that lay between that and the river *Hydraotes*, he added this also to *Porus's* dominions. After this passing the *Hydraotes*, he marched to the *Hyphasis*, and would gladly have passed that river also, and gone on to the *Ganges*. But his soldiers being weary of following him any farther in these expeditions of knight-errantry, forced him there to put an end to his farther progress. And therefore, having on the banks of that river erected twelve large altars for a memorial of his having been there, he marched back again to the *Hydaspes*, where having at the place where he vanquished *Porus* built a city, which he called *Nicea*, in memory of that victory; and another not far from it, which he called *Bucephala*, in memory of his horse *Bucephalus*, which there died, he ordered his fleet to be drawn thither to him, for his passing down that river into the *Indus* and the southern parts of *India*, purposing to carry on his arms and conquests that way as far as the ocean, and then to return to *Babylon*.

An. 326.
Alexander 6.

THIS fleet^k he had ordered to be prepared from his first passing the *Indus*, and it had been ever since a making ready for him in the several places that he had appointed, which when it was all brought together, amounted to two thousand vessels of all sorts. The chief command hereof he gave to *Nearchus*, and then putting his army on board, he sailed down the *Hydaspes* into the *Acesinis*, and through that into the *Indus*. For the first of these fell into the second, and the second into the third. In his way he had to do with two very valiant nations, the *Oxidracians* and the *Mallians*. The former of these inhabited where the *Hydaspes* fell into the *Acesinis*, and the other where *Acesinis* fell into the *Indus*. Both these he

ⁱ Plutarchus, & Curtius, *ibid.* Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Arrian, lib. 5. Q. Curtius, lib. 9. Plutarchus in Alexandro.

^k Arrian, lib. 6.

forced

forced into a submission, tho' not without great difficulty. And while he besieged one of the cities of the *Mallians*, he was very near losing his life; for being the first that scaled the walls, he rashly leaped into the city, before any others were at hand to second him, and was there almost wounded to death, e'er any of his followers could get in to rescue him. Thence he sailed down the *Indus* as far as the ocean, conquering all the nations in his way on both sides that river. When he had passed the mouth of the *Indus* into the southern ocean, and had now carried his conquests to the utmost boundaries of the earth on that side, he reckoned that he had obtained all that he proposed, and therefore returning back to land, when he had given such orders as he thought fit for the settling of his *Indian* conquests, he sent *Nearchus*, with that part of the fleet which was fittest for the voyage, back again into the ocean, ordering him to sail that way to the *Persian* gulph, and up through that into the *Euphrates*, and meet him at *Babylon*; and then he with his army marched over land towards the same place.

THE way that he took in his march thither, was through the southern provinces of *Persia*; a great part of which being a very barren countrey, and full of sandy deserts, he suffered very much in his passage through it, both for want of water as well as of provisions; and the scorching heat of the climate added to the calamity, which grew so great that it destroyed a great part of his army. And to this it was chiefly owing, that he did not bring back above a fourth part of the number which he first carried with him into *India*. When he arrived in the province of *Carmania*, (the same which, retaining its ancient name, is still called *Kerman*) he marched in a bacchanalian procession for seven days together through that province, in way of triumph for his *Indian* conquests. For it seems he had heard that *Bacchus* returned in this manner after his like expedition into that countrey: For he much affected to imitate *Bacchus* and *Hercules* in all this expedition; and he did too much the former of them, for a great part of his life, in that excessive drunkenness which he gave himself up unto.

NEARCHUS having coasted along all the countries, from the *Indus* to the mouth of the *Persian* gulph, arrived at the isle of *Harmuzia*, (now called *Ormuz*) where hearing that *Alexander* was within five days journey of that place, he went to him, and gave him an account of his voyage, and what discoveries and observations he had made in it; with which being exceedingly delighted, he sent him back again to complete his first orders, and sail up the *Euphrates* to *Babylon*, as he had appointed.

WHILE *Alexander* was in *Carmania*, he had many complaints made to him of the oppressions exercised by his lieutenants, and other officers in the provinces, during his absence in *India*. For reckoning that he would never come back again, several of them did let themselves loose to rapine, tyranny, and all manner of cruelty and oppression. All these he caused to be put to death for the expiation of their crimes, and with them six hundred of the soldiers, who had been their instruments in these enormities; and he exercised the same severity upon all other of his officers, whom he after that found in the same abuses, which conduced very much to the making of his government acceptable to the conquered provinces.

¹ Plutarchus, Curtius, Arrianus, *ibid.*

BEING exceedingly pleased with the successful voyage that *Nearchus* had made with his fleet, and the account which he gave him of his discoveries, he resolved on more sea adventures, purposing no less, than from the *Persian* gulph to sail round *Arabia* and *Africa*, and return by the mouth of the *Streights* (then called *Hercules's* pillars, now the *Streights of Gibraltar*) into the *Mediterranean* sea; a voyage which had been several times attempted, and once performed, at the command of *Neco* King of *Egypt*, (of which an account hath been above given.) In order hereto, he sent his commands to his lieutenants in *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*, for a fleet of ships fit for such an undertaking, to be forthwith built at several places on the *Euphrates*, especially at *Thapsacus*, ordering great quantities of timber to be cut down on mount *Libanus*, and carried thither for this purpose. This shews the greatness of his designs; but this, as well as all others of them, were quash'd by his death.

ON his coming to *Pasargada*, he was much offended at the violation which had been offered to the sepulchre of *Cyrus*, who was there buried. For since he was last there (which was a little after his taking of *Persepolis*) it had been broken up and robb'd. The *Magians*, who had the keeping of the sepulchre, and several others, were put to the torture, for the finding out of the authors of the sacrilege. But no discovery being made this way, at length, by the malice of *Bagoas*, a beloved eunuch of *Alexander's*, the whole guilt was charged upon *Orsines*, the governor of the province. This *Bagoas* was a very beautiful young eunuch; *Nabarzanes*, who conspired with *Bessus* in the imprisonment, and afterwards in the death of *Darius*, presented him unto *Alexander* for the service of his lust, and by this present saved his life; so acceptable was the catamite to him for this vile use; and by being thus frequently used by him, he grew so far into his favour, that he prevailed with him to sacrifice this noble *Persian* to his revenge, contrary to all honour, justice, and gratitude: For he had very much served him, especially in that province; for *Phraortes*, the governor of it, dying while *Alexander* was in *India*, and all things there being like to run into confusion upon it, for want of one to take care of the government, he took upon him to supply that defect, and preserved all things there in good order for the service of *Alexander* to the time of his arrival thither; and on his entering the province, met him in the most honourable manner, and being a person of great wealth, as well as of ancient nobility, he presented him and his followers with many noble presents, to the value of several thousands of talents. But when he presented the rest of *Alexander's* friends and favourites, taking no notice of *Bagoas*, and saying withal, when he was put in mind of him, *That he paid his respects to the King's friends, not to his catamites*; this so angered the eunuch, that to work his revenge, he contrived that the whole charge of violating the sepulchre of *Cyrus* was turned upon the governor of the province; and having suborned false witnesses, to accuse him of this and many other enormities, he prevailed with *Alexander* to put him to death, in the manner as I have said; which, considering the services he had done him, and the munificence with which he had received him on his entering into his province, is deservedly reckoned one of the basest of his actions.

FROM *Pasargada* he marched to *Persepolis*, where he lamented his folly in having burned that city; from thence he passed on towards *Susa*; in

in his way thither he met *Nearchus* with his fleet. For "*Nearchus*, according to his orders, had sailed up the *Persian* gulph into the *Euphrates*, but there hearing *Alexander* was on his march towards *Susa*, he sailed back again to the mouth of the *Pistigris*, and from thence up that river to a bridge which *Alexander* was to pass. And there the land-army and the sea-army meeting, they both joined together; for which *Alexander* offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to his gods, and made great rejoicings in his camp; and high honours were there given to *Nearchus*, for his successful conduct of the fleet; and bringing it safe through so many dangers to that place.

When *Alexander* came to *Susa*, where he had left all the captive ladies at his last being there, he took to wife *Statira* the eldest of *Darius's* daughters, and gave the younger, called *Drypetis*, to *Hephestion* his chief favourite; and at the same time married most of the rest of them, to the number of about an hundred, to others of his commanders and principal followers. For they being the daughters of the prime nobility of the *Persian* empire, he hoped by these marriages to make such a union of the *Grecians* and *Persians* together, as should render them both as one nation under his empire. And for five days together these nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and solemnity, and all manner of feasting and rejoicing. All the dowries of these ladies *Alexander* paid, and at the same time distributed great rewards to such of his followers as had best deserved of him in the wars, and paid the debts of all the soldiers of his army; which last article alone amounted to ten thousand talents, *Justin* and *Arrian* say twenty thousand. On these and other such occasions he expended vast sums, which were all supplied him out of the immense treasures of *Darius*. For out of them he laid up in his treasury at *Ecbatana* only an hundred and ninety thousand talents, besides what he had at *Babylon*, and in other treasuries through the empire.

These nuptial solemnities being over, he left the main of his army under the conduct of *Hephestion*, and with the rest went on board the fleet, which he had caused to be brought up the *Euleus*, (in *Daniel* called the *Ulai*) on which *Susa* stood, and sailed down that river into the *Persian* gulph, and from thence passed up the *Tigris* to the city *Opis*, where *Hephestion* met him with the rest of the army. On his coming to that place, he caused it to be proclaimed through the whole army, that all those *Macedonians*, who by reason of their age, or the wounds they had received in the wars, or other infirmities, found themselves unable any longer to bear the fatigues of the camp, should have full liberty to return into *Greece*, declaring his intentions to dismiss them bountifully, and to cause them with honour and safety to be conveyed to their own homes. This he intended as a kindness to them, but it being taken by another handle, as if

^a *Arrianus de rebus Indicis.* ^b *Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.* *Plutarchus in Artaxerxe, & in lib. de fortuna Alexandri.* *Arrianus, lib. 7.* where by mistake this daughter of *Darius* is called *Barcina*. For *Barcina* was the concubine, not the wife of *Alexander*, and the daughter of *Artabazus*, not of *Darius*. She was first married to *Mammon*, and after his death being taken into the bed of *Alexander*, she had a son by him called *Hercules*. ^c *Justin, lib. 12. cap. 1.* This amounts to above thirty five millions and a half of our money, according to its lowest calculation. But according to *Dr. Barneart's* computation, it comes to near sixty millions. ^d *Arrian, lib. 7.*

^e *Chap. viii. 2, 10.* ^f *Plutarchus in Alexandro.* *Arrianus, lib. 7.* *Q. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 2.*

he were weary of his *Macedonians*, and dismiss them only to make room for the new recruits, which he had lately raised out of the conquered countries, to be taken into the army in their stead, they fell into a mutiny, and desired all to be dismissed, telling him, that since he despised his soldiers, by whom he had gained all his victories, he and his father *Hammon* might alone wage his wars for the future, they would serve him no longer. Thus his folly in challenging that imaginary god for his father, how much soever he valued himself upon it, was made his reproach on this, as well as on all other occasions by every body else. This mutinous humour, though it broke not out till on this occasion, had been long a breeding among them. They disliked his affecting the *Persian* manners and habit, his marrying a *Persian* lady, and his causing so many of his followers to do the same. But that which disgusted them most, was his ingrafting the new recruits, which he made out of the conquered countries, into the *Macedonian* militia, and the advancing of many *Persians* to places of honour and trust, both in the army, and in the provinces, equally with the *Macedonians*. For he having conquered by them alone, they thought they alone ought to reign with him, and engross all his favours, and therefore were grievously discontented with all the methods which he took for the uniting of the *Persians* with them; and these discontents being heightened by every step which he made for the effecting of this union, at length broke out into a mutiny on the occasion mentioned. Whereon he having punished some of them, and this being of no effect to reduce the rest, he retired into his tent, and there shut himself up for two days; after that, on the third, he called together his *Asiatic* soldiers, excluding the *Macedonians*, and spoke very kindly to them, assured them of his favour, and treated them as if he intended for the future wholly to depend upon them, chusing his guards out of them, and advancing several of them to places of honour and trust, without taking any farther notice of the mutineers, which soon brought them to a better temper. For seeing themselves thus kept at a distance, and wholly neglected, and excluded the favours they formerly enjoyed, they came to the door of his tent with tears of repentance, and there continued for two days in humble supplication for his pardon and favour; this prevailed with him on the third to admit them into his presence, and be reconciled unto them; and from this time they no more mutinied against him, or faulted any of his proceedings.

FROM *Opis*, he marched by several stations to *Ecbatana* in *Media*. While he was there he lost his favourite *Hephestion*. For having drunk too hard, he contracted a fever by it, and of that he died. For *Alexander* having long given himself up to great drinking, encouraged his followers in it, drinking sometimes whole days and nights with them; and it is said, that in one of these drunken bouts at which he was present, the excess was carried on so far, that forty persons died of it. The death of this favourite was much lamented by him, and his funeral was solemnized with extravagant honours, as well as expences, and also with as extravagant cruelty. For he caused his physician to be crucified for no other reason, but that he could not make a man immortal, who by all manner of excesses

^f Plutarchus in Alexandro. Arrian, lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. cap. 12. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Ælianus histor. var. lib. 2. cap. 41.

^g Athenæas, lib. 10.

did the utmost he could to kill himself. And this cruelty was the more signal, in that the patient himself bailed all that the physician prescribed for his recovery. For when to allay the heat of his fever, and make way for remedies to take place for the cure of it, the physician had directed an abstinence from all flesh-meats and wine, he refused to be restrained from either, but took both in such quantities, as soon put it beyond the power of physick to give him any relief; and thus by the cause of his distemper, and by wilfully disappointing all the means of being cured of it, he became doubly his own murderer; and yet the poor physician, who could help neither, was forced to answer for all. And many instances may be given of such irrational and unjust actions, where will and pleasure rule without restraint, which often upon reflection bring the authors themselves to the bitterness of regret, and too late repentance, and may be sufficient to let all such see, that it is the interest of princes, as well as of their people, that their authority be regulated by such just laws, as may hinder them from doing such irrational and unjust things, as often passion and humour, when let loose from all restraint, may carry men into.

ALEXANDER, to divert his grief after this loss, led his army Ar. 324. Alexander d. 8. against the *Cossæans*, (a warlike nation in the mountains of *Media*, which none of the *Persian* Kings could ever bring into subjection to them) and having in a war of forty days wholly subdued them, he passed the *Tigris*, and marched towards *Babylon*. On his approach near that place, the *Magians* and other prognosticators sent advice to him not to come thither, several signs portending, that his entering that city would prove fatal unto him. But contemning all these, he marched with his whole army into that place; where he found ambassadors from all quarters of the world waiting his coming thither; to all which he gave audience in their order, and took care to return such answers to every one of them, as would send them away from his presence best pleased with him.

WHILE he continued at *Babylon* (which was near the space of a whole year) he projected many designs; one was the circumnavigation of *Africa*, another for the making of a full discovery of the *Caspian* sea, and of all the nations round it; and for both these he had provided fleets. Another was to conquer the *Arabians*, and a fourth to make war against the *Carthaginians*, and carry on his conquests to the pillars of *Hercules*, having a great ambition in all things to imitate that hero of the *Grecian* poets. And besides all these, he had many designs for the improving of *Babylon*. For finding it not only in its greatness, but also in the abundance which it was supplied with of all things necessary, either for the support or pleasures of life, to exceed all other places of the *East*, he resolved there to fix the seat of his empire, and therefore projected to add all the improvements to it that it was capable of. What damage that place, as well as the country about it, suffered by *Cyrus's* breaking down the banks of the *Euphrates* at the head of the canal called *Pallacopa*, I have above shewn. This he did set himself to remedy in the first place, whereby he would have recovered a whole province, which was drowned by the overflowings of the river in that place, and also have made the river itself much more navigable, and consequently much more profitable to the *Babyloni-*

ans, by turning the main of the stream again that way, as formerly it had been. In order hereto, he failed to the place where the breach was made, and having taken a view of it, he immediately ordered that to be done for the repairing of it, which he thought would have remedied the evil. How he failed of the effect hath been already said. But that which he chiefly set his heart upon, was to repair the temple of *Belus*. This *Xerxes* destroyed in his return from *Greece*, (as hath been above related) and it had lain in its rubbish ever since. This he purposed to " build again, and in a more stately and magnificent manner than it had been before. In order whereto, in the first place, he commanded the ground where it stood to be cleared of its rubbish ; but finding the *Magians*, to whom he had committed the care of the work, went on but slowly with it, he employed his soldiers to assist them ; and although ten thousand of them laboured every day in this work for two months together, to the time of his death, yet were they forced to leave it imperfect, the ground being still uncleared, so great were the ruins of the old building that were left upon it. But when it came to the turn of the *Jews*, who then served *Alexander* among his *Asian* recruits, to labour in this work, " they could not by any means be induced to put the least helping hand to it, arguing that their religion being against idolatry, it forbade them to do any thing towards the building of an idolatrous temple, and to this resolution they all firmly stood ; so that tho' several severe punishments were inflicted upon them for it, not one of them could be brought to recede from it, whereupon *Alexander* admiring their constancy dismissed them his service, and sent them all home into their own countrey.

BUT the greatest part of the time that *Alexander* lay in *Babylon*, was spent in gratifying himself in the pleasures and luxuries of the place, especially in drinking, which he carried up to the utmost excess, spending sometimes whole days and nights in it, till at length he drank himself into a fever, of which in a few days after he died, in the same manner as his favourite *Hephestion* had before him.

An. 323.
Philip I.

THIS happened about the middle of the spring, " in the first year of the hundred and fourteenth *Olympiad*, which fell in the year before *Christ* 323. At his death there went a general report that he died of poison ; and the same hath been said of other great princes, when they have died unexpectedly, and often with very little reason for it. He having sat out one long drinking bout was immediately invited to another, at which there being twenty in company, " he drank to every one of them in their order, and pledged each of them again, and then " calling for the *Herculean* cup, (which held six of our quarts) he drank this full to *Proteas* a *Macedonian*, who was one of the guests ; and a little after pledged him again in the same. And he having done thus much, I think there needed no other poison to kill any man living. Immediately after this last cup he dropp'd down upon the place, and then fell into that violent fever of which he died. However, that he died of poison was not only a transient report, but a fix'd and lasting opinion among the *Macedonians* ; and there were

" Arrian, lib. 17. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. " Joseph. contra Apionem, lib. 1. * Arrian, lib. 7. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 5. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17.

γ Athenæus, lib. 10. cap. 11. & lib. 12. cap. 18. z Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Seneca. Ep. 83. Macrobi. Saturnal. lib. 5. cap. 21. Athenæus, lib. 11. cap. 17.

such

such strong reasons to make it believed, as rendered it very probable, that a poisonous liquor was also one ingredient of the cup that kill'd him. ^a The sons of *Antipater* were charged to be the authors of this treason, and the common report was, that *Cassander* the eldest of them brought the poison out of *Greece*, and that *Iollas* his brother, who was cup-bearer to *Alexander*, gave it to him, and that he chose this time for it, that the excessive quantity of wine which he then drank, might cover this worse cause of his death. *Alexander* a little before this time having dismissed ten thousand of his veterans, who were past service, sent *Craterus* to conduct them into *Greece*, with commission to succeed *Antipater* in his government of *Macedon*, *Thrace*, and *Thessaly*; and ordered *Antipater* to come to him to *Babylon*, to take *Craterus*'s place in the army. But *Antipater* being jealous, and not without good reason, that he was sent for to be put to death for the many male-administrations he had been guilty of in his government, did by the hands of his sons execute this treason upon the life of *Alexander* to save his own. And the death of *Alexander* happening so convenient to deliver him from this danger, made it the more believed that he was the author of it. And it is certain *Cassander* could never after overcome the odium of it, but was detested for it by the *Macedonians* as long as he lived. *Pausanias* in his *Arcadics*, tells us of a fountain ^b in *Arcadia* called *Styx*, whose waters are so exceeding cold as to be poisonous. Some water of this fountain, they say, was mingled with the last cup that *Alexander* drank at this entertainment, and thereby it was made mortal to him. This water distills from the rock *Nonacris*, out of which it proceeds in a small quantity, and is of so piercing a nature, that it breaks thorough all vessels into which it is put, excepting only a mule's hoof. And therefore they tell us, that it was carried in such a hoof from *Greece* to *Babylon*, for the executing of this villanous murder.

AND here ended all the designs of this great and vain-glorious prince. Never had any man a greater run of success than he had, for twelve years and an half together, (for so long he reigned from the death of his father;) in that time he subjected to him all the nations and countries that lay from the *Adriatic* sea to the *Ganges*, the greater part of the then known habitable world. And altho' most of his actions were carried on with a furious and extravagant rashness, yet none of them failed of success. His first attempt upon the *Persians*, in passing the *Granicus* with only thirty five thousand men, against an army above five times as many guarding the banks of the river on the other side, was what no man else that was well in his wits would have run upon, and yet he succeeded in it; and this success creating a panic fear of him through all the *Persian* empire, made way for all the other victories which he afterwards obtained. For no army after that, though twenty times the number of his, (as was that of *Arbela*) would take courage enough to stand before him. He was a man of some virtues, but these were obscured with much greater vices. Vain-glory

^a Plutarchus in Alexandro. Arrian, lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Justin, lib. 12. cap. 13, 14. Pausanias in Arcadicis. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 10. Plin. lib. 30. cap. 16. Vitruvius, lib. 8. cap. 3.

^b Curtius by mistake placeth this fountain in Macedonia. But Vitruvius, lib. 8. cap. 3. Plutarch in the life of Alexander, Strabo, lib. 8. p. 398. put it in the same place where Pausanias doth, that is in the mountain Nonacris in Arcadia, and tell us, that Alexander was poisoned with the water of it in the same manner as he, and others relate.

was his predominant folly, and that which chiefly steered him through all his actions. And the old *Greek* balads, and the fables of their ancient heroes, were the patterns from which he formed most of his conduct. This made him drag *Betis* round the walls of *Gaza*, as *Achilles* had *Hector* round those of *Troy*. This made him make that hazardous expedition into *India*; for *Bacchus* and *Hercules* were said to have done the same. And this made him, in imitation of the former, make that drunken procession through *Carmania* on his return, which is above-mentioned. For *Bacchus* was said to have returned that way in the same manner. And the same was the cause of that ridiculous affectation, whereby he assumed to himself to be called the son of *Jupiter*. For most of the *Grecian* fables making their heroes the sons of some god or other, he would not be thought in this as well as not in any thing else to come behind them. But God having ordained him to be his instrument, for the bringing to pass of all that which was by the prophet *Daniel* foretold concerning him, he did by his providence bear him through in all things for the accomplishing it, and when that was done, did cast him out of his hand. For he died in the prime vigour and strength of his life, before he had outlived the thirty third year of his age.

AFTER his death^c there arose great confusions among his followers about the succession. But at length, after seven days contest, it came to this agreement, that *Arideus*, a bastard brother of *Alexander's*, should be declared King; and that if *Roxana*, who was then gone eight months with child, should bring forth a son, that son should be joined with him in the throne, and *Perdiccas* should have the guardianship of both. For *Arideus* being an idiot, needed a guardian as much as the infant. After this the governments of the empire being divided among the chief commanders of the army, all went to take possession of them, leaving *Perdiccas* at *Babylon* to take care of *Arideus*, and direct for him the main affairs of the whole empire. For some time they contented themselves with the name of governors; but at length took that of Kings, as they had the authority from the first. As soon as they were settled in the provinces to which they were sent, they all fell to leaguings and making war against each other, till thereby they were, after some years, all destroyed to four. These were *Cassander*, *Lyfimachus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Seleucus*, and they divided the whole empire between them. *Cassander* had *Macedon* and *Greece*; *Lyfimachus*, *Thrace*, and those parts of *Asia* as lay upon the *Hellepont* and the *Bosphorus*; *Ptolemy*, *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Arabia*, *Palestine*, and *Cæle-Syria*; and *Seleucus* all the rest. And hereby^d the prophecies of *Daniel* were exactly fulfilled, which foretold, that the great horn of the *Macedonian* Empire, that is, *Alexander*, being broken off, there should arise four other horns, that is, four Kings of the same nation, who should divide his empire between them; and the manner how they did so, will in the future series of this history be fully declared.

ARIDÆUS being thus placed on the throne, they changed his name to^e that of *Philip*, and from hence the *Philippean Era* hath its original, which the *Egyptians* computing from the first day of that year in which

^c Curtius, lib. 10. Diodor. Sic. lib. 8. Plutarchus in Eumene. Justin, lib. 13. cap. 1---4.

^d Daniel vii. 6. viii. 8, 21, 22. xi. 4.

^e Justin, lib. 13. cap. 3. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18.

Ptolemæus in Canone.

Alexander dyed, that is, from the first day of their *Thoth* preceding, (which fell in the twelfth of our *November*) *Ptolemy* the astronomer doth the same in his canon, tho' contrary to the method hitherto observed by him. For in all other descents preceding this he begins the reign of the successor from the *Thoth* following, and not from the *Thoth* preceding the death of the successor.

SISTGAMBIS the mother of *Darius*, though she had born with great patience the death of her father, her husband, and eighty of her brothers slain by *Ochus* in one day, and since that the death of her son, and the ruine of his family, yet she could not bear the death of *Alexander*. He had shewn great kindness to her, and not knowing where to expect any more, she took his death to be the completion of her calamity; and therefore on her hearing of it, refused to take any more sustenance, and furnished herself to death out of grief for it. Her death was accompanied with that also of her two grand-daughters, *Statira* the widow of *Alexander*, and *Drypetis* the widow of *Hephestion*. For *Roxana* having craftily got them into her power, by the concurrence of *Perdiccas*, caused them both to be flung into a well and murdered. She feared *Statira* might be with child, and if that proved to be a son, it might disturb the settlement which was made in favour of her son, in case she bore one, and therefore thus made her away to prevent it, and her sister with her. And not long after she was delivered of a son, who was called *Alexander*, and his name, with that of *Arideus* or *Philip*, was afterwards joined in the government of the empire; tho' neither of them had any more than a name in it, the authority being wholly usurped by those, who had divided the provinces among them.

IN this division of the provinces, *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia* were assigned to *Eumenes*, who had been secretary of state to *Alexander*; but these had not yet been thoroughly subjected to the *Macedonian* dominion. For *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*, still held those countries, and *Alexander* having been called out of those parts in the prosecution of his other wars, before he could fully reduce him, was forced to leave him behind in the possession of his kingdom, and he had continued in it ever since. And therefore he being first to be conquered, before *Eumenes* could be put in possession of this government, *Perdiccas* sent to *Antigonus* and *Leonnatus* for the effecting of it. The former of them had the government of *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, and the greater *Phrygia*; and the latter, that of the lesser *Phrygia* and the *Hellepont*. But they having both of them other designs in their heads, for the promoting of their own interest, neither of them had any regard to what *Perdiccas* ordered. *Leonnatus* was then marching into *Greece*, under pretence of carrying assistance to *Antipater*, governor of *Macedonia*, who was then hard pressed by a confederacy of the *Greeks* against him, but in reality to seize *Macedon* and *Greece* for himself: But he being slain in battel against those *Greeks*, this did put an end to all his designs. When *Eumenes* came to him with *Perdiccas's* order, he endeavoured to draw him into his measures, and in

An. 322.
Philip 2.

^f Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Justin, lib. 13. cap. 1. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 8. ^g Plutarchus in Alexandro.
^h Arrianus in excerptis Photii. Pausanias in Atticis & Boeoticis. Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.
ⁱ Plutarchus in Eumene. Q. Curtius, lib. 10. cap. 10. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Justin, lib. 13. cap. 4. Arrianus in excerptis Photii.

order hereto communicated to him his whole scheme. But *Eumenes* liking neither the man, nor his project, refused to be concerned with him in it. Whereon *Leontatas* would have put him to death for the concealing of the secret; which *Eumenes* being aware of, fled to *Perdiccas*, and revealed the whole matter to him. Whereon he grew very much into his confidence, and was on other accounts very acceptable unto him; for he was a very steady man, and had the best headpiece of all *Alexander's* captains. And therefore *Perdiccas*, to gratify him, taking the two Kings along with him, marched into *Cappadocia*, and having vanquished *Ariarathes*, and cut him off, with all his family and kindred, settled *Eumenes* in the quiet possession of his government; and afterwards having subdued *Isauris* and *Laranda*, two cities of *Pisidia*, that had slain their governors and revolted, he marched into *Cilicia*, and there took up his winter quarters. While he lay there, he projected the divorcing of *Nicea*, the daughter of *Antipater*, whom he had lately taken to wife, and the marrying of *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander the Great*, in her stead. She had been wife to *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, but he having been slain in his wars in *Italy*, she had ever since lived a widow, and was then at *Sardis* in *Lydia*; thither *Perdiccas* sent *Eumenes* to propose the match, and court her to it: For she being in great credit and esteem with the *Macedonians*, as sister to *Alexander* both by father and mother, he proposed by this marriage to strengthen his interest with them, and then in her right to seize the whole empire. *Antigonus* getting knowledge of this project, and that the cutting of him off, to make way for the success of it, was one part of the scheme; he fled into *Greece* to *Antipater* and *Craterus*, who were then making war with the *Ætolians*, and discovered to them the whole plot; whereon, clapping up a peace with the *Ætolians*, they immediately marched to the *Hellepont* to watch these designs, and took *Ptolemy*, governor of *Egypt*, into confederacy with them, for the better strengthening of themselves against them. This *Craterus* was one of the eminentest of *Alexander's* captains, and of all of them the best beloved and esteemed by the *Macedonians*. *Alexander*, a little before his death, had sent him to conduct home into *Macedonia* ten thousand of his veterans, who were by age, wounds, or infirmity, disabled for farther service, with orders to take upon him the government of *Macedonia* and *Greece*, in the room of *Antipater*, whom he had called to *Babylon*, as hath been before mentioned. And therefore, after the death of *Alexander*, these provinces having been assigned to him, in joint authority with *Antipater*, he had accordingly taken on him the government of them in co-partnership with him, and very amicably associated with him in all his wars, as especially he did in this, which the discovery of *Perdiccas's* designs made it necessary for them to engage in. In the interim *Perdiccas* sent *Eumenes* into his province, not only to put all things there in as good posture as he could, but also to have a watchful eye upon *Neoptolemus*, governor of *Armenia*, which lay next him: For *Perdiccas* had some suspicion of him, and not without cause, as it will afterwards appear.

An. 321.
Philip 3.

In the beginning of the next spring, *Perdiccas* having assembled all his forces together in *Cappadocia*, deliberated with his friends whether he

* Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarchus in Eumene. Justin, lib. 13. cap. 6. Cornelius Nepos in Eumene. Arrianus in excerptis Philii.

should

should march immediately into *Macedonia* against *Antipater* and *Craterus*, or else into *Egypt* against *Ptolemy*. Should he march first into *Macedonia*, the fear was, that *Ptolemy*, who had made himself very strong in *Egypt*, should take the advantage to seize all the greater *Asia*. For the preventing of this, it was resolved not to leave *Ptolemy* at his back, but to reduce him first, and after that to carry the war into *Macedonia*, and that in the interim *Eumenes* should be left with part of the army to guard the *Asian* provinces against *Antipater* and *Craterus*. For the executing of which resolutions, *Perdiccas* gave unto *Eumenes* the provinces of *Caria*, *Lycia*, and *Phrygia*, in addition to those he had before, and made him captain-general of all the countries from the *Hellepont* to mount *Taurus*, ordering all the governors of them to obey his orders; and then by the way of *Damascus* and *Palestine* marched into *Egypt*, carrying the Kings with him in this expedition also, thereby to give the greater countenance and authority to his actings in it.

EUMENES,¹ to make good his charge, lost no time in providing himself with an army to withstand *Antipater* and *Craterus*, who had passed the *Hellepont* to make war upon him. They in the first place made use of all manner of endeavours to draw him over to their party, promising him the provinces which he had, with the addition of others to them; but he being a steady man, would not on any terms be wrought upon to break his faith with *Perdiccas*. But they had better success with *Alcetas* and *Neoptolemus*: For they prevailed with the former, tho' the brother of *Perdiccas*, to stand neuter, and with the other to come over to them; but while he was on his march to join their army, *Eumenes* fell upon him, and having vanquished him in battel, took from him all his baggage, and *Neoptolemus* himself difficultly escaped with three hundred horse only to *Antipater* and *Craterus*, the rest of his forces, that were not cut off in battel, taking service under *Eumenes*. Whereon *Antipater* marched into *Cilicia*, from thence to pass into *Egypt* to the assistance of *Ptolemy*, if his affairs should require it; and sent *Craterus* and *Neoptolemus* with the rest of the army into *Cappadocia* against *Eumenes*, where it coming to a battel between them, *Craterus* and *Neoptolemus* were both slain, and *Eumenes* gained an entire victory; which was wholly owing to his wisdom and military skill in ordering the battel: For whereas the *Macedonians* generally had that love for *Craterus*, that not one of them would have drawn a sword against him, *Eumenes* ordered the matter so, that none of the *Macedonians* that were in his army, knew that *Craterus* was with the enemy till that he was slain, and the victory won.

In the interim ^m *Perdiccas* entered *Egypt*, and there waged war against *Ptolemy*, but not with the same success. For *Ptolemy*, since his having entered on the government of *Egypt*, managed all things there with that justice and benignity, that he had not only made himself strong in the affection of the *Egyptians*, but had drawn many others thither, who flocked to him out of *Greece* and other countries, to enjoy the benefit of so just and mild a government, which added great encrease to his strength. And the army of *Perdiccas* were so well affected to him, that they went with

¹ Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Eumene. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Justin, lib. 13. cap. 8. Arrianus in excerptis Photii. ^m Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarchus in Eumene. Arrianus in excerptis Photii. Pausanias in Atticis.

great unwillingness to make war against him, and many of them daily deserted to him; all which made against *Perdiccas*, and at last ended in his ruine: For having unfortunately endeavoured to pass a branch of the *Nile*, which made an island in it over-against *Memphis*, he had a thousand of his men drowned in the attempt, and as many more devoured by the crocodiles of that river; which angered the *Macedonians* who followed him to that degree, that rising in a mutiny against him, they slew him in his tent, and most of his friends and confidants with him. About two days after came the news of *Eumenes's* victory. Had it been known two days sooner, it would have prevented the mutiny, and the revolution which afterwards followed in favour of *Ptolemy*, *Antipater*, and those of their party. The next day after the death of *Perdiccas*, *Ptolemy* passed over the *Nile* into his camp, and there so effectually pleaded his cause before the *Macedonians*, that he turned them all over to him; and when the news of *Crate-rus's* death came, he took the advantage of that grief and anger with which he saw them actuated for it, as to cause them by a publick decree to declare *Eumenes* and fifty others of that party by name, enemies to the *Macedonian* state; and by the same decree, *Antipater* and *Antigonus* were appointed to make war against them as such. And whereas all were inclined to have conferred on him the guardianship of the Kings in the room of *Perdiccas*, he rather chose to keep where he was, recommending *Pithon* and *Arideus* to this charge; and by his interest it was, that they were appointed to it. The former had been a noted commander in the army of *Alexander* through all his wars, and followed the party of *Perdiccas* till his late misfortune at the *Nile*, when in dislike of his conduct he deserted from him, and went over to *Ptolemy*. But as to the other, no mention is made of him, till on the death of *Alexander* he was appointed to take care of his funeral; for which having made great preparations, at length, after two years time spent herein, he carried the corps in great solemnity from *Babylon* into *Egypt*, and there deposited it in the city of *Memphis*, from whence it was afterwards translated to *Alexandria*. A prophecy having been given out, that wherever *Alexander* should be buried, that place of all others should be the most happy and prosperous; this put the chief governors of provinces upon a strife, which of them should have the body of this deceased prince, each of them desiring to make the chief seat of his government happy by it. *Perdiccas*, out of love to his country, would have it carried to *Ægæ* in *Macedonia*, the usual burying place of the *Macedonian* Kings, and others elsewhere. But *Ptolemy* prevailed to have it brought into *Egypt*, where *Arideus* having carried it not long before the death of *Perdiccas*, *Ptolemy*, to gratify him for it, procured that he was chosen into this office. But *Euridyce*, the wife of King *Arideus*, (now called *Philip*) putting in to have all affairs managed according to her direction, and the *Macedonians* favouring her in this pretence, they were so tired with the impertinency of this woman, that when they had led back the army to *Triparadisus* in *Syria*, they there resigned their charge, and it was conferred wholly on *Antipater*, who thereon made a new partition of the provinces of the empire, wherein he excluded all that had been of the party of *Perdiccas* and *Eumenes*, and restored all of the other party that had been dispossessed. In this new distribution, *Seleucus* had the government of *Babylon* conferred on him, who from this beginning afterwards grew up to be the greatest of all *Alexander's* successors,

as will hereafter be related. *Antipater* having thus settled affairs, sent *Antigonus* to make war upon *Eumenes*, and then returned into *Macedonia*, leaving his son *Cassander* with *Antigonus* in the command of general of the horse in his army, to be a spy upon him.

THIS year *Jaddua* the high-priest of the *Jews* being dead, ^a *Onias* his son succeeded him in that office, and lived in it one and twenty years.

EARLY the next spring ^o *Antigonus* marched out of his winter quarters against *Eumenes*, and at *Orcynium* in *Cappadocia* it came to a battle between them, in which *Eumenes* lost the victory, with eight thousand of his men. This was caused by the treachery of *Apollonides*, one of the principal commanders of his horse, who being corrupted by *Antigonus*, deserted to him in the battle. However the traitor escaped not the punishment which he deserved, for *Eumenes* having taken him, caused him immediately to be hanged for it. After this *Eumenes* shifted from place to place, till at length he was shut up in the castle of *Nora*, which was situated in the confines of *Cappadocia* and *Lycaonia*, where he endured the siege of a whole year.

IN the mean time *Ptolemy* finding how convenient *Syria*, *Phœnicia* and *Judea* lay for him, both for the defence of *Egypt*, as well as for the invading from thence the island of *Cyprus*, which he had an eye upon, resolved to make himself master of these provinces. They were in the first partition of the provinces of the empire granted to *Laomedon* the *Mytellenian*, one of *Alexander's* captains, and had been confirmed to him also in that second partition which was made by *Antipater* at *Tripardisus*, and he had accordingly from the death of *Alexander* to this time been possessed of them, without any interruption or disturbance. *Ptolemy*, at first, thought to have bought him out of them, and offered him vast sums for this purpose; but not prevailing this way, he sent *Nicanor*, one of his captains, with an army into *Syria* against him, while he with a fleet invaded *Phœnicia*. *Nicanor* having vanquished *Laomedon* in battle, and taken him prisoner, thereon seized all the inland country, and *Ptolemy* had the same success on the maritim; so that hereby he made himself master of all those provinces; and *Antipater* being returned into *Macedonia*, and *Antigonus* otherwise engaged against *Eumenes*, neither of them could hinder this enlargement of his power, tho' both disliked it.

BUT when all other parts of this countrey, after the vanquishing of *Laomedon*, readily yielded to *Ptolemy*, ^a the *Jews* alone refused to submit to this new master, and for some time stood out against him. For having a just sense of the oath which they had sworn to the former governor, they were truly tenacious of the faith which they had thereby engaged to him; and therefore, till over-power'd by force, would comply with nothing that was contrary to it. Whereon *Ptolemy* marched into *Judea*, and laid siege to *Jerusalem*. The place being strongly fortified both by art and nature, might have held out long against him, but that the *Jews* had then such a superstitious notion for the keeping of their sabbath, that they thought it a

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 11. cap. 8. Chronicon Alexandrinum. Eusebius in Chronico.

^o Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in Eumene. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. ^p Diodor. Sic. lib. 18.

Plutarchus in Demetrio. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. Appian in Syriacis. Pausanias in Atticis.

^q Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. & contra Apionem, lib. 1.

breach of their law concerning it, even to defend themselves on that day; which *Ptolemy* having observed, made choice of their sabbath to storm the place; and then took it in the assault, because none of them would, on that day, defend their walls against him. *Josephus* being unwilling to expose his nation to the contempt of the *Greeks* for so ridiculous a folly, tells the story otherwise in his antiquities, as if *Ptolemy* were admitted into *Jerusalem* upon articles of composition, and seized the place in breach of them; but other historians, and those whom he himself quotes elsewhere, give that other account of it which I have here related, and which I think was the truth of the matter. For it appears from the book of the *Maccabees*, that till *Mattathias*, and those with him, made a decree to the contrary, it was the stated opinion of the *Jews*, that they were to do nothing on the sabbath day, even for the saving of their own lives, against those that fought against them.

WHEN *Ptolemy* had thus made himself master of *Jerusalem*, and all *Judea*, he did at first deal very hardly with the inhabitants. For he carried above an hundred thousand of them captives into *Egypt*. But afterwards reflecting on the steadiness with which they adhered to the fealty they had sworn to their former princes and governors, he thought them the properest for the highest trust; and therefore having chosen out of them thirty thousand of the strongest and best qualified for military service, he committed to them the garrisoning and keeping of those towns which were of the greatest importance to him to have well maintained, and appointed the rest, at their desire, to be with them in the same places, to administer all necessaries to them. And whereas he had lately brought under him *Cyrene* and *Lybia*, he placed several of them there; and from them were descended the *Cyrenian Jews*, of whom was *Jason*, who wrote the history of the *Maccabees* in five books, (of which the second book of *Maccabees*, which we now have, is an abridgment) and of whom also was *Simon*, that bore *Christ's* cross at his crucifixion, and others, that are mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*.

An. 319.
Philip 5.

ANTIPATER, being worn out with age, dyed in *Macedonia*, and at his death appointed *Polysperchon*, who was the oldest of *Alexander's* captains then remaining, to be the guardian of the Kings, and governor of *Macedonia*, in his stead; which *Cassander* resented with great indignation. For he could not bear, that his father should prefer any one before him in this trust. And therefore he forthwith set himself to form a party against the new guardian, and seized as many places as he could within the verge of his government, both in *Greece* and *Macedon*, and purposed no less than the dispossessing him of all the rest. And for the better carrying on of this design, he sent to *Ptolemy* and *Antigonus*, to engage them to be on his side in it; and they both encouraged him to proceed therein, but with a view only to their own interest. The aim of the former was to secure himself in the provinces he had gotten, and that of the other was to possess himself of all *Asia*; and they thought, if the *Macedonians* were embarrassed by a war at home, they might both of them with the greater ease obtain

r Agatharcides apud Josephum, libro primo contra Apionem. Vide etiam Aristeam.

f 1 Maccab. ii. 41. s Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. Aristas. t 2 Maccab. i.

v Matth. xxvii. 32. Mark xv. 27. Luke xxiii. 26. w Ch. ii. 10. and vi. 9.

x Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarchus in Phocione.

their designs. For no sooner was *Antipater* dead, but *Antigonus* finding himself possessed of the greatest power of all *Alexander's* captains then surviving, formed a project of making himself master of all. For he was left by *Antipater* generalissimo of all the *lesser Asia*, with full authority over all the provinces in it, and had then under his command an army of seventy thousand men, besides thirty elephants, which was a force which no other power in the empire could then resist, and therefore he resolved to seize the whole. In order hereto, his first step was to make a reform in all the governments of the provinces within the verge of his power, by putting out all such governors as he had no confidence in, and placing others in their steads, who wholly depended on him. And accordingly he drove *Arideus* out of his government of the *lesser Phrygia* and the *Hellepont*, and *Clitus* out of that of *Lydia*, and so proceeded to do the same in all the other provinces and cities of the *lesser Asia*. But his greatest difficulty was to master *Eumenes*, whose valour, wisdom, and military skill, made him more formidable to him than all the rest, tho' he had then been for a whole year shut up, and besieged by him in the castle of *Nora*. And therefore ' he would make tryal again to draw him over to him, and sent his countreyman *Jerom* of *Cardia*, the famous historian of those times, to make proposals to him for this purpose, with whom *Eumenes* managed the treaty so wisely and craftily, that he got rid of the siege at the time when he was almost brought to the point of perishing by it, and without obliging himself to any thing that *Antigonus* intended by the composition. For an agreement being made, and the oath whereby *Eumenes* was to swear to it, being according to the form sent by *Antigonus*, that he should hold all for friends or enemies, as they were friends or enemies to *Antigonus*, he altered the form, putting it, That he should hold all for friends or enemies, as they were friends or enemies to *Olympias* and the Kings, as well as to *Antigonus*; and then referred it to the *Macedonians*, that lay at the siege, to judge which form was properest; who still retaining their affection for the royal family, gave their judgment for the latter. And therefore *Eumenes* having sworn according to this form, they raised the siege and departed. But when *Antigonus* had an account how this matter was managed, he was so displeased at it, that he refused to ratify the treaty, and immediately dispatched his orders to have the siege again renewed. But they came too late to be put in execution. For *Eumenes*, immediately on the raising of the siege, quitted the fortress, and with the five hundred men that bore the siege with him marched into *Capadocia*, and there got together of his old soldiers about two thousand more, and made all other preparations for the war, which he knew would be again renewed against him.

IN the interim ' the defection of *Antigonus* from the interest of the Kings, and setting up for himself, being notorious, a commission was sent to *Eumenes*, in the name of the Kings, from *Polyperchon* their guardian, constituting him captain-general of all the *lesser Asia*, with orders to *Teutamus* and *Antigenes*, commanders of the *Argyraspides*, to join with him, and under his command to make war against *Antigonus*. And those who

† Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos in *Eumene*. Diodor. *ibid*.
Cornelius Nepos, *ibidem*.

* Diodor. Plutarchus &

had the keeping of the Kings treasures were commanded every where to supply him with money for this war; and letters were sent every where from *Olympias* to the same purpose. Hereon *Eumenes* set himself with vigour to augment his forces with new recruits, and make all other preparations, which might enable him successfully to execute all the orders he had received. But before he could get together an army sufficient for it, *Alexander*, one of *Antigonus's* captains, coming upon him into *Cappadocia* with a great army, he was forced to march thence in haste, with only three thousand men that he had then about him. But having by long marches gotten over mount *Taurus* into the countrey of *Cilicia*, he was there met by the *Argyraspides*, who, according to the orders received from the Kings, joined with him, they being in number about three thousand men. These were the remainders of the old soldiers of *Alexander*, by whom he had won all his victories; and he having given them, when they marched with him into *India*, shields plated over with silver, as a mark of special honour to them, from hence they were called the *Argyraspides*, i. e. the *silver-shielded*, (for so that name signified in the *Greek* language.) And they were eminent above all of their time, for valour and skill in war. But the year being then spent, *Eumenes* could do no more at that time, than enter into winter-quarters with them in that countrey.

An 315.
Philip 6.

WHILE he lay there ^a he sent his emissaries into all parts to raise him more forces; who being plentifully supplied with money, executed their commissions so successfully, that in the ensuing spring he took the field with an army of twenty thousand men horse and foot, which did put all his enemies into no small fear of him. And therefore *Ptolemy*, for the crushing of him, came with a fleet upon the coasts of *Cilicia*, and made all manner of attempts to draw off the *Argyraspides* from him; and *Antigonus* endeavoured the same by several emissaries sent into *Eumenes's* camp for this purpose; but both miscarried herein. For *Eumenes* carried himself with that benignity and affability to all that were with him, and conducted all his affairs with so much prudence, that he engaged the hearts of all his soldiers to him with so strong a link of affection and confidence, that not a man of all his army could be induced to desert him.

AND therefore having his army thus firmly fixed to him, ^c he marched with them into *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, to dispossess *Ptolemy* of these provinces, which against all right he had violently seized to himself. His intention hereby was to open a secure correspondence between him and *Polysperchon* by sea. For could he have gotten the naval strength of the *Phœnicians* into his power, this, in conjunction with the fleet of *Polysperchon*, would have made them absolute masters of the seas, and they might then have sent and received succours to and from each other, according as their affairs should require; and had this design succeeded, they must have carried all before them. But the fleet of *Polysperchon* being, through the folly of *Clitus* who commanded it, all broken and destroyed by *Antigonus*, this baffled the whole project. For *Antigonus*, immediately on the gaining of this victory, put himself upon the march with a great army to find out *Eumenes* and fall upon him; of which *Eumenes* having received intel-

^a Justin lib. 12. cap. 7. Q. Curtius, lib. 8. cap. 5.
& Cornelius Nepos in Eumene.

^c Diodor. Sic. ibid.

^b Diodor. Sic. lib. 18. Plutarchus

ligence, and finding himself not strong enough to encounter so great a force as *Antigonus* was bringing against him, he durst not stay his coming, but forthwith withdrew out of *Phœnicia*, and marching thorough *Cœle-Syria*, passed the *Euphrates*, and wintered at *Carrhæ* in *Mesopotamia*. This was ^d the ancient *Charan*, or *Haran* of the holy scriptures, where *Abraham* dwelt before he came into the land of *Canaan*, and where after that *Nahor*, the brother of *Abraham*, and his posterity after him, had their habitation for several generations. And it was, in the histories of after-ages, rendred famous for the ^e great battel there fought between the *Romans* and the *Parthians*, wherein the former received that signal overthrow, in which *Crassus*, and most of their army under his command, were cut in pieces. The *Turks* now call it ^f *Harran* by the old name, and it was in late ages famous for ^f being the prime seat of the *Sabians*, a noted sect in the east, of which I have above spoken. Hence those of this sect were called *Harranites*, as well as *Sabians*, in those parts.

EUMENES, while he lay at *Carrhæ*, ^g sent to *Pithon* governor of *Media*, and *Seleucus* governor of *Babylon*, to join with him for the aiding of the Kings against *Antigonus*, and caused the orders of the Kings for this purpose to be communicated to them. Their answer hereto was, that they should be very ready to give all aid to the Kings, but would have nothing to do with him, who had been declared a publick enemy by the *Macedonians*. But the truth of the matter was, they feared the great genius of *Eumenes*. For the intention of most of *Alexander's* commanders, who after his death had divided the governments and provinces of his empire among them, was to set up for themselves, and make themselves sovereigns each in the countrey which he had seized: And it was with a view to this, that on the death of *Alexander*, they did set up an idiot and an infant to have the names of sovereigns after him; that under so weak a government they might the better ripen their designs for the usurpations they intended; and all these measures they thought would be broken if *Eumenes* got the ascendant; and therefore all of them, that were for these measures, were against him. But whether his purpose was to advance himself to the sovereignty, or preserve it to the family of *Alexander*, is uncertain. His professions always were for the family of *Alexander*, and whatever his secret intentions might be, none of his actions made any discovery to the contrary. But thus much is certain, that as he was the wisest and the valiantest of all *Alexander's* captains, so was he the most steady and faithful to all his obligations, having never falsified his faith in any one particular wherein he had engaged it; tho' he himself perished for want of it in others, as will be hereafter related.

FROM *Carrhæ* ^h *Eumenes* marched in the beginning of the spring towards *Babylon*; in which march he had like to have lost all his army by a stratagem of *Seleucus* upon him. For he having encamped on a plain near the *Euphrates*, *Seleucus* by cutting the banks of the river overflowed the place where he lay. But *Eumenes* having immediately drawn off his army to an adjoining eminence, thereby saved them from the present danger, and the next day after having found out a way again to drain

An. 317.
Philip 7.

^d Gen. xi. 31, 32. Ch. xii. 4. and Ch. xxix. 4. ^e Plutarchus in Crasso. Appian in Parthicus. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 747. ^f Vide Golii notas ad Alfraganum, p. 249, 250.
^g Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. ^h Ibid.

off the over-flowings, he marched off without receiving any great inconvenience from it; whereon *Seleucus* prayed truce with him, and permitted him safely to pass through his province to *Susa*, where he put his army into quarters of refreshment, and from thence sent messengers to all the governors of the upper provinces of *Asia* to call them to his assistance. He had before transmitted to them letters from the Kings, which commanded them to join him for the support of the royal interest, and now he sent to let them know where he was, and to press upon them the speedy execution of the royal command. And his messengers found them all together, they having lately joined in a war against *Pithon* governor of *Media*, which they had just then finished. For *Pithon* playing the same game in those provinces of the upper *Asia*, that *Antigonus* did in the lower, had put *Philotas* to death to seize his province, and intended to have proceeded in the same manner with the rest, till he should have usurped all to himself. Which being discerned, they all joined under the command of *Pucestes* governor of the province of *Persia*, in a common war against him; in which having vanquished him in battel, they drove him out of *Media*, and forced him to flee to *Babylon*, to crave of *Seleucus* the protection of his life. And they were still encamped together after this victory, when *Eumenes's* messengers came unto them; whereon they immediately marched to *Susa*, and there joined him with all their forces, which consisted of about five and twenty thousand men horse and foot. This reinforcement made him more than a match for *Antigonus*, who was then on his march after him; but the year being far advanced before he could reach the *Tigris*, he was forced to take up his winter quarters in *Mesopotamia*, where *Seleucus* and *Pithon*, who were then of his party, joining him, they there concerted together the operations of the next campaign.

In the interim a great change happened in *Macedonia*. For *Olympias* the mother of *Alexander*, having formerly fled out of *Macedonia* into *Epirus*, with *Alexander* her grandson, and *Roxana* his mother, for fear of *Antipater*, now after his death was again returned, and having gotten the power of the kingdom into her hands, put *Arideus* the nominal King (whom they called *Philip*) to death, with *Eurydice* his wife, after he had born the title of King six years and seven months. And with him she slew also *Nicanor* the brother of *Cassander*, and an hundred more of his principal friends and adherents; which cruelty was retaliated upon her the next year after. For then *Cassander* coming upon her with an army besieged her in *Pydna*, and having forced her to surrender, first shut her up in prison, and afterwards caused her to be there put to death. After the cutting off of *Arideus*, *Alexander* the son of *Roxana* alone bore the title of King, till at length he was also in like manner cut off by the treachery of those who usurped his father's empire. But almost all the time he bore this title alone, he bore it in a jail. For *Cassander* after he had taken *Pydna*, shut up him and his mother in the castle of *Amphypolis*, till at length he murdered them both to make way for himself to be King of *Macedon*, as will hereafter in its proper place be more fully related:

ANTIGONUS in the beginning of the spring^a marched to *Baby-*

An. 316.
Alex-
ander
Ægus 1.

^a Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Justin, lib. 14.
in Eumene.

^a Diodor. ibid. Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos

lon, where having joined the forces, which *Pitbon* and *Seleucus* had there got ready for him, he passed the *Tigris* to find out *Eumenes*; and on the other hand, *Eumenes* was not wanting to put himself in a posture to encounter him, being now superior to him in the number of his forces, and much more so in the wisdom and sagacity of his conduct; not that the other was defective herein. For next *Eumenes*, he was certainly the best general, and the wisest politician of his time. But the great disadvantage which *Eumenes* lay under was, he commanded a voluntier army, it being made up of the forces brought him by the several governors of provinces who had joined him; and every one of these would have the general command. And *Eumenes* not being a *Macedonian*, but a *Thracian* by birth, there was not one of them, but thought himself for this reason preferable before him. To master this difficulty, he pretended that *Alexander* had appeared to him in a dream, and shewed him a royal pavilion richly furnish'd with a throne in it, and told him, that if they would sit in council there, he himself would be present to prosper all their consultations and undertakings, upon which they should enter in his name; and having wrought the superstition which they had for *Alexander* into a belief of this, he caused such a pavilion and throne to be erected, as he pretended to have seen in his dream; and placing a crown and scepter in the throne, he prevailed with them there to meet in council, and consult together in common, under the presidency of *Alexander*, in the same manner as when he was alive, without owning any other superior, which quell'd all farther strife about this matter. For hereby a priority was yielded to none; and all pretences to it being still kept alive, were reserved to the opportunities, which the future events of their affairs might give to lay claim thereto. However the army had that confidence in the great abilities of *Eumenes*, that in time of battel, and in all cases of danger, he was always called to the supreme command, and the soldiers would not fight till they saw him in it. And by the wisdom of his management he brought it to pass in all other cases, that tho' in outward shew he seemed to wave all superiority, yet in reality he had it, and all things were ordered according to his directions. And the royal command to all the keepers of the publick treasuries, being to give out unto *Eumenes* all such sums, as he should think fitting to require, this command of the purse gave him the command of all things else. For hereby he was enabled constantly to pay his army, and also to give gratuities to the chief leaders among them, which had no small influence to engage them to him. And in this posture stood the affairs of both parties when this year's war begun, which was carried on with great vigour on both sides; and all *Media* and *Persia* became the field of it. For they ranged these countries all over with marches and counter-marches upon each other; and all manner of stratagems and tryals of military skill were put in practice on both sides. But *Eumenes* having a genius much superior in all such matters, he did thereby, notwithstanding the disadvantages he lay under from a mutinous and ungovernable army, make the campaign end in his favour. For he had worsted *Antigonus* in two encounters, in which he had slain and taken a great number of his men; and when winter approached, he secured the best quarters for himself in the province of *Gabiene*, and forced *Antigonus* to march northward, to seek for him in the countrey of *Media*, at the distance of twenty five days march from him.

BUT

An. 315.
Alexan-
der
Ægus 2.

BUT the licentiousness of *Eumenes's* soldiers being such,¹ that they would not be kept together, but for the sake of a more luxurious plenty scattered themselves all over the province, and quartered at so great a distance from each other, as would require several days for them again to embody; *Antigonus* on his having an account hereof, took a march towards him in the middle of winter, reckoning to be upon him before he should be able to get his army together, and thereby gain an easy and absolute victory over him. But *Eumenes*, who was never wanting in any precautions necessary for his security, had his spies and scouts so well placed, and so well furnished with dromedaries, the swiftest of beasts, to give him intelligence, that he had notice of this march of *Antigonus* some days before he could arrive, and thereby had time to defeat it by a stratagem which saved the army, when all the other commanders gave it for lost. For getting up upon those mountains which lay towards the enemy, with such forces as were nearest at hand, he there caused them the next night to kindle fires in such manner, as might represent the encampment of an army; which being seen by *Antigonus's* scouts at a great distance, and speedily notified to him, this made him believe that *Eumenes* was there with all his army ready to encounter him. And therefore not thinking it proper to engage his men, as then fatigued and tired out by a long march, with a fresh army, he stopp'd so long to refresh them, that *Eumenes* had gotten all his forces together before he could come up with him, and then he found he came too late to put his designs in execution. However, not long after this brought on a battle between them, wherein *Eumenes* got the victory, which would have proved decisive in his favour, but that he lost all the fruits of it, and himself too, by the treachery of his own men. For the battle being fought in a sandy field, the feet of the men and horses in the engagement raised such a dust, as involved all in a cloud, so that there was no seeing of any thing at the least distance; of which *Antigonus* taking the advantage, sent out a party of horse, that seized and carried off all the baggage of *Eumenes's* army before they could be perceived, whereby he gained the main point, tho' he lost the victory. For *Eumenes's* soldiers, when returned from the pursuit of the enemy, finding their camp taken, and all their baggage, with their wives and children carried off, instead of using their swords against the enemy again to recover them, turned all their rage upon their general; and therefore having seized and bound him, sold him to *Antigonus* to redeem what they had lost, and then went all over to him, which absolutely determined the war for the interest of *Antigonus*. For immediately hereon he became master of all *Asia*, from the *Hellepont* to the river of *Indus*. *Eumenes* being thus fallen into his hands, he was for some time in a doubt how to dispose of him; he having been formerly his intimate friend, while they both served together under *Alexander*, the remembrance hereof did at first put the affection he had for him into a struggle with his interest for the saving of his life, and *Demetrius* his son became an earnest solicitor for him, being very desirous, out of the generosity of his temper, that so gallant a man should be kept alive. But at length reflecting on his immoveable fidelity to *Alexander's* family, how dangerous an antagonist he had in him on this account,

¹ Diodor. Sic. Plutarchus & Cornelius Nepos; *ibid.*

and how able he was to disturb all his affairs, should he again get loose from him, he durst not trust him with life; and therefore ordered him to be put to death in prison. And thus perished the wisest and the gallantest man of the age in which he lived. He had not indeed the fortune of *Alexander*, but in every thing else far exceeded him. For he was truly valiant without rashness, and wise without timidity, readily foreseeing all advantages that offered, and boldly executing all that were feasible; so that he never failed of any thing that he undertook, but when disappointed by the treachery of his own men. By this means he lost the battel which he fought with *Antigonus* in *Cappadocia*, and by this means only was it, that he was at last undone in *Gabiena*. After his death, *Antigonus*, with all his army, in the solemnest manner attended his funeral pile, and shewed him the greatest honour that could be done him after his death, and sent his bones and ashes, in a sumptuous urn of silver, to his wife and children into *Cappadocia*. But this could make no amends for the taking away of his life. However, it shewed that even in the opinion of the worst of his enemies, he was a person of that eminent merit, as deserved a much better fate.

ANTIGONUS^m now looking on the whole empire of *Asia* as his own, for the better securing of it to him made a reform through all the eastern provinces, putting out all such governors as he distrusted, and placing others, of whom he had greater confidence, in their stead; and such as he thought dangerous he cut off; of this number were *Pithon*, governor of *Media*, and *Antigenes*, general of the *Argyraspides*; and he had marked out *Seleucus*, governor of *Babylon*, for the same destruction, but he being aware of it fled into *Egypt*, and there, under the protection of *Ptolemy*, saved his life. And as to the *Argyraspides*, who were those that betrayed *Eumenes*, he sent them into *Arachosia*, the remotest province of the empire, giving it in charge to *Sibyrtius*, the governor of it, by all ways and means to cause them there to be all consumed and destroyed, so that not a man of them might again return into *Greece*. And this he did out of a just abhorrence of the treachery which they had been guilty of towards their general, though he himself had the fruit of it.

In the interim *Seleucus* being got safe into *Egypt*, he so effectually represented to *Ptolemy* the formidable power of *Antigonus*, as he also did to *Lyfimachus* and *Cassander*, by messengers sent to them for this purpose, and made them so sensible of the danger they were in from it, that he drew them all three into a league against him. *Antigonus* being aware that *Seleucus* on his flight might endeavour to engage those princes into measures prejudicial to his interest, sent to each of them ambassadors to renew his friendship with them. But finding by their answers, and the high demands which they made, that nothing but a war was to be expected from them, he hastned out of the east into *Cilicia*, and having there taken care for the recruiting and re-inforcing of his army, and ordered all things in the provinces of *lesser Asia*, as best suited with his interest, he marched thence into *Syria* and *Phœnicia*.

His intentions in entering into these provinces were to dispossess *Ptolemy* of them, and make himself master of their naval force. For find-

An. 314.
Alex-
ander
Ægus 3.

^m Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Plutarchus in Demetrio. Appianus in Syriacis.
Appianus, ibid. Justin, lib. 15.

^o Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

ⁿ Diodor. &

ing that a dangerous war was coming upon him from the confederated princes, and judging aright, that without making himself master of the seas, there was no managing of it with success against them, he found it necessary to have the *Phœnician* ports and shipping at his command; but he came too late for the latter of them, *Ptolemy* having carried away all the *Phœnician* shipping into *Egypt* before his arrival; neither did he easily make himself master of the ports: For *Tyre*, *Joppa* and *Gaza*, held out against him. The two latter he soon reduced, but *Tyre* endured a siege of fifteen months before it could be brought to yield to him. However, having all the other ports of *Syria* and *Phœnicia* in his power, he immediately set himself to the building of a fleet of ships in them, cutting down vast quantities of timber from mount *Libanus*, and causing them to be carried to the several ports where the ships were a building; in which work several thousands of hands were employed; and by this means he soon equipped such a number of ships, as did, with those sent him from *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, and other confederated places, make up a fleet, which soon gave him the mastery of the seas. That which chiefly edged him on with so much speed to provide himself with this fleet, was an affront offered him by *Seleucus*. For while he lay encamped near *Tyre* on the sea shore, *Seleucus* came thither with an hundred sail of *Ptolemy's* fleet, and *Antigonus* not having any shipping to encounter him, he passed by the coast where he was encamped in contempt of him, within the sight of all his army; which very much disheartning his men, and raising a mean opinion of his power in such of his allies as were then present with him, for the remedy hereof he called them all together, and did let them know that even that very summer he would be on those seas with a fleet of five hundred sail, which no power of the enemy should be able to withstand; and accordingly he made his word good before the end of the year.

An. 313.
Alex-
ander
Ægus 4.

BUT *Antigonus* finding, that while he was intent upon these affairs in *Phœnicia*, *Cassander* grew upon him in the *lesser Asia*,^r he marched thither with one part of the army, and left *Demetrius* his son (then a young man, not exceeding the twenty second year of his age) with the other part, to defend *Syria* and *Phœnicia* against *Ptolemy*. By this time *Tyre* was reduced to great extremities: For *Antigonus's* fleet being now set to sea, barred all provisions from being carried to them, which soon brought them to a necessity of surrendring. However, they obtained terms for the garrison of *Ptolemy* to march safely thence with all their effects, and for the inhabitants to retain theirs without any damage. For *Andronicus*, who then commanded at the siege for *Antigonus*, was glad on any terms to gain so important a place, especially after being tired out with so long a siege. For it lasted (as I have already said) fifteen months. It was but nineteen years before that *Alexander* had destroyed this city, in such a manner, as it might seem to require the length of ages for it again to recover it self, yet in so short a time it grew up again into a condition of enduring this siege for more than double the time of that of *Alexander's*. This shews the great advantage of trade. For this city being the grand mart, where most of the trade both of the east and the west did then centre, by virtue hereof it was, that it so soon revived to its pristine vigour.

^r Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Plutarchus in Demetrio. Appianus in Syriacis.

ANTIGONUS ^a on his coming into *lesser Asia* soon reduced the growing power of *Cassander*, and forced him to very mean terms of accommodation; but after he had made them, he repented of the agreement, and would not stand to it, but sent to *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* for assistance, and went on with the war, which detained *Antigonus* longer in those parts than he intended, and in the interim gave *Ptolemy* the opportunity of gaining great advantages against him in the east.

FOR ^b having with his fleet sailed to *Cyprus*, he reduced most of that island to him, and from thence made a descent first upon the *upper Syria*, ^{an. 312, Alex- ander Ægus 5:} and next upon *Cilicia*, where having taken great spoils, and many captives, he returned with them into *Egypt*. And there having, by the advice of *Seleucus*, formed a design for the recovery of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*, he marched thither with a great army. On his coming to *Gaza*, he there found *Demetrius* ready to obstruct his farther progress. This brought on a fierce battel between them; in which *Ptolemy* gained the victory, having slain five thousand of *Demetrius*'s men, and taken eight thousand captive; which forced *Demetrius* to retreat, first to *Azotus*, and from thence to *Tripoly*, a city of *Phœnicia*, as far back as the confines of the *upper Syria*, and quit all *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, and *Cœle-Syria*, to the victor. But before he left *Azotus*, having sent to desire leave to bury the dead, *Ptolemy* not only granted him this, but sent him also all his equipage, tents and furniture, with all his friends, family and servants, without any ransom; which kindness *Demetrius* had the opportunity of returning, when a while after he got the like advantage of *Ptolemy*. All the other captives he sent into *Egypt*, to be there employed in his service on board his fleet; and then marching forward, had all the sea coast of *Phœnicia* forthwith surrendered unto him, excepting only *Tyre*. For *Andronicus*, who had lately taken that city after the long siege I have mentioned, having then the government of it, held it out for some time. But at length the garrison soldiers falling into mutiny against him, delivered the place to *Ptolemy*, and him with it.

AFTER these successes, *Seleucus* having obtained of *Ptolemy* a thousand foot and three hundred horse, marched eastward with them to recover *Babylon*. With so small a force did he undertake so great an enterprise, and yet succeeded in it. On his coming to *Carrhæ* in *Mesopotamia*, partly by persuasion, and partly by force, he brought all the *Macedonians* that were there in garrison to join with him. And as soon as he drew near to *Babylon*, great numbers of the inhabitants of that province flocked to him. For remembering his mild government, and disliking the severity of *Antigonus*, they were glad of his return, and desirous to see him re-instated in his former command over them; and therefore on his approach to the city, he found the gates opened to him, and he was received into the place with the general acclamation of the people. Whereon those, who were of the party of *Antigonus*, retired into the castle; but *Seleucus* having now the possession of the city, and all the people on his side, soon made himself master of this fortress, and with it again received his children, friends and servants, whom, on his flight into *Egypt*, *Anti-*

^a Diodor. ibid. Plutarchus in Demetrio. Justin, lib. 15. cap. 1. Hecataeus Abderita apud Josephum contra Apionem, lib. 1.
^b Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Appianus in Syriacis.

gonus had there shut up in prison, and then applied himself to get together such an army, as might enable him to keep what he had gotten. For he had not long been in possession of this city, e'er *Nicanor* (who was governor of *Media* for *Antigonus*) put himself upon the march with an army to drive him thence. *Seleucus*, on his having received intelligence of it, passed the *Tigris* to meet him, and having gotten him at a disadvantage, stormed his camp in the night, and put his whole army to the rout; whereon *Nicanor*, with some few of his friends, fled through the desarts to *Antigonus*; and all his forces that survived the rout, part through dislike of *Antigonus*, and part through fear of the conqueror, joined with him. Whereby having gotten a great army under him, he seized *Media*, *Susiana*, and other neighbouring provinces and places, and thereby firmly fixed his interest and his power in those parts; which he daily improved by the clemency of his government, and the justice, equity and humanity, which he practised towards all that were under it; and by these means, from so low a beginning, as I have mentioned, he grew up at length to be the greatest of all *Alexander's* successors.

FROM this retaking of *Babylon* by *Seleucus*, began the famous æra of the *Seleucidæ*, made use of all over the east, by heathens, *Jews*, christians and mahometans. It is called by the *Jews* the æra of contracts, because, after they fell under the government of the *Syro-Macedonian* Kings, they were forced to use it in all their contracts, and other instruments of civil affairs; and it afterwards grew so much in use among them, that till a thousand years after Christ, they had no other way whereby to compute their time but this æra of contracts only. For it was not till then that they began to reckon by the years from the creation of the world. As long as they continued in the east, they continued in the eastern usage of computing by the æra of contracts, (as they called it) but when about the year of our Lord 1040, they were driven out of the east, and forced to remove into these western parts, and here settled in *Spain*, *France*, *England* and *Germany*, they learned from some of the christian chronologers of these countries to compute by the years from the creation. The first year of this æra, according to their reckoning, falls in the year of the *Julian* period 953, and takes its beginning from the autumnal equinox of that year. But the true year of the creation of the world, according to *Scaliger's* computation, was one hundred and eighty nine years, and according to others, two hundred and forty nine years higher up than where this æra of the *Jews* placeth it. However, the æra of contracts is not at this time out of use among those people: For they continue still to reckon by it, as well as by the other. The *Arabs* call it *Taric Dilcarnain*, i. e. *The æra of the two horned*. The reason of this name some deduce from *Alexander*, who is in the alcoran and other *Arabic* books frequently called, *The two horned*. And he is often found with two horns on his coins. This most likely proceeded from the fond vanity which he had of being thought the son of *Jupiter Hammon*. For that god of the heathens being usually represented with two rams horns on his head, *Alexander* might cause him-

* Vide Scaligerum, Petavium, Calvisium aliosq; Chronologos de hac Æra. v. Vide Vorstii Zemachi David, p. 61. & Dissertationem R. Azariæ apud eundem in observationibus ad Zemach David, p. 247, 248, &c. w. Vide Golii notas ad Alfraganum, p. 57, 58. & Alfraganum ipsum, cap. 1. §. De Æris, p. 6.

self to be so represented too, the better to make the fiction pass, that he was his son. But this æra hath no relation to *Alexander*, although it hath been by some ignorantly derived from him, and also called by his name, *The æra of Alexander*. For *Alexander* was dead twelve years before it began; and its commencement only was from the recovery of *Babylon* by *Seleucus*. And therefore it is most proper to deduce the origin of this *Arabic* name, *Taric Dilcarnain*, from *Seleucus*; and * *Appian* gives us in him a sufficient reason for it. For he tells us, that *Seleucus* being a person of that great strength, that laying hold of a bull by the horn he could stop him in his full career, the statuaries for this reason usually made his statues with two bulls horns on his head. And therefore it is most likely that he, and not *Alexander*, was first meant by *the two horned* in the *Arabic* name of this æra: For it was from him, and not from *Alexander*, that it had its origin. It is in the books of the *Maccabees* ¹ called, *The æra of the kingdom of the Greeks*, and they both of them compute by it. But whereas the first book of the *Maccabees* begins the years of this æra from the spring, the second begins them from the autumn following, and so did the *Syrians*, *Arabs* and *Jews*, and all others that anciently did, or now do use this æra, excepting the *Chaldeans*. For they not reckoning *Seleucus* to be thoroughly settled in the possession of *Babylon* till the spring in which *Demetrius* made that retreat from thence, which we shall speak of in the next year following, they began not this æra till from the spring, and for the same reason reckoned the beginning of all the years of it from that season also. So that whereas all other nations, that computed by this æra, began it from the autumn of the year before *Christ* 312, it had not its commencement among the *Chaldeans* till from the spring of the year next after following.

IN the interim, ² *Ptolemy* having again made himself master of all *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, and *Cœle-Syria*, sent *Cilles*, one of his generals, to take possession of the *upper Syria* also, and drive *Demetrius* thence, who was then retreated thither. But *Cilles*, out of contempt of the baffled enemy he had to deal with, making his encampments negligently and loosely, *Demetrius*, on his having an account hereof from his spies, by a long and speedy march came upon him before he was aware, and surprizing him in the night, got an absolute victory over him, taking his camp, and making him and seven thousand of his men prisoners of war; which equalling the defeat he had before received at *Gaza*, again ballanced the matter between him and *Ptolemy*; and also put it in the power of *Demetrius* (for the sake of which he most valued this victory) to make a return to *Ptolemy* of the kindness he had before received from him. For after this victory, he sent back unto him *Cilles*, and all his friends, without ransom, in the same manner as *Ptolemy* had before sent back to him all his friends after the victory which he had gotten over him at *Gaza*.

ANTIGONUS ³ receiving an account at *Celenæ* in *Phrygia* (where he then resided) of this victory of his son's over *Cilles*, hastned thence into *Syria*, to prosecute there the advantages of it; and having passed mount *Taurus*, joined his son in the *upper Syria*; whereon *Ptolemy* finding him-

* In Syriacis editionis Tollianæ Amstelodami, p. 201.

¹ 1 Maccab. i. 10.

² Diodor. lib. 19. Plutarchus in Demetrio.

³ Diodor. & Plutarchus, ibid.

self not strong enough to encounter the joint forces of the father and son together, dismantled *Ace*, *Joppa*, *Samaria*, and *Gaza*, and retreated again into *Egypt*, carrying with him most of the riches, and a great number of the inhabitants of the countrey. Whereon all *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, and *Cœle-Syria*, returned again under the power of *Antigonus*.

THE^b inhabitants of those countries, whom *Ptolemy* carried with him into *Egypt*, on his retreat, followed him thither rather voluntarily, and out of free choice, than by compulsion. For he being a person of a very benign temper, and having always shewn great clemency and humanity to all under his government, this so far captivated the hearts of those people to him, that they rather chose to follow him into a strange countrey, than tarry the coming of *Antigonus* in their own, (from whom they expected a contrary treatment) and that especially since they had terms of great advantage offered them by *Ptolemy*, to invite them to this removal. For his mind being then much set upon the making of *Alexandria* to be the capital of *Egypt*, was glad of all that he could get to come thither to inhabit the place, and offered great privileges and immunities to draw them thither. And here *Ptolemy* planted all those that followed him in this retreat, among whom were a great number of the *Jews*.^c *Alexander* had planted several of that nation there before; and *Ptolemy*, after his first irruption into *Judea*, had brought from thence many more of them thither, where they enjoy'd the benefit of a plentiful countrey, a secure protection, and many other advantages. The report whereof coming into *Judea*, excited in many others there a desire to follow them, and accordingly many did so on this occasion. For *Alexander* had, on his first building this city, given them, for their encouragement to plant there, the same privileges and immunities with his *Macedonians*, and *Ptolemy* had continued the same to them. By which means the *Jewish* quarter in that city encreased to the number of several thousands of families; and^d many *Samaritans*, as well as *Jews*, upon the like encouragement, became inhabitants of this place, and there multiplied to a great number.

AMONG those that followed *Ptolemy* into *Egypt* on this occasion, one was^e *Hezekias*, a person of eminent note among that people, and one of their chief priests. *Hecatæus* the historian being then with *Ptolemy*, makes particular mention of him, as a person of great wisdom and prudence, a powerful speaker, and one that thoroughly understood the world, being then about sixty years old. And farther, he saith, that he having contracted an acquaintance with him, they had frequent conferences together; and that in them he learn'd from him what was the religion, policy, and manner of living of the *Jews*, wherein they differed from other nations; all which, he saith, this *Hezekias* had with him written in a book; which book, no doubt, was the book of the law of *Moses*. And, I doubt not, it was by this person that he was induced to have so favourable an opinion of the *Jews*, and their religion; and that it was from him that he received the information of most of that which he wrote of them. For^f he composed a particular history of the *Jews*, therein treating of them from *Abraham* down to his time; in which he speaks so honourably of

^b Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. & contra Apionem, lib. 1. & lib. 2.

Apionem, lib. 2.

^d Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1.

^c Joseph. contra Apionem, lib. 1.

^e Joseph. contra Apionem, lib. 1.

^f Euseb. præp. evang. lib. 9. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 1. cap. 8. & contra Apionem, lib. 1.

them, and their religion, that ^e *Origen* tells us, *Herennius Philo*,^h an heathen writer, who flourished about the time of *Trajan* the Roman emperor, did for this reason raise a doubt, whether it were the genuine work of *Hecataeus* or no; making this inference from hence concerning it, that either it was composed by some Jew under the name of *Hecataeus*, or else, if he were the true author of it, he was corrupted to the Jewish religion when he wrote it. If one of these two must be the truth (tho' I see no necessity for it) the latter is as possible as the other. This *Hecataeus* was of *Abdera*, a Grecian city in *Thrace*, which had been famous for the birth of *Democritus*, *Protagoras*, and other learned men. He was bred up with *Alexander*, and followed him in all his wars, and after his death put himself under the protection of *Ptolemy*, and lived with him in *Egypt*; where having from the conversation which he had with this learned Jew, and others of that nation, who followed *Ptolemy* thither, fully informed himself of their laws, customs, and religion, he wrote that history of them which I have mentioned. Out of which *Josephus* hath extracted several passages in his writings, especially in his first book against *Apion*; but the book it self is not now extant. There was another very noted historian of the same name, but he was a *Milesian*, and lived long before, in the time of *Darius Hystaspis*.

JOSEPHUS^k tells us of another Jew called *Mosollam*, who about this time followed *Ptolemy*, and had lifted himself an horseman in his army, and out of the same *Hecataeus* gives us a very remarkable story of him; the words of *Hecataeus* are as followeth: "As I was travelling towards the Red Sea, there was in company with us a certain Jew called *Mosollam*, one of a Jewish troop of horse, that was sent to be our convoy, a very valiant man, and remarkable for his great skill in archery, in which he excelled even all the Greeks and Barbarians of his time. As several of us were travelling on in this journey together, a certain soothsayer, who took upon him to foretel the fortune of our journey, bad us all stand still, and we did so. Whereon this Jew asked us what we stood for? Look ye, answered the cunning man, and shewed him a bird: If that bird stands, said he, ye are to stand, and if he riseth and flies on, you are to go forward too; but if the bird takes its flight the contrary way, you must all go back again. The Jew hereat, without a word speaking, lets fly an arrow and kills the bird; whereon the diviner, and some of the company, had great indignation, and fell on him in most outrageous terms. Why certainly, saith the Jew to them, are ye not all mad to make such a bustle about a foolish bird? How could that poor wretched creature pretend to foreshew us our fortune, that knew nothing of its own? If this bird could have foretold good or evil to come, it would have kept out of this place for fear of being slain by the arrow of *Mosollam* the Jew." Thus far *Hecataeus*, who it is plain tells this story of purpose to expose and condemn the superstition of the heathens, which then obtained concerning such matters, and to commend and extol the wisdom of the Jews, in rejecting and despising all those follies.

ANTIGONUS having thus recovered all *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judea*,

An. 311.
Alexander
Ægus 6.

^e Contra Celsum, lib. 1.

^h Vide Vossium de historicis Græcis, lib. 2. cap. 10.

ⁱ Vide Vossium de historicis Græcis, lib. 1. cap. 10.

^k Contra Apionem, lib. 1.

out of the hands of *Ptolemy*,¹ sent *Athenæus*, one of his lieutenants, with an army against the *Nabathæan Arabs*. They being a clan of thieves, had made inroads upon the countries now under his command, and carried off much plunder from them; and to be revenged of them for it, *Antigonus* sent these forces against them. The chief city of those *Arabs* was *Petra*, which standing on an high rock in the desarts, was from thence called by the *Greeks* *Petra*, by the *Hebrews*² *Sela*, and by the *Arabs* *Hagar*. For *Hagar* signifieth the same in *Arabic* that *Sela* doth in *Hebrew*, and *Petra* in *Greek*, that is, a rock. And hence it is that *St. Paul*³ calls mount *Sinai Hagar*. For that was all a rocky mountain, which beginning at the *Red-Sea*, runs a great way into *Arabia*, and on part of it the city of *Petra* was built. There⁴ being a certain mart at stated seasons held in the neighbourhood, the *Nabathæans* having left their wives, children, and aged, with their goods under a guard at *Petra*, were gone to this mart. *Athenæus* craftily laying hold of this opportunity, by long marches got to *Petra* in their absence, and having surprized the place slew the guards, and carried off all the plunder that he found in the place, and then marched back with as much speed as he came; and when he had gotten at such a distance, that he thought himself out of the reach of the enemy, he stopped to refresh his men with rest, now tired out with so long a march; but not taking sufficient care to secure his encampment, the enemy having gotten early notice of what he had done, made a speedy pursuit after him, and falling upon him in the night, while his men were all drowned in sleep and weariness, they cut off all of them, excepting only fifty horsemen that escaped, and recovered the whole booty. After this returning to *Petra*, they from thence wrote letters to *Antigonus* in the *Syriac* language, accusing *Athenæus* of the wrong he had done them. To which *Antigonus*, temporising with the present necessity, returned such an answer, as disowned the enterprize of *Athenæus*, and allowed the revenge as just which they had taken of him. But as soon as he had gotten more forces ready, he⁵ sent his son *Demetrius* with them to execute that vengeance upon those robbers, which the other failed of. Who having received his orders, marched with all the haste he could, hoping to be upon them before they should know of his coming. But his march being discovered, notice was given of it by fires all over the countrey, which immediately brought them all together to *Petra*, where they having left a strong garrison, and divided the booty between them, which had been there laid up, fled with it into the desarts, driving all their flocks and herds with them. So that *Demetrius*, on his coming thither, finding the place too well provided to be taken, made peace with those people upon the best terms he could, and returned; and after a march of three hundred furlongs, (which is about thirty six of our miles) he came to the lake *Asphaltites*, and there encamped. This was also called by some *the sea of Sodom*, by others *the dead sea*, and in scripture⁶ *the salt sea*. It was called *the sea of Sodom*, because there *Sodom* once stood; *the dead Sea*, because it is a stagnated water, without any motion, and in which no living creature is said to be

¹ Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.² Isaiah xvi. 1. 2 Kings xiv. 7.³ Vide Bochart;

geographiam sacram, part 1. lib. 4. cap. 27.

⁴ In the epistle to the Galatians, ch. iv. ver. 25.⁵ Diodor. ibid.⁶ Plutarchus in Demetrio. Diodor. ibid.⁷ Gen. xiv. 3.

Numb. xxxiv. 3, 12. Deut. iii. 17. Josh. iii. 16.

found; *the salt sea*, because of its exceeding saltness, and *Asphaltites*, from the *Greek* word *Asphaltus*, which signifieth *bitumen*; ' which it produceth in great quantities, and the best that can any where be found. And this last is the name by which the *Greeks* and *Latins* called it. At present the adjacent inhabitants ' call it the lake of *Lot*. It ' extends from north to south, about seventy of our miles in length, and is about eighteen miles over in the broadest place. On the east side of it anciently lay the land of *Moab*; and on the west side, that part of the land of *Canaan* which was the portion of the tribe of *Judah*; and towards the south, it abbutted upon the land of *Edom*. The rivers *Jordan* and *Arnon* run into it at the north end, and are there lost. For nothing runs out of it again; but like the *Caspian sea*, it receives brooks and rivers into it, and emits none out; wherein it is of a contrary nature to the sea, or lake of *Tiberias*, (called " *the sea of Galilee*, and ' *the lake of Genezaret* in the gospels) on which our Saviour was so conversant. For that as it receiveth the river *Jordan* at one end, so emits it again at the other. But when it falls from thence into the lake *Asphaltites*, it is there absorbed and no more heard of. *Demetrius*, on his encamping on this lake, " observing the nature of it, and that a good revenue might be made of the *bitumen* which it yielded, gave *Antigonus* an account of it on his return. *Antigonus*, tho' no way pleased with the peace which he had made with the *Nabathæans*, whom he sent him to destroy, yet applauded him for the discovery he had made, of a way for the augmenting of his revenue by the *bitumen* of this lake; and immediately sent thither *Jerom* the *Cardian* to take care of it. But when he had, according to his instructions, gotten ready several boats fit for the purpose, and was gathering into them all the *bitumen* of the lake, to carry it all to one place, there to be disposed of for the benefit of *Antigonus*, the *Arabs* to the number of six thousand men fell upon him, and having destroyed his boats, and slain most of his men employed in them for this work, drove him thence, and thereby put an end to this project. This " *Jerom* being a fellow-citizen of *Eumenes*, followed his party to the time of his death; but being then taken prisoner by *Antigonus*, he after that entered into his service, and was appointed by him to this employment. Many years after this he was ' governor of *Syria*, for *Antiochus Soter* the son of *Seleucus*. For he lived to a great age, " being an hundred and four years old at the time of his death; and his eminent skill in all affairs, both of the camp and cabinet, recommended him to the favour and first respects of the princes under whom he served. He wrote the history of *Alexander* and his successors, and their posterity, down to the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and beyond it; but tho' he had lived long in *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, first under *Antigonus*, and afterwards under *Seleucus*, and *Antiochus* his son, and therefore was well acquainted with the state and affairs of the *Jews*, and had many occasions in his history to make mention of them, yet he passed them over in a total silence, not speaking as much

† Plin. lib. 5. cap. 16.

• Baudrandi geographia sub voce *Asphaltites*.

• See Maundrel's journey to Jerusalem, p. 83, 84. Thevenot's travels, part 1. book 2. chap. 41.

" Matth. iv. 18. Ch. xv. 29. Mark i. 16. John vi. 1.

• Luke v. 1.

• Diodor. Sic. lib. 19.

* Vide Vossium de historicis Græcis, lib. 1. cap. 11.

• Joseph. contra Apionem, lib. 1. Where observe the translators here put *Antigonus* instead of *Antiochus*, by a wrong variation from the Greek text.

• Lucianus de Longævis.

as one word of them. For which he is * faulted by *Josephus*, as if this his neglect of them proceeded from his malice and envy towards those people.

ANTIGONUS receiving an account from *Nicanor* of the successes of *Seleucus* in the east, † sent *Demetrius* his son with an army to *Babylon* to drive him thence, and recover that province out of his hands. In the interim, he himself marched towards the maritim parts of *lesser Asia*, to suppress the power of the three confederated princes, ‡ which was there growing against him, and appointed a time for his son to come thither to him, after he should have executed the commission on which he sent him to *Babylon*. *Demetrius*, according to his father's order, having gathered his forces together at *Damascus*, marched thence to *Babylon*; and *Seleucus* being then absent in *Media*, he entered that city without opposition. For *Patrocles*, whom *Seleucus* had left his lieutenant in that place, finding himself not strong enough to encounter *Demetrius*, had retreated with those forces he had with him into the fens; where being surrounded with rivers, ditches and morasses, he there protected himself by the inaccessableness of the place, and ordered all the rest to flee out of the city; whereof some passing the *Tigris*, and others retreating into the desarts, and others in other places of safety, thereby saved themselves till the enemy was again retreated. *Demetrius* finding the city deserted, laid siege to the castles. For there were two of them in that city well garrison'd, and of large extent. These were the two palaces which I have above described; of which one stood on the one side of the *Euphrates*, and the other on the other side, just over-against it. One of these he took, and having expelled the garrison of *Seleucus*, placed one of his own in it of seven thousand men. The other held out to the time limited to him by his father for his return. And therefore leaving *Archelaus*, one of his principal commanders, with a thousand horse and five thousand foot to continue the siege, he marched back with the rest of his army into *lesser Asia*, to the assistance of his father, having first plundered the whole province of *Babylon* of all he could lay his hands on in it; by which he absolutely alienated the hearts of all the people from *Antigonus*, and firmly united them to *Seleucus* and his interest ever after. For even those, who had till then been for *Antigonus*, concluding, that his forces would never have used them so, had there been any intentions for their returning to them again, took this act of depredation to be a declaration of their resolutions to desert them for the future; and therefore they made their peace with *Seleucus*, and all went without any farther reserve entirely over to his interest. So that on his returning to *Babylon* after the retreat of *Demetrius*, he soon expelled the forces he had there left, recovered the castle which he had garrison'd, and thenceforth settled his interest in those parts upon so firm a foundation, that it could be never after any more shaken. And therefore from this year the *Babylonians* began the *Epocha* of his kingdom, tho' all the other nations of *Asia* placed its commencement in the year before, as I have already observed.

DEMETRIUS † on his return into *lesser Asia*, having raised the

* Libro primo contra Apionem.

† Diodor. & Plutarchus, ibid.

‡ Diodor. lib. 19. Plutarchus in Demetrio.

siege of *Halicarnassus*, which was besieged by *Ptolemy*, this brought on a treaty of peace between the confederated princes and *Antigonus*; in which it was agreed, that *Cassander* should have the command of all in *Macedonia*, till *Alexander* the son of *Roxana* should be grown up; that *Lysimachus* should have *Thrace*; *Ptolemy* *Egypt*, and the adjacent parts of *Libya* and *Arabia*; and *Antigonus* all *Asia*; and that all the *Grecian* cities should enjoy their liberties. But this agreement did not last long. For many infractions of it being pretended on both sides, as soon almost as it was made, this brought them all again into the war. But the true reason was the great power of *Antigonus*, and the daily growing of it was a continual terror to the other three, and therefore they could not sit quiet till they had suppressed it.

ALEXANDER the son of *Roxana* being grown up to the fourteenth year of his age, *Cassander* thought it not consistent with his ambitious designs to let him live any longer. For he being resolved to seize the kingdom of *Macedon* for himself, it was necessary for him first to make away with the true heir; and therefore sent to the castle of *Amphipolis*, where he had for several years shut up him and his mother, and caused them both to be there privately murdered. However *Ptolemy* in his canon continues to reckon the years of his reign in the same manner as if he were alive, till at length those who had divided the empire of *Alexander* among them, after having long usurped the regal authority, took also the regal style, and declared themselves Kings, each in the particular countries which they had taken possession of.

An. 310.
Alex-
ander
Ægus 7.

POLYSPERCHON, who governed in *Peloponnesus*, hearing of the death of *Roxana* and her son, laid hold of this occasion to make loud exclamations against *Cassander* for the fact, accusing him every where for the villany of it, that he might thereby excite the odium of the *Macedonians* against him. All this he pretended to do out of his zeal and affection for the house of *Alexander*; and to make the greater shew hereof, he sent for *Hercules* the other son of *Alexander*, which he had by *Barsine* the widow of *Memnon*, and having gotten him and his mother to him from *Pergamus*, where hitherto he had been brought up, he proposed to the *Macedonians* the instating of him in his father's kingdom; which very much terrifying *Cassander*, soon brought him to an agreement with him on his own terms, and when he had gained those terms, having obtained all that he proposed, for the better securing of himself in the possession of them, he was easily induced by *Cassander* to cut off this son of *Alexander's* also. And therefore the next year following, he caused him and his mother to be put to death in the same villanous manner, as *Cassander* had the other son and his mother before. And thus each acted his part in destroying the heirs, that after their death they might with the better safety share the inheritance between them.

PTOLEMY having renewed the war against *Antigonus* for the reason I have mentioned, took by his lieutenants several cities from him in *Cilicia* and elsewhere. But *Demetrius* soon dispossessed him again of all in *Cilicia*; and other of *Antigonus's* lieutenants had the same success against him in other places. Only in *Cyprus*, *Ptolemy* having, by the cutting off

^d Diodor. lib. 19. Pausanias in Bœoticis.

^e Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Pausanias in Bœoticis.

^f Diodor. ibid.

of *Nicocles* King of *Paphos*, extinguished all the interest that *Antigonus* had in that island, thereby secured it wholly to himself.

THIS year ^e *Epicurus* being thirty two years old, first began to poison the world with his impious philosophy. He first taught it at *Mitylene* in the isle of *Lesbus*, and afterwards at *Lampsacus* on the *Hellepont*, and after that at *Athens*, of which city he originally was. He returned thither in the thirty seventh year of his age, and there kept his school in a garden, till the sixty third year of his age, in which he died. According to him all things were first made, and have ever since subsisted by chance. For he denied that the world was created by the power of God, or is at all governed by his providence. He held also that there is no future state, but that this world is every man's all, and that the highest felicity attainable here is the highest good that man is capable of, and this he placed in indolence of body, and tranquility of mind; but held that virtue and morality were the only true means of attaining thereto. And therefore, tho' our modern infidels build their impious doctrines upon *Epicurus's* philosophy, yet they cannot their immoral and wicked lives. For if virtue alone be the only true way, whereby to attain that indolence of body, and tranquility of mind, in which, according to this scheme, the highest felicity of man doth consist, it must certainly be every man's highest wisdom to practise it. Out of this impious school have sprung the *Sadduces* of the *Jews*, the *Zendichees* of the *Arabs*, and the *Deists* of the present age. The first of those, it is to be acknowledged, went no farther than to the denial of angels, spirits, and a future state. For they acknowledged the world to be created by the power of God, and to be governed by his providence; and therefore they received the law of *Moses*, but with the expectation of none other, than of temporal blessings for the reward of keeping it; but the other two go thorough stich with the whole of this impious scheme, excepting only that part of it which recommends a virtuous life.

An. 309.
Alex-
ander
Ægus 8.

PTOLEMY, to make himself amends for his losses in *Cilicia*, ^h invaded *Pamphylia* and *Lycia*, and other maritim parts of *Asia*, and divested *Antigonus* of *Phaselis*, *Caunus*, *Mindus*, and several other cities, which he before held on those coasts.

An. 308.
Alex-
ander
Ægus 9.

AND then ⁱ sailing into the *Ægean* sea, now called the *Archipelago*, he took in the island of *Andrus*, and from thence passing to the continent, there possessed himself of *Sicyon*, *Corinth*, and several other places. While he was in those parts, he entertained a correspondence with *Cleopatra*, the sister of *Alexander*. She was the same that was married to *Alexander* King of *Epirus*, at the time when her father *Philip* was slain, and had ever since the death of her husband (who fell in his wars in *Italy*) lived a widow, and for several years past had her residence at *Sardis* in *Lydia*; but being there ill used by *Antigonus*, under whose power that city was, *Ptolemy* took that opportunity to draw her over to his party, and invited her to him, hoping to make her presence with him turn to his advantage in his war with *Antigonus*. But when she had put herself upon the journey to go to him, *Antigonus's* lieutenant, who governed for him at *Sardis*, stopped her on the road; and having brought her back thither again, caused her a little after, by the order of *Antigonus*, private-

^e Laertius in vita Epicuri. See Stanley's *History of Philosophy*, Part. 13.

ⁱ Diodor. Sic. *ibid.*

^h Diodor. lib. 20.

ly to be put to death. Whereon *Antigonus* coming himself to *Sardis*, condemned to death those women of her retinue, by whose hands the murder was committed, and then celebrated the funeral of the dead lady in a very solemn and sumptuous manner, thinking thereby to avoid the odium and infamy of the fact; whereas such hypocritical devices do most an end prove those facts, which they are contrived to disown, and rather encrease than prevent the detestation that is due to the authors of them. But this was not the only vile fact he committed. *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy* built their interest upon the clemency and justice of their government, whereby they established to themselves lasting empires, which continued in their families for many generations after. But *Antigonus* being a man of a quite contrary disposition, acted all by violence, sticking at nothing that he thought would promote his interest, how wicked and vile soever; and therefore according to his rule of proceeding, every thing, and every person, was to be removed, that stood in the way of his designs, without any regard had either to justice or humanity; and thus he proceeded to support himself by force only, till at length that failing, he lost both his empire and his life with it; and may such be the fate of all others that follow the same courses.

OPHELLAS, prince of *Libya* and *Cyrene*,^k being slain by *Agathocles* King of *Sicily*, *Ptolemy* again recovered these provinces. *Ophellas*^{Am. 307. Alex-ander Ægus 10.} was a soldier of *Alexander's*, and after his death followed the fortune of *Ptolemy*, and went with him into *Egypt*. From thence he was sent by him to reduce *Libya* and *Cyrene* to his obedience, these being provinces assigned to *Ptolemy*, as well as *Egypt* and *Arabia*, on the division of the empire; in which expedition having succeeded, and being thereon made governor for *Ptolemy* of these countries, he seized them for himself; and *Ptolemy's* other engagements, against *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, not giving him leisure to look that way, he continued undisturbed in the possession of them till this year. But *Agathocles* being now in *Africa* making war against the *Carthaginians*, and finding he wanted more strength to carry it on, invited *Ophellas* into an alliance with him, promising him no less than the empire of all *Africa* for the reward of the undertaking. This bait was readily swallowed by *Ophellas*; and therefore having gotten together an army of twenty thousand men, after a long march he joined *Agathocles* with them, in the territories of the *Carthaginians*. But the wicked tyrant, when strengthened by so great a reinforcement, having gained all that he intended, treacherously cut off *Ophellas*, and used his army only for his own interest. How this succeeded with him I shall not here relate. All that is to my purpose is, to shew how *Ptolemy* after this again recovered the provinces of *Libya*, and *Cyrene*. For *Ophellas* being thus slain, and this ill projected expedition having drained those countries of all their forces, they forthwith fell again under the power of *Ptolemy* without opposition, and he and his successors continued to hold them as provinces of the kingdom of *Egypt* for several ages after. And under the protection of those princes, the colony of the *Jews*, which had been there planted by this first *Ptolemy*, (as hath been above-mentioned) encreased, and grew to a great number. For^l in the time of *Vespasian*, no fewer

^k Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Justin, lib. 22. cap. 7. cap. 31.

^l Josephus de bello Judaico, lib. 7.

than three thousand of them were put to death in that countrey for one mutiny; and yet within a few years after, * under the reign of *Trajan*, they massacred the whole province, and slew of the other inhabitants of it above two hundred thousand persons; which could not have been done, had not they been a great number that effected it. This *Ophellus* * had for his wife *Eurydice*, a fair *Athenian* lady, of the descendants of *Miltiades*. On the death of her husband she returned to *Athens*, where *Demetrius* meeting her the next year after fell in love with her, and took her to wife.

An. 306.
Alex-
ander
Ægus 11.

For *Demetrius* * came thither in the beginning of that year, to restore, as he pretended, the liberties of that and the other cities of *Greece*; but in reality to expel thence the garrison of *Cassander*, and depress his power in those parts; which having fully effected, by driving *Demetrius Phalereus* out of that city, he returned again to his father.

THIS *Demetrius Phalereus* * had governed *Athens* under *Cassander* ten years. And never were the *Athenians* under a * more just government, or enjoyed greater peace and happiness, than while he presided over them; and in acknowledgment hereof, they erected for him * as many statues in that city, as there were days in the year, and than this a greater honour was never done to any citizen of that place; and of all this, and much more, was he well deserving. For he was not only a learned philosopher, but also a person of great wisdom, justice and probity, and these virtues he exercised in a very eminent degree, through all the acts of his government. On his now being dispossessed of it, he retired to *Cassander*, and after his death went into *Egypt* to *Ptolemy*, and is said there * to have had the chief management of *Ptolemy's* library, and to have procured for it that translation of the *Hebrew* scriptures into *Greek*, which we now call the *septuagint*; of which we shall treat hereafter in its proper place, where we shall have occasion to speak more of him.

DEMETRIUS, on his return from *Athens*, * was sent by his father, with a great fleet and army, to dispossess *Ptolemy* of the island of *Cyprus*; and therefore sailing thither, he made a descent upon it at *Carpasia*; and having taken that city and *Urania*, he marched to *Salamine*, the capital of the whole island. *Menelaus* the brother of *Ptolemy*, who was then chief commander for him in *Cyprus*, being at that time with most of his forces in *Salamine*, went forth on his approach to that place, and gave him battle; but being overborn by the number and valour of the enemy, he was forced to retreat into the city, with the loss of a thousand of his men slain, and three thousand taken prisoners, and there prepare for the bearing of a siege. From whence *Ptolemy* having an account sent him of his misfortune, got ready a great fleet with all the expedition he was able, and sailed thither for his succour. This brought on a great fight at sea between the contending princes, in which *Demetrius* having obtained the victory, *Ptolemy* was forced to take his flight back into

* Xiphilina in *Trajano*.
Plutarchus in *Demetrio*.

* Plutarchus in *Demetrio*.

* Diodor. Sic. lib. 20.

* Laertius in vita *Demetrii Phalerei*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 18.

* Cicero de *Legibus*, lib. 2. & in *Oratione pro Rabirio*. *Ælian*. Hist. Var. lib. 3. cap. 17.

* Laertius, *ibid*. Plinius, lib. 34. cap. 5. Strabo, lib. 9. Cornelius Nepos in *Miltiade*. Plutarchus in libro de *Reipublicæ gerendæ Præceptis*.
cap. 2. * Plutarchus in *Demetrio*. Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Justin, lib. 15. cap. 2.

* Aristas. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12.

Egypt with eight ships only, leaving all behind him in the power of the conqueror; whereon the whole island of *Cyprus*, with all the forces, shipping and magazines, that *Ptolemy* had therein, fell into his hands. The prisoners at land amounted to about seventeen thousand men, besides the mariners taken on board the fleet. *Menelaus* the brother, and *Leontiscus* the son of *Ptolemy*, being among the captives, *Demetrius* sent them both home, with their friends and dependants, without ransom, in remembrance of the like kindness shewn him by *Ptolemy* after the battle of *Gaza*. All the rest he incorporated into his own forces; so that hereby he very much encreased his military strength, both by sea and land, as well as enlarged his father's dominions, by adding this large and rich island to them.

ANTIGONUS, on the news of this victory, being very much elated by it, thenceforth assumed the title of King, and wore a crown; and sent another crown to *Demetrius*, and gave the title of King to him also; and from this time they both used it in all their epistles, orders, decrees, and other writings; which the *Egyptians* hearing of, that *Ptolemy*, to whom they bore great affection, might not seem lessened by his misfortunes, they gave him also the same title. This example being followed by *Lysimachus*, *Cassander*, and *Seleucus*, they also about the same time assumed the title of Kings, each in their respective territories; in which they had all along before usurped the regal authority.

By this time *Seleucus* was grown very great in the *East*. For having slain *Nicanor* in battel, who was sent against him by *Antigonus*, he not only secured to himself hereby *Media*, *Assyria*, and *Babylon*, but carrying his arms farther, reduced under him *Persia*, *Bactria*, *Hyrkania*, and all the other provinces on this side the *Indus*, which *Alexander* had before made himself master of.

ANTIGONUS, to pursue the blow which *Demetrius* had given *Ptolemy* in *Cyprus*, drew together into *Syria* an army of near an hundred thousand men for the invading of *Egypt*, hoping there to get as easy a victory over him, as he had at *Cyprus*, and so dispossess him of that countrey also. While he marched thither with his bulky army, *Demetrius* his son coasted him with as great a fleet at sea, till they came both to *Gaza*, where having concerted matters between them, *Demetrius* failed to make a descent upon the countrey at one of the mouths of the *Nile*, while *Antigonus* invaded it by land. It was not without great difficulties that *Antigonus* passed the desarts, that lay between *Palestine* and *Egypt*, and when he was arrived in *Egypt* he found much greater. And *Demetrius* met with no less at sea. For storms had much shattered his fleet, and *Ptolemy* had so well guarded all the mouths of the *Nile*, that he could find no access to put on shore at any of them; neither could *Antigonus* make any better progress with his army at land. For *Ptolemy* had so carefully provided against him in all places, and so strongly guarded all passes and avenues, that he could make no impression upon him any where; and (what afflicted him most) great numbers of his men daily deserted from him to the enemy. For *Ptolemy* having sent boats to several places on the river,

* Plutarchus in Demetrio. Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Justin, lib. 15. cap. 2. 1 Maccab. i. 9.

v Appian in Syriacis. Diodor. Sic. lib. 19, & 20. Justin, lib. 15. cap. 4.

Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarchus in Demetrio.

where *Antigonus's* soldiers came for watering, caused it to be there proclaimed from those boats, within their hearing, that whoever should come over to him from *Antigonus's* army, if he were a common soldier he should have * two mina's, and if a commander † a talent; whereon great numbers of them, as well commanders as private soldiers, especially of the mercenaries, went over to him, and that not only for the sake of the reward, but especially out of the greater liking they had to *Ptolemy*. For *Antigonus* being a crabbed ‡ old man, and very haughty, morose, and severe, *Ptolemy*, by reason of the benignity of his temper, and his human and courteous carriage to all he had to do with, had the affections of all men much beyond him. *Antigonus* therefore, after he had in vain hovered over the out-skirts of *Egypt*, till all his provisions were spent, finding he could gain no advantage on *Ptolemy*, but that his army daily diminished by sickness and desertions, and he could no longer subsist the remainder in that country, was forced to return back into *Syria* with baffle and disgrace, having lost great numbers of his men at land, and many also of his ships at sea, in this unsuccessful expedition. Hereon *Ptolemy* wrote to *Lysimachus*, *Cassander*, and *Seleucus*, of his success, and having renewed his league with them against this their common enemy, he became thenceforth firmly settled in his kingdom, and was never after any more disturbed in it. And therefore *Ptolemy* the astronomer here placeth the beginning of his reign, and from hence reckoneth the years of it in his chronological canon. Therein, till now, he continued to compute by the years of *Alexander Ægus*, tho' he had been slain five years before. But this fortunate turn in favour of *Ptolemy*, and the firm settlement which he obtained hereby in the throne, gave him a new *epocha* after that to go by, which took its beginning from the seventh day of *November*, nineteen years after the death of *Alexander*.

An. 304.
Ptolemy
Soter I.

THE * *Rhodians* subsisting chiefly by their trade with *Egypt*, for this reason adhered to the interest of *Ptolemy*; and when sent to by *Antigonus* for the assistance of some of their shipping in the *Cyprian* war, they refused to aid him with any for that undertaking. *Antigonus* therefore, as soon as the *Egyptian* expedition was over, sent *Demetrius* with a fleet and army to reduce that island to his obedience. But after a year's time spent in the siege of *Rhodes*, the chief city in it, not being able to take the place, he was content to make a peace with them upon terms, that they should associate with *Antigonus* in all his wars, except only against *Ptolemy*. For it being chiefly by the assistance of *Ptolemy* that they were enabled to sustain so long a siege, and were at length so happily delivered from it, they would make no peace which should oblige them to act any thing against him; and when the enemy was gone, in acknowledgment of the aid which he had given them in this dangerous war, having, for the greater solemnity, first consulted the oracle of *Jupiter Hammon* about it, they consecrated unto him a grove; and, for his greater honour, made it a very sumptuous work. For it being a furlong square, they surrounded it with a most stately *portico* on every side, and from his name called it *the Ptolemaeum*; and there, according to the impious flattery of those times, they

* i. e. About six pound five shillings of our money.
Plutarchus in *Demetrio*,

† He was now about eighty years old.

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Diodor. Sic. lib. 20.

paid divine honours unto him; and in commemoration of their being thus saved by him in this war, ^b they gave him the additional name of *Soter*, that is, the saviour; by which he is commonly called by historians, to distinguish him from the other *Ptolemies* that after reigned in that countrey.

SELEUCUS having secured himself in the possession of all the countries, from the *Euphrates* to the river *Indus*, ^c made war upon *Sandrocottus*, for the making of himself master of *India* also. This *Sandrocottus* ^d was an *Indian* by birth, and of a very mean original; but giving out that he would deliver his countrey from the tyranny of foreigners, under this pretence got together an army, and by degrees having encreased it to a great number, took the advantage, while *Alexander's* successors were engaged in war against each other, to expel the *Macedonians* out of all those *Indian* provinces which *Alexander* had conquered, and seized them to himself. To recover these provinces *Seleucus* marched over the *Indus*; but finding that *Sandrocottus* had by this time brought all *India* under his power, and from the several parts of it drawn into the field an army of six hundred thousand men, and had in it a vast number of elephants managed for the war, he thought not fit to run the hazard of engaging so great a power, and therefore coming to a treaty with him, he agreed, that on his receiving from *Sandrocottus* five hundred of his elephants, he should on that consideration quit to him all his pretensions in *India*; and on these terms peace was made between them. And *Seleucus* having thus settled this matter, marched back into the western parts to make war against *Antigonus*; the necessity whereof was one main cause that hastned this peace with *Sandrocottus*.

An. 303.
Ptolemy
Soter 2.

FOR ^e *Demetrius*, after he had ended his war with the *Rhodians*, sailed a second time with a great fleet and army into *Greece*, under the same pretence of freeing the *Grecian* cities, but in reality to weaken and suppress the power of *Ptolemy* and *Cassander* in those parts, and there dispossest *Ptolemy* of *Sicyon*, *Corinth*, and most of the other places which he held in *Greece*, and pressed so hard upon *Cassander*, that he was forced to sue to him for peace. But when he found that none could be had, but upon the terms of resigning himself absolutely to the will and pleasure of *Antigonus*, he and *Lysimachus* having had consultation hereupon, agreed both of them to send embassadors to *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy*, with a representation of the case; by which it being made appear, that the designs of *Antigonus* were to suppress all the other successors of *Alexander*, and usurp the whole empire to himself, it was thought time for them all to unite together against him, for the bringing down of his over-growing power. And therefore *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Cassander*, and *Lysimachus*, having confederated together for this purpose, this hastned *Seleucus* out of *India* back again into *Affyria*, there to provide for the war. The first operations of it began on the *Hellepont*. For *Cassander* and *Lysimachus* having concerted matters together on that side, it was agreed between them, that while the former remained in *Europe* to make a stand against *Demetrius* in those parts, the other, with as many forces as could be spared

An. 302.
Ptolemy
Soter 3.

^b Pausanias in Atticis.
Syriacis.

^d Justin. Diodor. Appian, ibid. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Strabo, lib. 16.
Arrianus de expeditione Alexandri, lib. 5.
trio. Justin, lib. 15. cap. 4.

^c Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Justin, lib. 15. cap. 4. Appianus in
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where *Antigonus's* soldiers came for watering, caused it to be there proclaimed from those boats, within their hearing, that whoever should come over to him from *Antigonus's* army, if he were a common soldier he should have * two mina's, and if a commander † a talent; whereon great numbers of them, as well commanders as private soldiers, especially of the mercenaries, went over to him, and that not only for the sake of the reward, but especially out of the greater liking they had to *Ptolemy*. For *Antigonus* being a crabbed ‡ old man, and very haughty, morose, and severe, *Ptolemy*, by reason of the benignity of his temper, and his human and courteous carriage to all he had to do with, had the affections of all men much beyond him. *Antigonus* therefore, after he had in vain hovered over the out-skirts of *Egypt*, till all his provisions were spent, finding he could gain no advantage on *Ptolemy*, but that his army daily diminished by sickness and desertions, and he could no longer subsist the remainder in that countrey, was forced to return back into *Syria* with baffle and disgrace, having lost great numbers of his men at land, and many also of his ships at sea, in this unsuccessful expedition. Hereon *Ptolemy* wrote to *Lysimachus*, *Cassander*, and *Seleucus*, of his success, and having renewed his league with them against this their common enemy, he became thenceforth firmly settled in his kingdom, and was never after any more disturbed in it. And therefore *Ptolemy* the astronomer here placeth the beginning of his reign, and from hence reckoneth the years of it in his chronological canon. Therein, till now, he continued to compute by the years of *Alexander Ægus*, tho' he had been slain five years before. But this fortunate turn in favour of *Ptolemy*, and the firm settlement which he obtained hereby in the throne, gave him a new *epocha* after that to go by, which took its beginning from the seventh day of *November*, nineteen years after the death of *Alexander*.

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paid divine honours unto him ; and in commemoration of their being thus saved by him in this war, * they gave him the additional name of *Soter*, that is, the saviour ; by which he is commonly called by historians, to distinguish him from the other *Ptolemies* that after reigned in that countrey.

SELEUCUS having secured himself in the possession of all the countries, from the *Euphrates* to the river *Indus*, * made war upon *Sandrocottus*, for the making of himself master of *India* also. This *Sandrocottus* [†] was an *Indian* by birth, and of a very mean original ; but giving out that he would deliver his countrey from the tyranny of foreigners, under this pretence got together an army, and by degrees having encreased it to a great number, took the advantage, while *Alexander's* successors were engaged in war against each other, to expel the *Macedonians* out of all those *Indian* provinces which *Alexander* had conquered, and seized them to himself. To recover these provinces *Seleucus* marched over the *Indus* ; but finding that *Sandrocottus* had by this time brought all *India* under his power, and from the several parts of it drawn into the field an army of six hundred thousand men, and had in it a vast number of elephants managed for the war, he thought not fit to run the hazard of engaging so great a power, and therefore coming to a treaty with him, he agreed, that on his receiving from *Sandrocottus* five hundred of his elephants, he should on that consideration quit to him all his pretensions in *India* ; and on these terms peace was made between them. And *Seleucus* having thus settled this matter, marched back into the western parts to make war against *Antigonus* ; the necessity whereof was one main cause that hastned this peace with *Sandrocottus*.

FOR * *Demetrius*, after he had ended his war with the *Rhodians*, sailed a second time with a great fleet and army into *Greece*, under the same pretence of freeing the *Grecian* cities, but in reality to weaken and suppress the power of *Ptolemy* and *Cassander* in those parts, and there disposse's'd *Ptolemy* of *Sicyon*, *Corinth*, and most of the other places which he held in *Greece*, and pressed so hard upon *Cassander*, that he was forced to sue to him for peace. But when he found that none could be had, but upon the terms of resigning himself absolutely to the will and pleasure of *Antigonus*, he and *Lysimachus* having had consultation hereupon, agreed both of them to send ambassadors to *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy*, with a representation of the case ; by which it being made appear, that the designs of *Antigonus* were to suppress all the other successors of *Alexander*, and usurp the whole empire to himself, it was thought time for them all to unite together against him, for the bringing down of his over-growing power. And therefore *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Cassander*, and *Lysimachus*, having confederated together for this purpose, this hastned *Seleucus* out of *India* back again into *Affyria*, there to provide for the war. The first operations of it began on the *Hellepont*. For *Cassander* and *Lysimachus* having concerted matters together on that side, it was agreed between them, that while the former remained in *Europe* to make a stand against *Demetrius* in those parts, the other, with as many forces as could be spared

An. 303.
Ptolemy
Soter 2.

An. 302.
Ptolemy
Soter 3.

* Pausanias in Atticis.
Syriacis.

† Justin. Diodor. Appian, ibid. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Strabo, lib. 16.
Arrianus de expeditione Alexandri, lib. 5.
trio. Justin, lib. 15. cap. 4.

* Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Justin, lib. 15. cap. 4. Appianus in
Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarchus in Deme-

from both their territories, should make an invasion upon the provinces of *Antigonus* in *Asia*. And accordingly *Lysimachus* passed the *Hellepont* with a great army; and partly by force, and partly by defections and revolts, reduced *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, *Lycaonia*, and most of the countries from the *Propontis* to the river *Meander* under his power. *Antigonus* was at *Antigonia*, a new city built by him in the upper *Syria*, and was there celebrating solemn games, which he had appointed in that place, when the news of this invasion was first brought to him. On his hearing hereof, and the many revolts which had been made from him, he immediately broke up his sports, and dismissing the assembly forthwith, set himself to prepare for a march against the enemy; and as soon as he had gotten all the forces together which he had in those parts, he hastened with them over mount *Taurus* into *Cilicia*; and having, at *Quinda* in that province, taken out of the publick treasury (which was there kept) what money he thought necessary, he therewith recruited and augmented his forces to a number sufficient for his purpose, and then marched directly against the enemy, retaking in his way many of those places which had revolted from him. *Lysimachus* not finding himself strong enough to encounter *Antigonus*, stood upon the defensive only, till *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy* should come up to his assistance; and in this manner wore out the year's war, till both sides were forced to go into winter quarters.

An. 301.
Ptolemy
Soter 4.

IN the beginning of the next year, *Seleucus* having gotten together a great army at *Babylon*, marched thence into *Cappadocia*, for the pursuing of the war against *Antigonus*. Of which *Antigonus* having notice, sent for *Demetrius* out of *Greece* to his assistance; who immediately obeying his father's orders, transported himself to *Ephesus*, and recovered again that city to *Antigonus*, and many other adjacent places, which on the coming of *Lysimachus* into *Asia* had revolted from him.

PTOLEMY, on *Antigonus*'s leaving *Syria*, took the advantage of his absence to invade that countrey, and soon recovered again all *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, and *Cœle-Syria*, excepting only *Tyre* and *Sidon*, which being well garrison'd, held out against him for *Antigonus*. For the reduction of them he first laid siege to *Sidon*; but as he was carrying of it on, being informed that *Antigonus* had beaten *Seleucus* and *Lysimachus*, and was marching against him for the relief of the place, he suffered himself to be imposed on by this false report, and therefore forthwith making a truce with the *Sidonians* for five months, raised the siege, and returned into *Egypt*.

IN the mean time the forces of the confederated Princes being got together, under the command of *Seleucus* and *Lysimachus* on the one hand, and *Demetrius* having joined *Antigonus* on the other, the controversy between them was soon brought to a decisive issue in a fierce battel, wherein they engaged with their whole forces against each other, near a city in *Phrygia* called *Ipsus*; in which *Antigonus* being slain, and his army broken and defeated, the confederates gained an absolute victory. *Antigonus* was pass'd eighty years old, some say pass'd eighty four, when he thus fell. *Demetrius* finding the battel lost, and his father slain, made his escape to *Ephesus*, with five thousand foot and four thousand horse, which were all

* Diodor. & Plutarchus, ibid. Appian in Syriacis.

the remains which he could pick up of near ninety thousand men, with which he and his father entered the field of battle. With these he went on board his fleet, which he had there left on his coming out of *Greece*. And shifting from place to place, sometimes met with good fortune and sometimes with bad; and altho' he still retained some territories in *Greece* and elsewhere, and afterwards for some years reigned in *Macedonia*, yet he could never recover his father's empire; but for the seventeen years which he afterwards lived, met with disappointments in all attempts which he made towards it; till at length falling into the hands of *Seleucus*, he died in the prison which he confined him to. Among the territories which he retained for some time after this battle, were *Tyre* and *Sidon*, and the island of *Cyprus*.

AFTER the death of *Antigonus*,^f the four confederated princes divided his dominions between them, and hereby the whole empire of *Alexander* became parted, and settled into four kingdoms. *Ptolemy* had *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Arabia*, *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine*; *Cassander*, *Macedon* and *Greece*; *Lysimachus*, *Thrace*, *Bithynia*, and some other of the provinces beyond the *Hellepont* and the *Bosphorus*; and *Seleucus* all the rest. And these four were the^g four horns of the he-goat, mentioned in the prophecies of the prophet *Daniel*, which grew up after the breaking off of the first horn. That first horn^h was *Alexander* King of *Grecia*, who overthrew the kingdom of the *Medes* and *Persians*; and theⁱ other four horns were these four Kings who sprung up after him, and divided his empire between them. And these also were the four heads of the leopard,^k spoken of in another place of the same prophecies. And their four kingdoms were the four parts, into which, according to the same prophet, the kingdom of the mighty King (*i. e.* of *Alexander*) should be broken, and divided towards (*i. e.* according to the number of) the four winds of heaven, among those four Kings, who should not be of his posterity, as neither of the four above-mentioned were. And therefore, by this last partition of the empire of *Alexander*, were all these prophecies exactly fulfilled. There were indeed former partitions of it into provinces among governors, under the brother and son of *Alexander*. But this last only was a partition of it into kingdoms among Kings; and therefore of this only can these prophecies be understood. For it's plain, they speak of the four successors of *Alexander* as^l of four Kings; where they are represented by four horns, they are^m expressly called so; and where they are represented byⁿ four heads, the very symbol speaks them so. For who are heads of kingdoms, but the Kings that reign over them? The leopard in that prophecy was the empire of the *Macedonians*, and the four heads were the four Kings, that after *Alexander* divided it into four kingdoms, and as Kings reigned over them. But none of *Alexander*'s successors were Kings, till about three years before this last division of his empire was made. At first indeed there were five Kings of these successors. But *Antigonus* not being King above three years, and his kingdom being absolutely extinguished in his death, for this reason these prophecies take no notice of him, but confine the succession of the great horn to these four only, who conquered him. And

^f Diodor. Sic. lib. 20. Plutarchus in Demetrio. Appian in Syriacis. Polybius, lib. 5.

^g Dan. viii.

^h Dan. viii. 21. xi. 3.

ⁱ Dan. viii. 22. xi. 4.

^k Dan. vii. 6.

^l Dan. viii. 21, 22. xi. 4.

^m Dan. viii. 21.

ⁿ Dan. vii. 6.

it is farther to be observed, that tho' *Antigonus* and the other four called themselves Kings three years before the battel of *Ipsus*, which produced this last partition, yet it was till then only a precarious title, which each assumed by his own authority only. But after this battel there being a league made between the four survivors, who conquered in it, whereby each of them had their dominions set out to them into so many kingdoms, and each of them were authorised by the consent of all to govern them as Kings independent of all superiors, from this time only can their respective divisions be truly and properly reckoned as kingdoms, and they as Kings to preside over them. And in all their contests, which they or their successors afterwards had about the limits of their several kingdoms, they always appealed to this league, as the original charter by which they held their kingdoms, and that regal authority by which they reigned over them. And therefore from the making of this league only, can they properly and in the truest sense be called Kings; and they were four only, that is, *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Cassander* and *Lysimachus*, that were so by virtue of it. And to these four do the prophecies refer.

An. 300.
Ptolemy
Soter 5.

ONIAS, the first of that name, high-priest of the *Jews*, being dead, he was succeeded in the high-priesthood by *Simon* his son, who from the holiness of his life, and the great righteousness which shone forth in all his actions, was called *Simon the Just*. He was the first of that name that was high-priest, and lived in that office nine years.

SELEUCUS, after his victory over *Antigonus*, having seized the upper *Syria*,^p there built *Antioch*, on the river *Orontes*, which afterwards for many ages became the Queen of the *East*. For here the *Syrian* Kings had the seat of their empire, and here the *Roman* governors who presided over the affairs of the *East* had their residence; and when christianity prevailed, it became the see of the chief patriarch of the *Asian* churches. It was situated on the river *Orontes*, at the distance of about twenty miles from the place, where it falls into the *Mediterranean sea*. It is^q reckoned to be in the mid way by land, between *Constantinople* and *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and to be about seven hundred miles distant from each. He called it *Antioch*, say some, from the name of his father, others from the name of his son, and others from that of both. For *Antiochus* was the name of his father, as well as of the son that succeeded him in his kingdom. He built sixteen other cities, which he called by the same name, whereof one was in *Pisidia*, of which^r mention is made in the scripture; but *Antioch* on the *Orontes* was the most remarkable of them. *Antigonus* had not long before^s built a city in the neighbourhood, which from his name he called *Antigonia*, and intended to have made it the chief seat of his empire. This *Seleucus* rased to the ground, and having employed the materials to build this new city, transplanted all the inhabitants thither. These cities having both stood on the *Orontes*, and very near each other, the benefit of the river, and the smallness of the distance, made the transportation the more easy. He^t built also several other cities in that coun-

* Joseph. Antig. lib. 12. cap. 2. Chronicon. Alexandrinum. Eusebii Chron. Syncellus ex Africano.
^p Johannes Antiochenus Malela. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 749, 750, &c. Appian in Syriacis. Justin, lib. 15. cap. 4. Diodor. lib. 20. Julianus in Misopogone.
^q Baudrandi Geographia de Antiochia magna.
^r Acts xiii. 14.
^s Strabo, & Diodorus Siculus, ibid.
^t Strabo, ibid.

treys, whereof there were three of especial note; one of them he called *Seleucia* from his own name; another *Apamia* from *Apama* his wife, the daughter of *Artabazus* the *Persian*; and the third *Laodicea*, from *Laodice* his mother. *Apamia* and *Seleucia* stood upon the same river with *Antioch*, the former above it, and the other fifteen miles below it, and five from the place where that river falls into the sea. And upon the same coast, towards the south, lay *Laodicea*. For the sake of these four cities, the countrey in which they stood had the name of *Tetrapolis*, i. e. *the countrey of the four cities*, not but that there were several other cities in it. But these being of more eminent note, and making four distinct governments, on which all the rest were dependents, from hence they gave occasion for the name to that countrey, and indeed it was no more than an occasional name given it for this reason. The true name of it was *Seleucis*: This *Seleucus* gave it from his own name, and it extended southward as far as *Cæle-Syria*. For *Syria* was divided into three parts, *Syria* properly so called, *Cæle-Syria*, or the hollow *Syria*, and *Syria Palestina*. The first of these, which I call the *upper Syria*, contained *Commagena*, *Cyrrhestica*, *Seleucis*, and some other small districts, and extended from the mountain *Amanus* on the north, to the mountain *Libanus* on the south, and was afterwards called *Syria Antiochena*. The second reached from *Libanus* to *Anti-Libanus*, including *Damascus* and its territories, which consisting mostly of deep vallies between high mountains, it was for this reason called *Cæle-Syria*, i. e. *the hollow Syria*. From *Anti-Libanus* to the borders of *Egypt* was *Syria Palestina*, and the maritim parts of the two latter, from *Aradus* to *Gaza*, was that which the *Greeks* called *Phœnicia*. But not only *Seleucis*, but *Antioch* it self, was also called *Tetrapolis*, but from another reason; that is because it consisted of four quarters as of so many cities; the first of them only was built by *Seleucus*, the second by those who flocked thither on its being made the capital of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire, the third by *Seleucus Callinicus*, and the fourth by *Antiochus Epiphanes*. Each of these quarters had its proper wall, whereby it was separated from the rest, and were also enclosed by one common wall encompassing the whole. The place where it stood was very liable to earthquakes, and it often suffered exceedingly by them. However, it continued for near sixteen hundred years to be the chief city of the *East*, till at length, *anno domini* 1265, it was taken from the western christians by *Bibars* sultan of *Egypt*, and utterly destroyed by him. Since that *Aleppo* hath succeeded in its stead, to be the metropolis of those eastern parts. All the walls are still remaining, that is, the walls of each quarter, as well as those which surround the whole; but all being desolated within excepting some few houses, which make only a small and contemptible village, those four quarters of the city look only as so many fields within their enclosures. It is now called *Anthakia*, but is remarkable for nothing else but its ruins. The patriarchal see, which once adorned it, hath since its desolation been translated to *Damascus*. But he that hath at present the title of patriarch of *Antioch* in that place, scarce reacheth the figure formerly born by the meanest deacon of that church; to so low a condition is the state of christianity now sunk in those parts.

* Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 281.

* Golius, ibid.

* Golii notæ ad Alfraganum, p. 282.

DAPHNE was reckoned a suburb of this city, tho' at the distance of about four or five of our miles from it. There *Seleucus* planted a grove which was ten miles in compass, and in the middle of it built a temple, and consecrated both to *Apollo* and *Diana*, making the whole an asylum. This was the same to *Antioch*, that *Baie* was to *Rome*, and *Canopus* to *Alexandria*; that is, the place where the inhabitants resorted for their pleasures, for which it was excellently fitted. For it had most delicious fountains and rivulets of the best water, most pleasant walks of *Cypress* trees in the grove, and the purest air, and every thing else that nature could afford for pleasure and delight; which being farther improved by all the arts of luxury, whatsoever could any way administer to a voluptuous enjoyment, was there to be had in the utmost excess; and the *Antiochians*, as their corrupt inclinations led them, there resorted for it. So that tho' the place had been consecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*, it was by the *Antiochians* in reality wholly devoted to *Bacchus* and *Venus*, which made it so infamous, that *Daphnicis moribus vivere*, i. e. to live after the manners of *Daphne*, grew into a proverb, to express the most luxurious and dissolute way of living; and all that had any regard to their reputation for virtue and modesty avoided to go thither. And *Cassius* the *Roman* general, on his coming to *Antioch*, by publick proclamation prohibited all his soldiers from going to that place, under the penalty of being cashier'd, that they might not be corrupted by the luxury and debaucheries of it. It was so noted a place, that to distinguish this *Antioch*, near which it lay, from the many other cities that were of the same name elsewhere, as it was sometimes called *Antioch* on the *Orontes*, so was it as often called *Antioch* ^{ἡ ἐν Δαφνίᾳ}, i. e. *Antioch near Daphne*.

An. 299.
Ptolemy
Soter 6.

LYSIMACHUS, to strengthen himself in his kingdom, made a strict alliance with *Ptolemy*, and for the firmer cementing of it, took to wife *Arfinoe* one of his daughters, and some time after married another of them to *Agathocles* his son. *Seleucus* following this example, contracted the like alliance with *Demetrius*, and married his daughter *Stratonice*, which he had by *Phila* the sister of *Cassander*. She being a very beautiful lady, *Seleucus* on the fame of it desired her in marriage, and *Demetrius* being then in a low condition, was glad of so potent an ally, and therefore readily laid hold of the proposal, and forthwith sailing from *Greece*, where he had still some towns, carried her with the whole fleet that he had then remaining into *Syria*. In his way thither he made a descent upon *Cilicia*, which was then held by *Plistarchus* brother of *Cassander*, by the gift of the four kings after the death of *Antigonus*. Hereon *Plistarchus* went to *Seleucus* to complain of the wrong, and to expostulate with him for making an alliance with the common enemy, without consent of the other Kings, which he apprehended to be contrary to the league that was made between them. *Demetrius* having intelligence hereof, marched immediately to *Quinda*, where the publick treasury of the countrey was kept, and having seized all the money he found in it, which amounted to twelve hundred talents, hastened back to his fleet with the prey, and putting it all on board, sailed to *Orassus*, a maritim town in *Syria*, where he met *Seleucus*, and delivered to him his bride; and after some days there spent

⁷ Strabo, lib. 16. p. 750.
in *Babylam Martyrem*.

⁸ Procopius *Persicorum*, lib. 2.
⁹ Strabo, lib. 15. p. 719.

¹⁰ Chrysostomi sermo
¹¹ Plutarchus in *Demetrio*.

in nuptial feasts, and mutual treats and entertainments, he sailed back again into *Cilicia*, and made himself master of the whole province, and then sent *Phila* his wife to *Cassander* her brother to excuse the matter.

By this means the power of *Demetrius* began again to grow in those parts; for he had there on this acquisition all the province of *Cilicia*, the whole island of *Cyprus*, and the two strong and wealthy cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon* in *Phœnicia*; which making *Seleucus* jealous of his neighbourhood, 'he would have bought him out of *Cilicia* for a large sum of money, which he offered him for the purchase. But *Demetrius* not accepting the bargain, he would have picked a quarrel with him about *Tyre* and *Sidon*, demanding them of him in great anger, as cities belonging to *Syria*, of which he was King. To which *Demetrius* returned as angry an answer, telling him, that tho' he should be vanquished a thousand times over, he would never buy a son-in-law at such a rate, and immediately hereon sailed to both those cities, and having strengthened the garrisons he had in them with more forces, and furnished them with all things necessary for their defence, he defeated for the present the design which *Seleucus* then had of taking them from him. So that *Seleucus* got nothing hereby but an ill name. For he was generally blamed and reflected on for his unsatiable greediness, in that having so large an extent of dominion, as reached from the river *Indus* to the *Mediterranean* sea, he would not let his father-in-law quietly enjoy these poor remains of his broken fortunes.

An. 298.
Ptolemy
Suter 7.

ABOUT this time ' flourished *Megasthenes*, who wrote an history of *India*. For he was a confidant of *Seleucus's*; and having been employed by him in his transactions ' with *Sandrocottus* King of *India*, and resided with him some time in that countrey, and gone over a great part of it, he then gathered up those materials out of which he afterwards composed his book. Some fragments of it are preserved by ' *Josephus*, and ' *Eusebius*, wherein he makes mention of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the greatness of his power. And he is often quoted by ' *Strabo*, and other ancient writers, as *Athenæus*, *Arrian*, *Cicero*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus*. But the Book it self is not now extant. *Annius*, a lying monk of *Viterbo* in *Italy*, who was born anno 1437, and flourished towards the end of that century, counterfeited several books under old names, of which number were *Manetho*, *Berosus*, and *Megasthenes*, whom he calls *Metaasthenes* out of a mistake, which he was led into by *Rufinus's* *Latin* version of *Josephus*, and this first gave occasion for the discovery of the cheat. Those books he published with a comment upon them, and for some time they went for the genuine works of the authors whose name they bore, but are now exploded every where as fictions, framed of purpose to impose a cheat upon the world. And of the same stamp are *Inghiramius's* *Etruscan* antiquities, and *Jeffrey of Monmouth's* *British* history. For all these are no other than the fictions of the first editors. They framed them to perpetuate their names by the publication, and they have truly done so. For they are still remembered for it; but no otherwise, than under the style of infamous impostors.

' Plutarchus in Demetrio.

* Vide Vossium de historicis Græcis, lib. 1. cap. 11.

' Arrian de expeditione Alexandri, lib. 5. & de rebus indicis.

* Antiq. lib. 10. cap. 11.

& contra Apionem, lib. 1.

' Præp. evang. ex Abydeno, lib. 9.

' Lib. 15. p. 687.

Where he quotes out of Megasthenes the same passage concerning Nebuchadnezzar (whom he calls Navocodrosor) that Josephus doth.

CASSANDER ¹ having governed *Macedon* from the death of his father nineteen years, dyed of a dropsy; leaving behind him, by *Thessalonice* his wife, one of the sisters of *Alexander the Great*, three sons, *Philip*, *Antipater*, and *Alexander*. *Philip*, who succeeded him in the kingdom, dying soon after, left the crown to be contended for between his two brothers that survived.

An. 297.
Ptolemy
Soter 5.

PYRRHUS, the famous King of *Epirus*, ² being in *Egypt*, there married *Antigone* one of *Ptolemy's* family. He, having been kept out of his kingdom by *Neoptolemus* an usurper, followed *Demetrius* in his wars while very young, and fought valiantly in his cause in the battel of *Ipsus*, and after that continued with him till the marriage of *Seleucus* with *Stratonice*. Then, by the interposition of *Seleucus*, peace and reconciliation having been made between *Demetrius* and *Ptolemy*, *Pyrrhus* was delivered to *Ptolemy* as an hollage on the part of *Demetrius* for the performance of the articles, and carried by him into *Egypt*; where having, by his generous and noble deportment, gained much upon the favour of that prince, he gave him in marriage *Antigone*, the daughter of *Berenice* his best beloved wife. *Ptolemy* had another wife called *Eurydice*, who was the daughter of *Antipater*, and sister to *Cassander*. When *Antipater* sent this lady into *Egypt* to be married to *Ptolemy*, he sent with her for a companion *Berenice*, she being then the widow of one *Philip* a *Macedonian*, newly deceased, by whom she had this *Antigone*. On her arrival in *Egypt* she soon grew so much into the liking of *Ptolemy*, that he married her also, and loved her much more than any other wife he had. And therefore on *Pyrrhus's* having married her daughter, she prevailed with *Ptolemy* to assist him with a fleet and money; by means whereof he recovered his kingdom, and from this beginning grew up to be the most eminent person of the age in which he lived.

An. 296.
Ptolemy
Soter 7.

DEMETRIUS from *Tyre* made an inroad upon the *Samaritans*, and wasted *Samaria*; so saith ³ *Eusebius*; and it's certain, that at this time *Demetrius* was in possession of *Tyre* and *Sidon*; but it is more likely that this was done by *Demetrius's* lieutenants in those parts, than by *Demetrius* himself in person. For according to all other histories, *Demetrius's* wars in *Greece* detained him there all this year, and also the next.

An. 296.
Ptolemy
Soter 10.

For ⁴ the *Athenians* having revolted from *Demetrius*, after the reduction of the *Messenians* (which had been the work of the former year) he employed a whole year in the siege of *Athens*, and at length, by famine, forced them to a surrender.

AFTER *Demetrius* had settled his affairs at *Athens*, ⁵ he formed a design for the subduing of the *Lacedemonians*, and having overthrown them in two battels; would certainly have succeeded in the enterprize, but that when he was going to make an assault upon the city of *Lacedemon*, and must in all likelihood have taken it, a message came to him, that *Lysimachus* having with a great army invaded his territories in *Asia*, had taken from him all the cities which he had in those parts; and immediately after that another, that *Ptolemy* had made a descent upon *Cyprus*, and taken from him all that island, except only the city of *Salamine*, into which

¹ Dexippus & Porphyrius in Chronico Eusebii, p. 57, 59, & 63.
Pausanias in Atticis.

² In Chronico.

³ Plutarchus in Demetrio.

⁴ Plutarchus in Pyrrho.

his mother, his wife and children were retired, and that he pressed that place with an hard siege. All these grievous tidings, coming one upon the back of the other, drew back *Demetrius* from *Lacedemon* to look after his other affairs, when he was just ready to have taken that city. And not long after he had an account, that *Salamine* was also lost. But *Ptolemy* was so generous, that on his mastering the place he sent him his mother, and his wife and children, without ransom, with all the persons, equipage and effects, that belonged to them, adding also several magnificent presents, and all manner of honour at their dismissal. And when *Ptolemy* had thus made himself master of *Cyprus*, then most likely was it, that *Tyre* and *Sidon* fell into his hands also; it not being possible, that after the loss of *Cyprus*, *Demetrius* could any longer keep them.

At the same time it seems most likely *Demetrius* also lost *Cilicia* to *Seleucus*. For from this time we find the latter only in the possession of this province, and all the cities in it. And no time seems more proper for *Seleucus* to have seized it, than when this declension of *Demetrius's* fortunes in those eastern parts had put it out of his power any longer to defend it against him.

THE contest going on between *Antipater* and *Alexander*, the sons of *Cassander*, about the kingdom of *Macedon*; and *Thessalonice*, the mother of both, favouring the younger son, this so exasperated *Antipater*, the eldest of them against her, that in an impious rage he fell upon her, and slew her with his own hands, notwithstanding she earnestly supplicated to him, by the breasts with which she had nourished him, to spare her life. This accident gave a favourable turn to the fortunes on *Demetrius*. For *Alexander*, the other brother, to be revenged on *Antipater* for this horrid fact, called in *Demetrius* to his assistance; which opened him a way to the throne of *Macedon*. For the wicked parricide of *Antipater*, in murdering his mother, having created a general detestation of him, by that time *Demetrius* had with his army reached the borders of *Macedon*, he was deserted of all men, and forced to fly into *Thracia*, where he soon after perished in banishment. *Alexander* being thus rid of his brother, desired to be rid of *Demetrius* also; in order whereto he laid a design to cut him off; which *Demetrius* having notice of, was beforehand with him, and first cut off *Alexander*, by slaying him at an entertainment, in the same manner as *Alexander* had laid the plot to have slain him, and thereon got to be King of *Macedon* in his stead, where he reigned seven years, till another cross turn of fortune threw him again out of that kingdom, and a while after he was cast out of every thing else that he had been possessed of.

By the death of *Thessalonice* and her two sons, the whole royal family of *Philip* King of *Macedon* was utterly extirpated, as that of *Alexander* had been before in the death of *Alexander Aëgus* and *Hercules* his sons. And so these two Kings, who by their oppressive and destructive wars had made many tragedies in other princes families, had them all at length, by the just ordination of providence, brought home to their own, both *Philip* and *Alexander*, their wives, and all that were descended of them, dying violent deaths.

An. 394.
Ptolemy
Soter 11.

† Plutarchus in *Demetrio & Pyrrho*. Justin, lib. 16. cap. 1. Pausanias in *Boeoticis*.

An. 393.
Ptolemy
Soter 12.

ABOUT this time^a *Seleucus* built *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, at the distance of forty miles from *Babylon*. It was placed on the western side of that river, over-against the place where now *Bagdad* stands on the eastern side, which soon grew to be a very great city. For *Pliny*^c tells us, it had in it six hundred thousand inhabitants, and there are not much above an hundred thousand more in *London*, which is now (waving the fabulous account which is given of *Nankin* in *China*) beyond all dispute the biggest city in the world. For by reason of the breaking down of the banks of the *Euphrates*, the countrey near *Babylon* being drowned, and the branch of that river which passed thorough the middle of the city, being shallowed and rendred unnavigable, this made the situation of *Babylon* by this time so very inconvenient, that when this new city was built, it soon drained the other of all its inhabitants. For it being situated much more commodiously, and by the founder made the metropolis of all the provinces of his empire beyond the *Euphrates*, and the place of his residence, whenever he came into those parts, in the same manner as *Antioch* was for the other provinces which were on this side that river; for the sake of these advantages the *Babylonians* in great numbers left their old habitations, and flocked to *Seleucia*. And besides, *Seleucus* having called this city by his own name, and designed it for an eminent monument thereof in after ages, gave it many privileges above the other cities of the east, the better to make it answer this purpose; and these were a farther invitation to the *Babylonians* to transplant themselves to it. And by these means, in a short time after the building of *Seleucia*, *Babylon* became wholly desolated, so that nothing was left remaining of it but its walls. And therefore^d *Pliny* tells us, *That it was exhausted of its inhabitants, and brought to desolation, by the neighbourhood of Seleucia on the Tigris, which Seleucus Nicator built there on purpose for this end.* And^e *Strabo* saith the same, as doth also *Pausanias* in his *Arcadicis*, where he tells us, *That Babylon, once the greatest city that the sun ever saw, had in his time* (i. e. ^f about the middle of the second century) *nothing left but its walls.* These remained long after. For the space within being made a park by the *Parthian* Kings, for the keeping of wild beasts in it for their hunting, the walls were kept up to serve for a fence to the enclosure; and in this state it was in *Jerom's* time, who lived in the fourth century. For he tells us, *That excepting the walls, which were repaired for the enclosing of the wild beasts, that were there kept, all within was desolation:* And in^g another place, *That Babylon was nothing else, in his time, but a chase for wild beasts kept within the compass of its ancient walls for the hunting of the King;* that is, of *Persia*. For after the *Parthians*, there reigned in *Jerom's* time over those countries a race of *Persian* Kings, and continued there to the time of the *Saracen* empire, by which they were extinguished. When, or how those walls became demolish'd, is no where said, no writer for several hundred years after *Jerom's* time speaking any more of this place. The first after him that makes mention of it is *Benjamin*, a *Jew* of *Tudela* in *Navar*, who, in his *Itinerary*, which he wrote near six hundred years

^a Strabo, lib. 16. p. 738, & 743. Plin. lib. 6. cap. 26. ^c Ibid. ^d Lib. 6. cap. 36.
^e Lib. 16. p. 738. ^f For he lived in the time of Adrian and Antoninus Pius. See Vossius de
Historicis Græcis, lib. 2. cap. 14. ^g Comment in Esaiæ, cap. 14. ^h Comment in
Esaiæ, cap. 13.

since,

since, (for he died in the year of our Lord 1173) tells us, that he was upon the place where this old city formerly stood, and found it then wholly desolated and destroyed; only he saith, *Some ruins of Nebuchadnezzar's palace were then still remaining, but men were afraid to go near them, by reason of the many serpents and scorpions that were then in the place.* Texeira, a Portuguese, in the description of his travels from India to Italy, tells us, *That there was nothing then remaining of this old and famous city, but only some few footsteps of it, and that there was no place in all that countrey less frequented than that tract of ground whereon it formerly stood.* And Rauwolf, a German traveller, who passed that way in the year of our Lord 1574, tells us the same thing. His words are as followeth. "The village of *Elugo* lieth on the place where formerly old *Babylon*, the metropolis of *Chaldea*, did stand. The harbour lieth a quarter of a league off, whereunto those use to go, that intend to travel by land to the famous city of *Bagdad*, which is situated farther to the east on the river *Tigris*, at a day and a half's distance. This countrey is so dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled, and so bare, that I should have doubted very much, whether this potent and powerful city (which once was the most stately and famous one of the world, situated in the pleasant and fruitful countrey of *Sinar*) did stand there, if I should not have known it by its situation, and several ancient and delicate antiquities that still are standing hereabout in great desolation. First, by the old bridge which was laid over the *Euphrates*, whereof there are some pieces and arches still remaining built of burnt brick, and so strong, that it is admirable—Just before the village of *Elugo*, is the hill whereon the castle did stand, in a plain, whereon you may still see some ruins of the fortification, which is quite demolished and uninhabited. Behind it, and pretty near to it, did stand the tower of *Babylon*.—This we see still, and it is half a league in diameter, but is so mightily ruined and low, and so full of venomous reptiles, that have bored holes through it, that one may not come near it within half a mile, but only in two months in the winter, when they come not out of their holes. Among these reptiles there are chiefly some in the *Persian* language called *Eglo* by the inhabitants, that are very poisonous. They are bigger than our lizards", &c. All which ruins here mentioned by *Rauwolf*, are no doubt the same which *Benjamin* of *Tudela* saith were the ruins of the palace of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that is, the old palace which stood on the eastern side of the river. For it is of that only, that *Benjamin* and *Rauwolf* speak. Of the ruins of *Babylon* on the western side, where the new palace stood, which *Nebuchadnezzar* himself built, neither of them do take any notice. All this put together, shews how fully and exactly hath been fulfilled all that, which the prophet *Isaiah* prophesied of this place. For his words concerning it (*ch. 13. ver. 19—22.*) are as followeth. *And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrha, it shall never be inhabited, neither shall be dwelt in from generation to generation, neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there, neither shall the shepherds make their*

^y *Benjaminis Itinerarium*, p. 76.
in English. Part 2. Chap. 7.

^z Cap. 8.

^a See Mr. Ray's Edition of these Travels

folds there, but wild beasts of the desert shall be there, and their house shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyres shall dance there, and the wild beasts of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces, and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged. Thus far *Isaiah*; and besides this, there are several other prophecies in the other prophets to the same purpose, which have been already taken notice of. It must be acknowledged, that there is mention made of *Babylon*, as of a city standing long after the time where I have placed its desolation, as ^b in *Lucan*, ^c *Philostratus*, and others. But in all those authors, and wherever else we find *Babylon* spoken of as a city in being after the time of *Seleucus Nicator*, it must be understood, ^d not of old *Babylon* on the *Euphrates*, but of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*. For as that succeeded in the dignity and grandeur of old *Babylon*, so also did it in its name. At first it was called *Seleucia Babylonica*, that is, the *Babylonian Seleucia*, or *Seleucia* of the province of *Babylon*, to distinguish it from the other *Seleucia*'s which were elsewhere, and after that ^e *Babylonia* simply, and at ^f length *Babylon*. That *Lucan*, by his *Babylon* in the first book of his *Pharsalia*, means none other than *Seleucia*, or the new *Babylon*, is plain. For he there speaks of it as the metropolis of the *Parthian* kingdom, where the trophies of *Crassus* were hung up after the vanquishing of the *Romans* at *Carrhæ*, which can be understood only of the *Seleucian*, or new *Babylon*, and not of the old. For that new *Babylon* only was the seat of the *Parthian* Kings, but the old *Babylon* never. And in another place, where he makes mention of this *Babylon*, (*i. e.* book vi. ver. 50.) he describes it as surrounded by the *Tigris* in the same manner as *Antioch* was by the *Orontes*: But it was the *Seleucian* or the new *Babylon*, and not the old, that stood upon the *Tigris*. And as to *Philostratus*, when he brings his *Apollonius* (the *Don Quixot* of his romance) to the royal seat of the *Parthian* King, which was at that time at *Seleucia*, then called *Babylon*, he was led by that name into this gross blunder, as to mistake it for the old *Babylon*, and therefore ^g in the describing of it, he gives us the same description which he found given of old *Babylon* in *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, and other writers. But it is no unusual thing for romancers often to make blunders and mistakes in geography of the places where they lay the scenes of their fables; and that the whole story of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, as written by *Philostratus*, is no more than a romance and a fable, is well known. And perchance the giving of the name of *Babylon* to *Seleucia*, was that which gave rise to the present vulgar error, that *Bagdad* is now situated in the very place, where formerly old *Babylon* stood. For when *Bagdad* was first built, it ^h truly was upon the same plat of ground, where formerly *Seleu-*

^b Lib. i. ver. 10.

^c Lib. i. cap. 17, 18, 19.

^d Plutarch indeed, in the life of *Crassus*, speaks of *Babylon* and *Seleucia*, as of two distinct cities then in being. For in a political remark, he reckons it as a great error in *Crassus*, that in his first irruption into *Mesopotamia*, he had not directly marched on to *Babylon* and *Seleucia*, and seized those two cities. And *Appian*, in his *Parthic*'s, says the same thing. But *Plutarch* was mistaken herein, taking for two cities then in being, what were no more than two names then given one and the same place, that is, *Seleucia*. For as to old *Babylon*, it appears from the authors I have mentioned, that it was desolated long before the time of *Crassus*. And as to *Appian*, he doth no more than recite the opinion of *Plutarch*. For he writes word for word after him as to this matter. ^e *Plin.* lib. 6. cap. 26. ^f *Stephanus Byzantinus* in βαβυλων.

^g Lib. i. cap. 18.

^h *Bocharti Geographia sacra*, Part i. lib. i. cap. 8. *Golii Notæ ad Afragani*, p. 121, 122. *Sionitæ Descriptio Bagdadi ad calcem Geographiæ Nubientis*, cap. 2.

cia or new *Babylon* stood: For as old *Babylon* was exhausted by *Seleucia*, so afterwards was *Seleucia* by *Ctesephon* and *Almadayen*, and these two again by *Bagdad*; it being the humour of the princes of those ages, to build new cities to be monuments of their names, and to desolate old ones in the neighbourhood for the peopling of them. By this means *Seleucia* being reduced to a desolation, as well as *Babylon*, at the times when *Abu Jaasar Almanfur*, caliph or emperor of the *Saracens*, begun his reign, (which was in the year of our Lord 754) it had nothing upon it, but the cell of a christian monk, called *Dad*, and a garden adjoyning to it. From whence it had the name of *Bagdad*, that is, in the language of that country, *the garden of Dad*. And upon this place was the city first built, which hath ever since been called by this name of *Bagdad*. For the same *Almansur* being resolved, out of dislike to *Hashemia*, where his predecessor before resided, to build him a new city, to be the capital seat of his empire, chose that place for it where this garden lay, and there, in the year of our Lord 762, erected this city upon the very foundations on which formerly *Seleucia* had stood, on the west side of the *Tigris*. But not long after it was translated over to the other side, and there it at present stands about three miles above the place, where *Ctesephon* was formerly situated on the same side of the river, that is, on the eastern side; and that which was first built on the western side is now no more than a suburb to it. This city, from the reign of *Almansur*, was for many years the capital of the *Saracen* empire, and still remains a place of great note in the east: But they are much mistaken, who think it the same with old *Babylon*. For that was upon the *Euphrates*, but *Bagdad* is upon the *Tigris*, at the distance of forty miles from the place where that old city stood.

SELEUCUS built many other cities both in the *greater* and *lesser Asia*; * sixteen of which he called *Antioch*, from the name of *Antiochus* his father; nine *Seleucia*, from his own name; six *Laodicea*; from the name of *Laodice* his mother; three *Apamea*, from *Apama* his first wife; and one *Stratonicea*, from *Stratonice* his last wife; in all which he planted the *Jews*, giving them equal privileges and immunities with the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*: especially at *Antioch* in *Syria*; where they settled in great numbers, and became almost as considerable a part of that city, as they were at *Alexandria*. And from hence it was, that the *Jews* became dispersed all over *Syria*, and the *lesser Asia*. In the eastern countries beyond the *Euphrates*, they had been settled before, ever since the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* captivities, and there multiplied in great numbers. But it was *Seleucus Nicator* that first gave them settlements in those provinces of *Asia*, which are on this side the *Euphrates*. For they having been very faithful and serviceable to him in his wars, and other trusts and interests, he for this reason gave them these privileges through all the cities which he built. But it seems most likely that they were the *Babylonish Jews* that first engaged him to be thus favourable to this people. For the *Jews* of *Palestine* being under *Ptolomy*, were not in a capacity to be serviceable to him. But *Babylon* being the place where he laid the first foundations of his power,

* Elmacini Historia Saracenica sub Anno Heg. 145. Abul Pharagii Historia Dynastiarum Editionis Pocockianæ, p. 141. Eutychii Annales, Tom. 2. p. 399. Geographia Nubiensis, p. 204.

* Appianus in Syriacis, p. 201. Editionis Tollianæ. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3. & contra Apionem, lib. 2. Eusebius in Chronico.

and the *Jews* in those parts being as numerous as the *Jews* of *Palestine*, if not more; it is most likely, that there they unanimously adhered to his interest, and were the prime strength that he had for the advancement of it, and that for this reason he ever after shewed so much favour to them; and it is scarce probable, that any thing less than this could be a sufficient cause to procure such great privileges from him, as he afterwards gave to all of that nation.

An. 292.
Ptolemy
Soter 13.

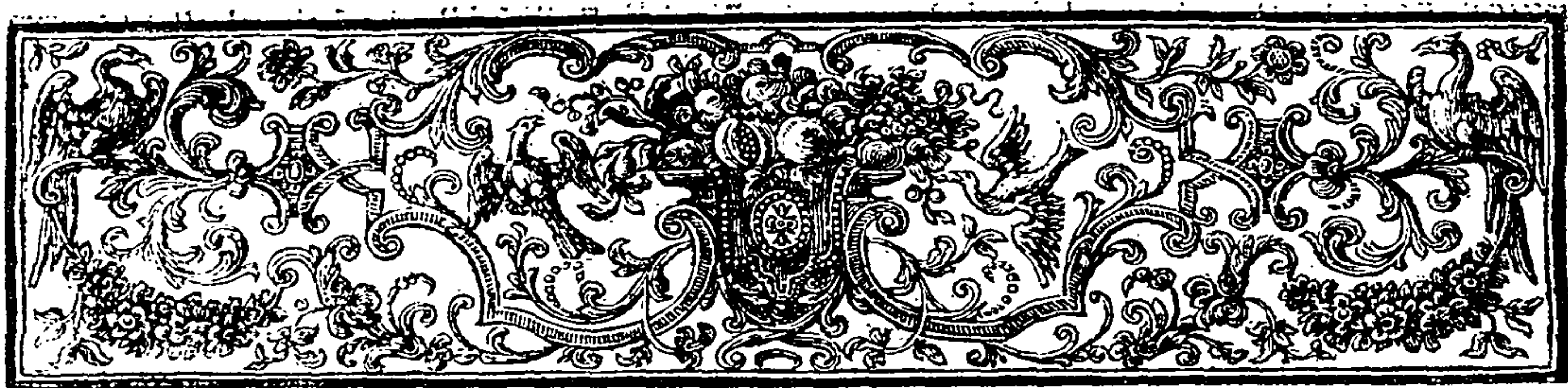
SIMON the Just, high-priest of the *Jews*, dying, after he had been nine years in that office, left behind him a son called *Onias*; but he being an infant, and therefore incapable of succeeding in the high-priesthood, *Eleazar* the brother of *Simon* was substituted high-priest in his stead. This *Simon*, as he had by the uprightness of his actions, and the righteousness of his conversation both towards God and man, merited the surname of the *Just*; so also was he in all respects a very extraordinary person, which the character given of him in the fiftieth chapter of *Ecclesiasticus* sufficiently shews. There many of his good works, for the benefit both of the church and state of the *Jews*, are mentioned with their due praise. But his chiefest work was the finishing of the canon of the scriptures of the *Old Testament*. What was done herein by *Ezra* hath been above related. The books afterwards added, were the two books of *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Esther* and *Malachi*. That these could not be put into the canon by *Ezra* is plain. For four of those books are, upon just ground, supposed to have been written by himself, (that is, the two books of *Chronicles*, and the books of *Ezra* and *Esther*) and the book of *Nehemiah* was written after his time, and so most likely was the book of *Malachi* also. And therefore a later time must be assigned for their insertion into the canon, and none is more likely, than that of *Simon the Just*, who is said to have been the last of the men of the great synagogue. For what the *Jews* call the great synagogue, were a number of elders amounting to one hundred and twenty, who succeeding some after others in a continued series, from the return of the *Jews* again into *Judea*, after the *Babylonish* captivity, to the time of *Simon the Just*, laboured in the restoring of the *Jewish* church and state in that countrey; in order where-to, the holy scriptures being the rule they were to go by, their chief care and study was to make a true collection of those scriptures, and publish them accurately to the people. *Ezra*, and the men of the great synagogue that lived in his time, compleated this work as far as I have said. And as to what remained further to be done in it, where can we better place the performing of it, and the ending and finishing of the whole thereby, than in that time, where those men of the great synagogue ended, that were employed therein, that is, in the time of *Simon the Just*, who was the last of them? And that especially since there are some particulars in those books, which seem necessarily to refer down to times, as late as those of *Alexander the Great*, if not later. For in the third chapter of the first book of *Chronicles*, we have the genealogy of the sons of *Zerubbabel* carried down for so many descents after him, as may well be thought to reach the time of *Alexander*; and in the xiith chapter of *Nehemiah* (ver. 22.) we

^m Eusebius in Chronico. ⁿ Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 2. ^o See Maimonides and the rest of the Rabbies, who all say that the men of the great synagogue were an hundred and twenty persons, and that Simon the Just was the last of them.

have the days of *Jaddua* spoken of, as of days past; but *Jaddua* out-lived *Alexander* two years. I acknowledge these passages to have been interpolated passages, both put in after the time of *Ezra*, and after the time of *Nehemiah*, (who were the writers of those books) by those who compleated the canon. To say they were inserted by those holy men themselves, who wrote the books, the chronology of their history will not bear. For then they must have lived down beyond those times which those passages refer us to, but this is inconsistent with what is written of them. And to say, that they were put in by any other than those, who by the direction of the holy Spirit of God, compleated the canon of the scriptures, will be to derogate from their excellency. And therefore we must conclude, that since *Simon the Just* was the last of those that were employed in this work; it was by him that the last finishing hand was put thereto, and that it was in his time, and under his presidency, and chiefly by his direction, that the canon of the holy scriptures of the *Old Testament*, by which we now receive them, was perfected, and finally settled in the *Jewish* church. And thus far having brought down this history through the scripture times, till the canon of the scriptures of the *Old Testament* was fully perfected, I shall here end the first part of it. After this followed ^p the *Mishnical* times, that is, the times of traditions. Hitherto the scriptures were the only rule of faith and manners, which God's people studied. But thenceforth traditions began to be regarded, till at length they overbore the word of God it self, as we find in our Saviour's time. The collection of those traditions they call the *Mishnah*, that is, the second law, and those who delivered and taught them, were stiled the *Mishnical* doctors. From the death of *Simon the Just* their time begun, and they continued to be known by that name, till *Rabbi Judah Hakkadosh* collected all those traditions together, and wrote them into the book which they call the *Mishnah*; which was done about an hundred and fifty years after *Christ*, as hath been above related. The ages in which they flourished till the time of *Christ*, shall be the subject of the second part of this history.

^p See David Gantz in *Zemach David*, and the rest of the *Jewish* writers, by whom all those, who living after the men of the great synagogue, are quoted in the *Mishnah* for any tradition, are called the *Mishnical* doctors.





A

Chronological Table

To the Foregoing

H I S T O R Y.

| Kings of Assyria. | Kings of Babylon. | Kings of Judah. | Years before Christ. | Julian Period. | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|----------------|--|
| 1 Tiglath Pileser or Arbaces. | 1 Nabonassar or Belshazzar. | 12 Jotham. | 747 | 3967 | The beginning of the kingdoms of Assyria and Babylon. |
| 2 | 2 | 13 | 746 | 8 | |
| 3 | 3 | 14 | 745 | 9 | |
| 4 | 4 | 15 | 744 | 3970 | |
| 5 | 5 | 16 | 743 | 1 | |
| 6 | 6 | 1 | 742 | 2 | Rezin King of Damascus, and Pekah King of Israel, make war against Abaz, and besiege Jerusalem, but without success. |
| 7 | 7 | 2 | 741 | 3 | Abaz vanquished, and Judah greatly oppressed by Rezin and Pekah. |
| 8 | 8 | 3 | 740 | 4 | Abaz calls in Tiglath Pileser King of Assyria to his help, who slays Rezin, and leads part of Israel into captivity. |
| 9 | 9 | 4 | 739 | 5 | Abaz revolts from God, and wholly suppresseth his worship in Judah. Pekah slain by Hoshea. |
| 10 | 10 | 5 | 738 | 6 | |
| 11 | 11 | 6 | 737 | 7 | |
| 12 | 12 | 7 | 736 | 8 | |
| 13 | 13 | 8 | 735 | 9 | |
| 14 | 14 | 9 | 734 | 3980 | |
| 15 | 1 | 10 | 733 | 1 | |
| 16 | 2 | 11 | 732 | 2 | |

| Julian Period. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Judah. | Kings of Babylon. | Kings of Assyria. | Kings of Egypt. | Events |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--|
| 3983 | 731 | 12 | 1 | 17 | | |
| 4 | 730 | 13 | 2 | 18 | | |
| 5 | 729 | 14 | 3 | 19 | | <i>Tiglath Pileser</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Salmaneser</i> . |
| 6 | 728 | 15 | 4 | 1 | | <i>Salmaneser</i> invadeth <i>Palestine</i> , and maketh <i>Samaria</i> tributary to him. |
| 7 | 727 | 16 | 5 | 2 | 1 | <i>Abaz</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Hezekiah</i> . <i>Sabac</i> or <i>So</i> , the <i>Æthiopian</i> , made King of <i>Egypt</i> . |
| 8 | 726 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | <i>Hezekiah</i> restor'd the true worship of God in <i>Judah</i> and <i>Jerusalem</i> . |
| 9 | 725 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 3 | <i>Salmaneser</i> lays siege to <i>Samaria</i> . |
| 3990 | 724 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 4 | |
| 1 | 723 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 5 | |
| 2 | 722 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 6 | |
| 3 | 721 | 7 | 1 | 8 | 7 | <i>Salmaneser</i> took <i>Samaria</i> , and extinguish'd the kingdom of <i>Israel</i> . <i>Tobit</i> led into captivity at the end of the sixth <i>Jewish</i> year of the reign of <i>Hezekiah</i> . |
| 4 | 720 | 8 | 2 | 9 | 8 | <i>Salmaneser</i> maketh war upon <i>Tyre</i> , and besiegeth it five years. |
| 5 | 719 | 9 | 3 | 10 | 1 | <i>Sevechus</i> succeedeth <i>So</i> in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> . |
| 6 | 718 | 10 | 4 | 11 | 2 | |
| 7 | 717 | 11 | 5 | 12 | 3 | |
| 8 | 716 | 12 | 6 | 13 | 4 | |
| 9 | 715 | 13 | 7 | 14 | 5 | <i>Salmaneser</i> dyeth, and is succeeded by <i>Sennacherib</i> . |
| 4000 | 714 | 14 | 8 | 1 | 6 | <i>Sennacherib</i> invadeth <i>Judea</i> . <i>Hezekiah</i> 's sickness. |
| 1 | 713 | 15 | 9 | 2 | 7 | <i>Merodach Baladan</i> 's embassy to <i>Hezekiah</i> . <i>Sennacherib</i> invadeth <i>Egypt</i> . |
| 2 | 712 | 16 | 10 | 3 | 8 | |
| 3 | 711 | 17 | 11 | 4 | 9 | |
| 4 | 710 | 18 | 12 | 5 | 10 | <i>Sennacherib</i> , on his return from <i>Egypt</i> , invadeth <i>Judea</i> , and loseth all his army, it being smitten by the hand of God. |
| 5 | 709 | 19 | 1 | 6 | 11 | The <i>Medes</i> revolt from <i>Sennacherib</i> , and make <i>Deioces</i> King. |
| 6 | 708 | 20 | 2 | 7 | 12 | |
| 7 | 707 | 21 | 3 | 8 | 13 | |
| 8 | 706 | 22 | 4 | 1 | 14 | <i>Sennacherib</i> being slain, is succeeded by <i>Esharhaddon</i> his son. |
| 9 | 705 | 23 | 5 | 2 | 1 | <i>Tirhakah</i> succeedeth <i>Sevechus</i> in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> . |
| 4010 | 704 | 24 | 1 | 3 | 2 | |
| 1 | 703 | 25 | 2 | 4 | 3 | |
| 2 | 702 | 26 | 1 | 5 | 4 | |
| 3 | 701 | 27 | 2 | 6 | 5 | |
| 4 | 700 | 28 | 3 | 7 | 6 | |
| 5 | 699 | 29 | 1 | 8 | 7 | |
| 6 | 698 | 1 | 2 | 9 | 8 | <i>Hezekiah</i> being dead, is succeeded by <i>Manasseh</i> his son. |
| 7 | 697 | 2 | 3 | 10 | 9 | |
| 8 | 696 | 3 | 4 | 11 | 10 | |
| 9 | 695 | 4 | 5 | 12 | 11 | |
| 4020 | 694 | 5 | 6 | 13 | 12 | |

| Kings of Media. | Kings of Egypt. | Kings of Assyria. | Kings of Babylon. | Kings of Judah. | Years before Christ. | Julian Period. |
|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------------|----------------|
| 17 | 13 | 14 | 1 | 6 | 693 | 4021 |
| 18 | 14 | 15 | 1 | 7 | 692 | 2 |
| 19 | 15 | 16 | 2 | 8 | 691 | 3 |
| 20 | 16 | 17 | 3 | 9 | 690 | 4 |
| 21 | 17 | 18 | 4 | 10 | 689 | 5 |
| 22 | 18 | 19 | 1 | 11 | 688 | 6 |
| 23 | 1 | 20 | 2 | 12 | 687 | 7 |
| 24 | 2 | 21 | 3 | 13 | 686 | 8 |
| 25 | 1 | 22 | 4 | 14 | 685 | 9 |
| 26 | 2 | 23 | 5 | 15 | 684 | 4030 |
| 27 | 3 | 24 | 6 | 16 | 683 | 1 |
| 28 | 4 | 25 | 7 | 17 | 682 | 2 |
| 29 | 5 | 26 | 8 | 18 | 681 | 3 |
| 30 | 6 | 27 | 1 | 19 | 680 | 4 |
| 31 | 7 | 28 | 2 | 20 | 679 | 5 |
| 32 | 8 | 29 | 3 | 21 | 678 | 6 |
| 33 | 9 | 30 | 4 | 22 | 677 | 7 |
| 34 | 10 | 31 | 5 | 23 | 676 | 8 |
| 35 | 11 | 32 | 6 | 24 | 675 | 9 |
| 36 | 12 | 33 | 7 | 25 | 674 | 4040 |
| 37 | 13 | 34 | 8 | 26 | 673 | 1 |
| 38 | 14 | 35 | 9 | 27 | 672 | 2 |
| 39 | 15 | 36 | 10 | 28 | 671 | 3 |
| 40 | 1 | | 11 | 29 | 670 | 4 |
| 41 | 2 | | 12 | 30 | 669 | 5 |
| 42 | 3 | | 13 | 31 | 668 | 6 |
| 43 | 4 | | 1 | 32 | 667 | 7 |
| 44 | 5 | | 2 | 33 | 666 | 8 |
| 45 | 6 | | 3 | 34 | 665 | 9 |
| 46 | 7 | | 4 | 35 | 664 | 4050 |
| 47 | 8 | | 5 | 36 | 663 | 1 |
| 48 | 9 | | 6 | 37 | 662 | 2 |
| 49 | 10 | | 7 | 38 | 661 | 3 |
| 50 | 11 | | 8 | 39 | 660 | 4 |
| 51 | 12 | | 9 | 40 | 659 | 5 |
| 52 | 13 | | 10 | 41 | 658 | 6 |
| 53 | 14 | | 11 | 42 | 657 | 7 |

On the death of *Tirhakah* ended the reign of the *Ethiopian* Kings in *Egypt*, and an *Interregnum* of two years succeeded.

Twelve princes seize the kingdom of *Egypt*, and govern it by a joint confederacy fifteen years.

Efarhaddon, King of *Assyria*, is made King of *Babylon*.

Efarhaddon invadeth *Palestine*, planteth a colony of foreigners in *Samaria*, takes *Manasseh* prisoner, and carries him in chains to *Babylon*.

Manasseh is restored, and the *Cutheans* in *Samaria* are infested with lions.

Psammitichus, one of the twelve confederated princes of *Egypt*, having destroyed the rest, seizeth the whole kingdom to himself.

Efarhaddon being dead, is succeeded by *Saosduchinus* in the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* kingdoms.

Deioces is kill'd in battel by the King of *Babylon* and *Assyria*.

| Julian Period. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Judah. | Kings of Babylon. | Kings of Egypt. | Kings of Media. | |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--|
| 4058 | 656 | 43 | 12 | 15 | 1 | <i>Phraortes</i> his son succeeds him. |
| 9 | 655 | 44 | 13 | 16 | 2 | <i>Olofernes</i> invadeth <i>Judea</i> , and is slain by <i>Judeth</i> . |
| 4060 | 654 | 45 | 14 | 17 | 3 | |
| 1 | 653 | 46 | 15 | 18 | 4 | |
| 2 | 652 | 47 | 16 | 19 | 5 | |
| 3 | 651 | 48 | 17 | 20 | 6 | |
| 4 | 650 | 49 | 18 | 21 | 7 | |
| 5 | 649 | 50 | 19 | 22 | 8 | |
| 6 | 648 | 51 | 20 | 23 | 9 | |
| 7 | 647 | 52 | 1 | 24 | 10 | |
| 8 | 646 | 53 | 2 | 25 | 11 | |
| 9 | 645 | 54 | 3 | 26 | 12 | |
| 4070 | 644 | 55 | 4 | 27 | 13 | |
| 1 | 643 | 1 | 5 | 28 | 14 | <i>Manasseh</i> being dead, is succeeded by <i>Ammon</i> his son. |
| 2 | 642 | 2 | 6 | 29 | 15 | |
| 3 | 641 | 3 | 7 | 30 | 16 | <i>Ammon</i> is murther'd by his servants. |
| 4 | 640 | 1 | 8 | 31 | 17 | He is succeeded by <i>Josiah</i> his son. |
| 5 | 639 | 2 | 9 | 32 | 18 | |
| 6 | 638 | 3 | 10 | 33 | 19 | |
| 7 | 637 | 4 | 11 | 34 | 20 | |
| 8 | 636 | 5 | 12 | 35 | 21 | |
| 9 | 635 | 6 | 13 | 36 | 22 | <i>Phraortes</i> besieging <i>Niniveh</i> , is there slain. |
| 4080 | 634 | 7 | 14 | 37 | 1 | <i>Cyaxares</i> his son succeeds him. |
| 1 | 633 | 8 | 15 | 38 | 2 | <i>Josiah's</i> first reformation of religion in <i>Judea</i> . The <i>Scythians</i> invade the upper <i>Asia</i> . |
| 2 | 632 | 9 | 16 | 39 | 3 | |
| 3 | 631 | 10 | 17 | 40 | 4 | |
| 4 | 630 | 11 | 18 | 41 | 5 | |
| 5 | 629 | 12 | 19 | 42 | 6 | <i>Josiah's</i> second reformation of religion in <i>Judea</i> . |
| 6 | 628 | 13 | 20 | 43 | 7 | <i>Jeremiah</i> first called to the prophetic office. |
| 7 | 627 | 14 | 21 | 44 | 8 | |
| 8 | 626 | 15 | 22 | 45 | 9 | <i>Nabopolassar</i> rebels against the King of <i>Assyria</i> , and makes himself King of <i>Babylon</i> . |
| 9 | 625 | 16 | 1 | 46 | 10 | |
| 4090 | 624 | 17 | 2 | 47 | 11 | |
| 1 | 623 | 18 | 3 | 48 | 12 | <i>Josiah's</i> third reformation of religion in <i>Judea</i> . |
| 2 | 622 | 19 | 4 | 49 | 13 | |
| 3 | 621 | 20 | 5 | 50 | 14 | |
| 4 | 620 | 21 | 6 | 51 | 15 | |
| 5 | 619 | 22 | 7 | 52 | 16 | |
| 6 | 618 | 23 | 8 | 53 | 17 | |
| 7 | 617 | 24 | 9 | 54 | 18 | <i>Psammitichus</i> , King of <i>Egypt</i> , dies. |
| 8 | 616 | 25 | 10 | 1 | 19 | Is succeeded by <i>Necus</i> his son, called <i>Pharaoh Necho</i> in the holy scriptures. |
| 9 | 615 | 26 | 11 | 2 | 20 | |
| 4100 | 614 | 27 | 12 | 3 | 21 | |
| 1 | 613 | 28 | 13 | 4 | 22 | |
| 2 | 612 | 29 | 14 | 5 | 23 | <i>Niniveh</i> destroyed by the <i>Medes</i> and <i>Babylonians</i> . |
| 3 | 611 | 30 | 15 | 6 | 24 | |
| 4 | 610 | 31 | 16 | 7 | 25 | <i>Josiah</i> slain in battel by <i>Necho</i> King of <i>Egypt</i> . |

| Julian Period. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Judah. | Kings of Babylon. | Kings of Egypt. | Kings of Media. | The Captivity of Judah. | Events |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------------|--|
| 4105 | 609 | Jehoiakim. 1 | 17 | 8 | 26 | 1 | First Jehoaahaz, and after him Jehoiakim succeeded in his stead. |
| 6 | 608 | 2 | 18 | 9 | 27 | | |
| 7 | 607 | 3 | 19 | 10 | 28 | | |
| 8 | 606 | 4 | 20 | 11 | 29 | 1 | Nebuchadnezzar takes Jerusalem, from whence begin the seventy years captivity of the Jews. |
| 9 | 605 | 5 | 21 | 12 | 30 | 2 | Nabopolassar, K. of Babylon, dies, and is succeeded by Nebuchadnezzar his son. |
| 4110 | 604 | 6 | 1 | 13 | 31 | 3 | |
| 1 | 603 | 7 | 2 | 14 | 32 | 4 | Daniel interprets Nebuchadnezzar's dream. Jehoiakim rebels against Nebuchadnezzar. |
| 2 | 602 | 8 | 3 | 15 | 33 | 5 | |
| 3 | 601 | 9 | 4 | 16 | 34 | 6 | |
| 4 | 600 | 10 | 5 | 1 | 35 | 7 | Darius the Median born. |
| 5 | 599 | 11 | 6 | 2 | 36 | 8 | Cyrus born. Jehoiakin slain. |
| 6 | 598 | Zedekiah. 1 | 7 | 3 | 37 | 9 | Jehoiakin carry'd into captivity, and Zedekiah made King in his stead. |
| 7 | 597 | 2 | 8 | 4 | 38 | 10 | |
| 8 | 596 | 3 | 9 | 5 | 39 | 11 | |
| 9 | 595 | 4 | 10 | 6 | 40 | 12 | |
| 4120 | 594 | 5 | 11 | 1 | 1 | 13 | Ezekiel call'd to the prophetic office. Pharaoh Hophra King of Egypt. |
| 1 | 593 | 6 | 12 | 2 | 2 | 14 | |
| 2 | 592 | 7 | 13 | 3 | 3 | 15 | Zedekiah confederates with Pharaoh Hophra, |
| 3 | 591 | 8 | 14 | 4 | 4 | 16 | And rebels against Nebuchadnezzar. |
| 4 | 590 | 9 | 15 | 5 | 5 | 17 | Nebuchadnezzar besiegeth Jerusalem. |
| 5 | 589 | 10 | 16 | 6 | 6 | 18 | Forceth Pharaoh Hophra to retreat, who came to relieve it. |
| 6 | 588 | 11 | 17 | 7 | 7 | 19 | Takes the city, and utterly destroys it with the temple. |
| 7 | 587 | | 18 | 8 | 8 | 20 | Returns to Babylon, and erects the golden image in the plains of Dura. |
| 8 | 586 | | 19 | 9 | 9 | 21 | Comes again into Palestine, and besiegeth Tyre thirteen years. |
| 9 | 585 | | 20 | 10 | 10 | 22 | |
| 4130 | 584 | | 21 | 11 | 11 | 23 | The remainder of the Jews and Israelites carried away by Nebuchadnezzar. |
| 1 | 583 | | 22 | 12 | 12 | 24 | |
| 2 | 582 | | 23 | 13 | 13 | 25 | |
| 3 | 581 | | 24 | 14 | 14 | 26 | |
| 4 | 580 | | 25 | 15 | 15 | 27 | |
| 5 | 579 | | 26 | 16 | 16 | 28 | |
| 6 | 578 | | 27 | 17 | 17 | 29 | |
| 7 | 577 | | 28 | 18 | 18 | 30 | |
| 8 | 576 | | 29 | 19 | 19 | 31 | |
| 9 | 575 | | 30 | 20 | 20 | 32 | |
| 4140 | 574 | | 31 | 21 | 21 | 33 | |

| Julian Period. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Babylon. | Kings of Egypt. | Kings of Media. | Captivity of Judah. | Captivity of Jehoiach. | |
|----------------|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------------|------------------------|---|
| 4141 | 573 | 34. 32 | 22 | 22 | 34 | 26 | Tyre taken, and Egypt invaded by Nebuchadnezzar. |
| 2 | 572 | 35. 33 | 23 | 23 | 35 | 27 | Nebuchadnezzar ravageth Egypt. |
| 3 | 571 | 36. 34 | 24 | 24 | 36 | 28 | Appoints Amasis King, and returns to Babylon. |
| 4 | 570 | 37. 35 | 25 | 25 | 37 | 29 | Pharaoh Hophra slain by Amasis. |
| 5 | 569 | 38. 36 | 1 | 26 | 38 | 30 | Nebuchadnezzar distracted. |
| 6 | 568 | 39. 37 | 2 | 27 | 39 | 31 | |
| 7 | 567 | 40. 38 | 3 | 28 | 40 | 32 | |
| 8 | 566 | 41. 39 | 4 | 29 | 41 | 33 | |
| 9 | 565 | 42. 40 | 5 | 30 | 42 | 34 | |
| 4150 | 564 | 43. 41 | 6 | 31 | 43 | 35 | |
| 1 | 563 | 44. 42 | 7 | 32 | 44 | 36 | Nebuchadnezzar restored to his senses. |
| 2 | 562 | 45. 43 | 8 | 33 | 45 | 37 | Dies in the thirty seventh year of Jehoiachin's captivity. |
| 3 | 561 | 1 | 9 | 34 | 46 | | Jehoiachin released and advanced. |
| 4 | 560 | 2 | 10 | 35 | 47 | | Evilmerodach slain by a conspiracy against him, and Astyages dies in Media. |
| 5 | 559 | 1 | 11 | 1 | 48 | | Neriglissar succeeds in Babylon, and Cyaxares (the Darius Medus of the scriptures) in Media. Cyrus comes to the aid of the Medes against the Babylonians. |
| 6 | 558 | 2 | 12 | 2 | 49 | | Great preparations made by the Medes and Babylonians, for war against each other. |
| 7 | 557 | 3 | 13 | 3 | 50 | | |
| 8 | 556 | 4 | 14 | 4 | 51 | | Cyrus being general of the Medes and Persians, under Cyaxares, slays Neriglissar in battel. Laborosoarchod succeeds, and is slain. |
| 9 | 555 | 1 | 15 | 5 | 52 | | Nabonadius (the Belshazzar of the scriptures) succeeds Laborosoarchod. |
| 4160 | 554 | 2 | 16 | 6 | 53 | | |
| 1 | 553 | 3 | 17 | 7 | 54 | | Daniel saw the vision of the ram and the he-goat, Chap. viii. |
| 2 | 552 | 4 | 18 | 8 | 55 | | |
| 3 | 551 | 5 | 19 | 9 | 56 | | Belshazzar goes into lesser Asia, and there hires a great army against Cyrus, of which Cræsus takes the command. |
| 4 | 550 | 6 | 20 | 10 | 57 | | Cyrus sends a spy into Cræsus's army, by whom he hath intelligence of all there done. |
| 5 | 549 | 7 | 21 | 11 | 58 | | Cyrus vanquisheth Cræsus at the river Halys, pursues him to Sardis, and takes the city, and Cræsus in it. |
| 6 | 548 | 8 | 22 | 12 | 59 | | Cyrus brings all the lesser Asia under his dominion. |
| 7 | 547 | 9 | 23 | 13 | 60 | | |
| 8 | 546 | 10 | 24 | 14 | 61 | | |
| 9 | 545 | 11 | 25 | 15 | 62 | | |
| 4170 | 544 | 12 | 26 | 16 | 63 | | Cyrus having settled all affairs in the lesser Asia, subdues Syria, Palestine, and Arabia. |
| 1 | 543 | 13 | 27 | 17 | 64 | | |

| Julian Period. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Babylon. | Kings of Egypt. | Kings of Media. | Captivity of Judah. | High-priests of Judah. | After the Captivity. | Yefous. |
|----------------|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------------|------------------------|----------------------|---------|
| 4172 | 542 | 14 | 28 | 18 | 65 | | | |
| 3 | 541 | 15 | 29 | 19 | 66 | | | |
| 4 | 540 | 16 | 30 | 20 | 67 | | | |
| 5 | 539 | 17 | 31 | 21 | 68 | | | |
| 6 | 538 | 1 | 32 | 22 | 69 | | | |
| 7 | 537 | 2 | 33 | | 70 | | | |
| 8 | 536 | 1 | 34 | | 1 | | | |
| 9 | 535 | 2 | 35 | | 2 | | | |
| 4180 | 534 | 3 | 36 | | 3 | | | |
| 1 | 533 | 4 | 37 | | 4 | | | |
| 2 | 532 | 5 | 38 | | 5 | | | |
| 3 | 531 | 6 | 39 | | 6 | | | |
| 4 | 530 | 7 | 40 | | 7 | | | |
| 5 | 529 | 1 | 41 | | 8 | | | |
| 6 | 528 | 2 | 42 | | 9 | | | |
| 7 | 527 | 3 | 43 | | 10 | | | |
| 8 | 526 | 4 | 44 | | 11 | | | |
| 9 | 525 | 5 | 45 | | 12 | | | |
| 4190 | 524 | 6 | | | 13 | | | |
| 1 | 523 | 7 | | | 14 | | | |
| 2 | 522 | 8 | | | 15 | | | |
| 3 | 521 | 1 | | | 16 | | | |
| 4 | 520 | 2 | | | 17 | | | |
| 5 | 519 | 3 | | | 18 | | | |
| 6 | 518 | 4 | | | 19 | | | |
| 7 | 517 | 5 | | | 20 | | | |
| 8 | 516 | 6 | | | 21 | | | |
| 9 | 515 | 7 | | | 22 | | | |
| 4200 | 514 | 8 | | | 23 | | | |

Cyrus marcheth into the upper Asia, and reduceth all there under his obedience.

Cyrus returns into Assyria, and lays siege to Babylon.

Cyrus takes Babylon and slays Belshazzar.

Cyrus places his uncle Darius on the throne at Babylon, and makes an expedition into Syria.

Darius dies at Babylon, and Cyrus succeeds in the whole empire.

Cyrus restores the Jews, and puts an end to their captivity after seventy years.

The Jews return to Jerusalem, and begin to rebuild the city and temple.

The Samaritans obstruct them in it.

The Samaritans corrupt the officers of Cyrus to discourage the work.

Cyrus dies, being seventy years old.

Cambyfes his son succeeds in the empire.

He invadeth Egypt.

Vanquisheth Psamminitus, who newly succeeded Amasis his father in the kingdom, and conquereth the whole kingdom.

Makes an expedition against the Ethiopians, and returns with loss.

Slays the Egyptian god Apis, and commits many outrages among them.

Returns into Syria, and there dies. The Magians seize the kingdom.

The Magians slain, and Darius Hystaspis chosen King.

The rebuilding of the temple resumed by the Jews.

The Samaritans again disturb them, till a decree was obtained for the going on with the work.

Which decree is brought to Jerusalem, and there executed.

The Babylonians revolting from Darius, are besieged by him.

Babylon taken by Darius, after a siege of twenty months.

The temple rebuilt and dedicated.

The Jews obtain sentence from Darius against the Samaritans, about the tribute of Samaria.

| Julian Period. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Persia. | After the Captivity. | High-priests of Judah. | |
|----------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------------|------------------------|---|
| 4201 | 513 | 9 | 24 | 24 | <i>Darius</i> passeth the <i>Bosphorus</i> and the <i>Danube</i> to make war against the <i>Scythians</i> , and returns with the loss of half his army. |
| 2 | 512 | 10 | 25 | 25 | Subdues <i>Thrace</i> , and returns to <i>Susa</i> . |
| 3 | 511 | 11 | 26 | 26 | |
| 4 | 510 | 12 | 27 | 27 | The <i>Scythians</i> ravage <i>Thrace</i> , and drive <i>Miltiades</i> out of the <i>Chersonesus</i> . |
| 5 | 509 | 13 | 28 | 28 | <i>Darius</i> sends <i>Scylax</i> with a fleet down the <i>Indus</i> to discover <i>India</i> . |
| 6 | 508 | 14 | 29 | 29 | |
| 7 | 507 | 15 | 30 | 30 | <i>Scylax</i> returns by the way of the ocean, and the <i>Red-Sea</i> , and gives <i>Darius</i> an account of his discoveries. |
| 8 | 506 | 16 | 31 | 31 | <i>Darius</i> invades and conquers <i>India</i> . |
| 9 | 505 | 17 | 32 | 32 | |
| 4210 | 504 | 18 | 33 | 33 | |
| 1 | 503 | 19 | 34 | 34 | The <i>Persians</i> , under the command of <i>Aristagoras</i> of <i>Miletus</i> , make an attempt upon <i>Naxos</i> , and miscarry in it. <i>Tyre</i> restored. |
| 2 | 502 | 20 | 35 | 35 | <i>Aristagoras</i> and the <i>Ionians</i> revolt from <i>Darius</i> . |
| 3 | 501 | 21 | 36 | 36 | The <i>Athenians</i> enter into a confederacy with the <i>Ionians</i> against <i>Darius</i> . |
| 4 | 500 | 22 | 37 | 37 | They burn <i>Sardis</i> , which gave the first rise to the <i>Persian</i> war against the <i>Greeks</i> . |
| 5 | 499 | 23 | 38 | 38 | The <i>Persians</i> prevail against the <i>Ionians</i> . <i>Aristagoras</i> flees into <i>Thrace</i> . <i>Hestiaeus Milesius</i> returns into <i>Ionia</i> , and joins the revolters. |
| 6 | 498 | 24 | 39 | 39 | <i>Aristagoras</i> slain in <i>Thrace</i> . |
| 7 | 497 | 25 | 40 | 40 | <i>Miletus</i> taken; the <i>Ionians</i> reduced, and an end put to that war. |
| 8 | 496 | 26 | 41 | 41 | <i>Hestiaeus</i> taken by the <i>Persians</i> , and crucified. |
| 9 | 495 | 27 | 42 | 42 | The <i>Persians</i> reduce the <i>Hellepont</i> and <i>Thracian Chersonesus</i> , and force <i>Miltiades</i> to flee to <i>Athens</i> . |
| 4220 | 494 | 28 | 43 | 43 | <i>Mardonius</i> being sent by <i>Darius</i> to make war against the <i>Greeks</i> , miscarries in the expedition, and returns with great loss. |
| 1 | 493 | 29 | 44 | 44 | <i>Darius</i> sends heralds to demand earth and water of the <i>Greeks</i> . |
| 2 | 492 | 30 | 45 | 45 | Two other generals sent against the <i>Greeks</i> in the place of <i>Mardonius</i> . <i>Zoroastres</i> appears at the <i>Persian</i> court. |
| 3 | 491 | 31 | 46 | 46 | The <i>Persians</i> invade <i>Attica</i> , and are defeated at <i>Marathon</i> . |
| 4 | 490 | 32 | 47 | 47 | <i>Darius</i> makes great preparations to invade <i>Greece</i> in person. |
| 5 | 489 | 33 | 48 | 48 | |
| 6 | 488 | 34 | 49 | 49 | |
| 7 | 487 | 35 | 50 | 50 | The <i>Egyptians</i> revolt from <i>Darius</i> . |
| 8 | 486 | 36 | 51 | 51 | <i>Darius</i> declares <i>Xerxes</i> his successor, and dies. |
| 9 | 485 | 1 | 52 | 52 | <i>Xerxes</i> confirms to the <i>Jews</i> all their privileges. |
| 4230 | 484 | 2 | 53 | 53 | Reduceth <i>Egypt</i> . |
| 1 | 483 | 3 | 54 | 54 | Resolves on a war with the <i>Greeks</i> , and makes great preparations for it. |
| 2 | 482 | 4 | 55 | 55 | Enters into a league with the <i>Carthaginians</i> against the <i>Greeks</i> . |
| 3 | 481 | 5 | 56 | 56 | Comes with a prodigious army to <i>Sardis</i> , and there winters. |

| Julian Period. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Persia. | After the Captivity. | High-priests of Judah. | |
|----------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------------|------------------------|---|
| 4234 | 480 | 6 | 57 | 4 | Passeth the <i>Hellepont</i> , marcheth into <i>Greece</i> , loseth the battel of <i>Salamis</i> , and returns with disgrace to <i>Sardis</i> . The <i>Carthaginians</i> vanquish'd in <i>Sicily</i> by <i>Gelo</i> . |
| 5 | 479 | 7 | 58 | 5 | The <i>Persians</i> vanquished at <i>Platæa</i> and <i>Mycale</i> on the same day. |
| 6 | 478 | 8 | 59 | 6 | <i>Xerxes</i> destroys the temple of <i>Bel</i> at <i>Babylon</i> . |
| 7 | 477 | 9 | 60 | 7 | <i>Pausanias</i> and <i>Aristides</i> pursue the war against the <i>Persians</i> . |
| 8 | 476 | 10 | 61 | 8 | <i>Pausanias</i> , suspected of treason by the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , is recalled. |
| 9 | 475 | 11 | 62 | 9 | Still carries on the treason for the betraying of <i>Greece</i> to <i>Xerxes</i> . |
| 4240 | 474 | 12 | 63 | 10 | Is tryed for it, and acquitted for want of full evidence. |
| 1 | 473 | 13 | 64 | 11 | Full discovery being made of his treason, he is put to death for it. |
| 2 | 472 | 14 | 65 | 12 | <i>Themistocles</i> being accused by the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> of the same treason, is acquitted of it at <i>Athens</i> . |
| 3 | 471 | 15 | 66 | 13 | <i>Themistocles</i> being banished <i>Athens</i> for ten years, is again accused of the same treason by the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> , before the states of <i>Greece</i> , and thereby forced to flee into <i>Persia</i> . |
| 4 | 470 | 16 | 67 | 14 | <i>Cimon</i> , general of the <i>Athenians</i> , gains two victories over the <i>Persians</i> near the river <i>Eurymedon</i> on the same day, the first by sea, and the second by land. |
| 5 | 469 | 17 | 68 | 15 | He makes many other conquests for the <i>Athenians</i> on the <i>Hellepont</i> and elsewhere. |
| 6 | 468 | 18 | 69 | 16 | <i>Xerxes</i> discouraged by so many defeats, gives over the <i>Grecian</i> war. |
| 7 | 467 | 19 | 70 | 17 | |
| 8 | 466 | 20 | 71 | 18 | |
| 9 | 465 | 21 | 72 | 19 | <i>Xerxes</i> slain by the treason of <i>Artabanus</i> . |
| 4250 | 464 | 1 | 73 | 20 | <i>Artaxerxes</i> (the <i>Abasuerus</i> of the book of <i>Esther</i>) succeeds, and slays <i>Artabanus</i> . |
| 1 | 463 | 2 | 74 | 21 | He conquers his brother <i>Hystaspes</i> , and thereby becomes thoroughly settled in the throne. |
| 2 | 462 | 3 | 75 | 22 | Hereon he makes a great feast for all his nobles, and divorceth <i>Vashti</i> his Queen. |
| 3 | 461 | 4 | 76 | 23 | A collection of virgins made for the King, of which <i>Esther</i> was one. |
| 4 | 460 | 5 | 77 | 24 | <i>Esther</i> pleaseth the King, and becomes his concubine. The <i>Egyptians</i> revolt, and make <i>Inarus</i> their King. |
| 5 | 459 | 6 | 78 | 25 | <i>Achæmenides</i> , brother of the King, being sent against the <i>Egyptians</i> , is vanquish'd and slain, and the remainder of his army besieged in <i>Memphis</i> . |
| 6 | 458 | 7 | 79 | 26 | <i>Ezra</i> sent to be governor of <i>Judea</i> . <i>Esther</i> is made Queen. |
| 7 | 457 | 8 | 80 | 27 | <i>Ezra</i> separated the <i>Jews</i> from their strange wives. <i>Mordecai</i> discovers the treason of <i>Bigthan</i> and <i>Teresb</i> . |
| 8 | 456 | 9 | 81 | 28 | <i>Artabazus</i> and <i>Megabyfus</i> raise the siege of <i>Memphis</i> , defeat <i>Inarus</i> , and besiege him and his <i>Athenian</i> auxiliaries in the island <i>Prosopitis</i> . |
| 9 | 455 | 10 | 82 | 29 | |

| Julian Period. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Persia. | After the Captivity. | High-priests of Judah. | |
|----------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------------|------------------------|--|
| 4260 | 454 | 11 | 83 | 30 | They force <i>Profopitis</i> , take <i>Inarus</i> prisoner; drive the <i>Athenians</i> out of <i>Egypt</i> , and again reduce all that countrey under the <i>Persian</i> King. |
| 1 | 453 | 12 | 84 | 1 | <i>Haman</i> plotteth the destruction of the <i>Jews</i> . |
| 2 | 452 | 13 | 85 | 2 | <i>Haman's</i> plot defeated in his own destruction, and the feast of <i>Purim</i> instituted in remembrance of it. |
| 3 | 451 | 14 | 86 | 3 | |
| 4 | 450 | 15 | 87 | 4 | <i>Cimon</i> sent by the <i>Athenians</i> to <i>Cyprus</i> with a great fleet: |
| 5 | 449 | 16 | 88 | 5 | Where he beats the <i>Persians</i> both by sea and land, and then dies at <i>Citium</i> . <i>Artaxerxes</i> makes peace with the <i>Athenians</i> . |
| 6 | 448 | 17 | 89 | 6 | <i>Inarus</i> crucified, and <i>Megabyzus</i> rebels. |
| 7 | 447 | 18 | 90 | 7 | <i>Megabyzus</i> defeats the first army sent against him. |
| 8 | 446 | 19 | 91 | 8 | He defeats the second army sent against him, and is reconciled to the King. |
| 9 | 445 | 20 | 92 | 9 | <i>Nehemiah</i> sent governor to <i>Judea</i> , and rebuilds the walls of <i>Jerusalem</i> . <i>Megabyzus</i> banished to <i>Cyrta</i> on the <i>Red-Sea</i> . |
| 4270 | 444 | 21 | 93 | 10 | He re-peoples <i>Jerusalem</i> , and proceeds to reform church and state in <i>Judah</i> . <i>Ezra</i> publisheth his edition of the <i>Hebrew</i> scriptures. |
| 1 | 443 | 22 | 94 | 11 | |
| 2 | 442 | 23 | 95 | 12 | |
| 3 | 441 | 24 | 96 | 13 | |
| 4 | 440 | 25 | 97 | 14 | <i>Megabyzus</i> returns to the <i>Persian</i> court. |
| 5 | 439 | 26 | 98 | 15 | |
| 6 | 438 | 27 | 99 | 16 | |
| 7 | 437 | 28 | 100 | 17 | |
| 8 | 436 | 29 | 101 | 18 | |
| 9 | 435 | 30 | 102 | 19 | |
| 4280 | 434 | 31 | 103 | 20 | |
| 1 | 433 | 32 | 104 | 21 | <i>Nehemiah</i> goes from <i>Jerusalem</i> to the <i>Persian</i> court. |
| 2 | 432 | 33 | 105 | 22 | <i>Metu</i> begun his cycle. |
| 3 | 431 | 34 | 106 | 23 | The <i>Peloponnesian</i> war began. A great plague broke out in the <i>East</i> . |
| 4 | 430 | 35 | 107 | 24 | It came to <i>Athens</i> , and grievously afflicted that city. |
| 5 | 429 | 36 | 108 | 25 | About this time flourished <i>Malachi</i> the prophet. |
| 6 | 428 | 37 | 109 | 26 | <i>Nehemiah</i> comes again to <i>Jerusalem</i> with a new commission. <i>Plato</i> the philosopher born. |
| 7 | 427 | 38 | 110 | 27 | <i>Nehemiah</i> goes on farther to reform the <i>Jewish</i> church and state. |
| 8 | 426 | 39 | 111 | 28 | The plague again broke out at <i>Athens</i> , which produced a law there for polygamy. |
| 9 | 425 | 40 | 112 | 29 | |
| 4290 | 424 | 41 | 113 | 30 | <i>Artaxerxes</i> dying, <i>Xerxes</i> his son succeeds. He is slain by <i>Sogdianus</i> , and <i>Sogdianus</i> by <i>Ochus</i> , who with the crown assumes the name of <i>Darius</i> . |
| 1 | 423 | 1 | 114 | 31 | <i>Darius</i> (commonly called <i>Darius Nothus</i>) begins his reign. |
| 2 | 422 | 2 | 115 | 32 | Vanquisheth <i>Artites</i> his brother, and puts him to death. |
| 3 | 421 | 3 | 116 | 33 | |
| 4 | 420 | 4 | 117 | 34 | |
| 5 | 419 | 5 | 118 | 35 | |

| Julian Period. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Persia. | After the Captivity. | High-priests of Judah. | Kings of Egypt. | Amirteus. | Pausiris. | Panmitichus. | Nepherens. | |
|----------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|------------|--|
| 4296 | 418 | 6 | 119 | 36 | | | | | | <i>Pisuthnes</i> rebels against <i>Darius</i> in <i>lesser Asia</i> , and is vanquish'd and put to death by <i>Tissaphernes</i> , one of <i>Darius's</i> lieutenants. |
| 7 | 417 | 7 | 120 | 37 | | | | | | The <i>Egyptians</i> revolt from <i>Darius</i> , and make <i>Amyrtaeus</i> their King. |
| 8 | 416 | 8 | 121 | 38 | | | | | | <i>Tissaphernes</i> and <i>Pharnabazus</i> governors of <i>lesser Asia</i> for <i>Darius</i> . |
| 9 | 415 | 9 | 122 | 39 | | | | | | |
| 4300 | 414 | 10 | 123 | 40 | | | | | | |
| 1 | 413 | 11 | 124 | 1 | | | | | | |
| 2 | 412 | 12 | 125 | 2 | | | | | | |
| 3 | 411 | 13 | 126 | 3 | | | | | | |
| 4 | 410 | 14 | 127 | 4 | | | | | | The last act of reformation by <i>Nehemiah</i> , forty nine years after it had been begun by <i>Ezra</i> , where end the first seven weeks of <i>Daniel's</i> prophecy. |
| 5 | 409 | 15 | 128 | 5 | | | | | | The temple on mount <i>Gerizim</i> began to be built by <i>Manasseh</i> . |
| 6 | 408 | 16 | 129 | 6 | | | | | | <i>Cyrus</i> , the younger son of <i>Darius</i> , sent to govern in <i>lesser Asia</i> . |
| 7 | 407 | 17 | 130 | 7 | | | | | | |
| 8 | 406 | 18 | 131 | 8 | | | | | | |
| 9 | 405 | 19 | 132 | 9 | | | | | | <i>Cyrus</i> recalled to the <i>Persian</i> court. <i>Darius</i> dies, and <i>Artaxerxes Mnemon</i> succeeds him. |
| 4310 | 404 | 1 | 133 | 10 | | | | | | <i>Athens</i> taken, and the <i>Peloponnesian</i> war ended. <i>Cyrus</i> sent back again to his government in <i>lesser Asia</i> . |
| 1 | 403 | 2 | 134 | 11 | | | | | | He designeth war against his brother, and lifts forces for this purpose. |
| 2 | 402 | 3 | 135 | 12 | | | | | | |
| 3 | 401 | 4 | 136 | 13 | | | | | | He marcheth towards <i>Babylon</i> , is vanquished in battel, and slain. |
| 4 | 400 | 5 | 137 | 14 | | | | | | <i>Thimbro</i> sent by the <i>Lacedaemonians</i> into <i>lesser Asia</i> to make war against the <i>Persians</i> . <i>Xenophon</i> brings home the <i>Greeks</i> that followed <i>Cyrus</i> , and joins him. |
| 5 | 399 | 6 | 138 | 15 | | | | | | <i>Dercillydas</i> succeeds <i>Thimbro</i> . <i>Socrates</i> put to death by the <i>Athenians</i> . |
| 6 | 398 | 7 | 139 | 16 | | | | | | <i>Dercillydas</i> vigorously carries on the war against the <i>Persians</i> . |
| 7 | 397 | 8 | 140 | 17 | | | | | | |
| 8 | 396 | 9 | 141 | 18 | | | | | | <i>Agésilas</i> passeth into <i>Asia</i> , to carry on the war there against the <i>Persians</i> . |
| 9 | 395 | 10 | 142 | 19 | | | | | | Vanquisheth <i>Tissaphernes</i> , who is thereon put to death by <i>Artaxerxes</i> . |
| 4320 | 394 | 11 | 143 | 20 | | | | | | <i>Agésilas</i> called home to defend his countrey against a confederacy of the <i>Greeks</i> against them. <i>Conon</i> wins the victory of <i>Cnidus</i> . |
| 1 | 393 | 12 | 144 | 21 | | | | | | <i>Conon</i> rebuilds the walls of <i>Athens</i> , and again restores that city. |
| 2 | 392 | 13 | 145 | 22 | | | | | | The <i>Lacedaemonians</i> renew the war in <i>Asia</i> against the <i>Persians</i> , but without success. |
| 3 | 391 | 14 | 146 | 23 | | | | | | <i>Artaxerxes</i> makes great preparations for war against <i>Cyprus</i> . |
| 4 | 390 | 15 | 147 | 24 | | | | | | |

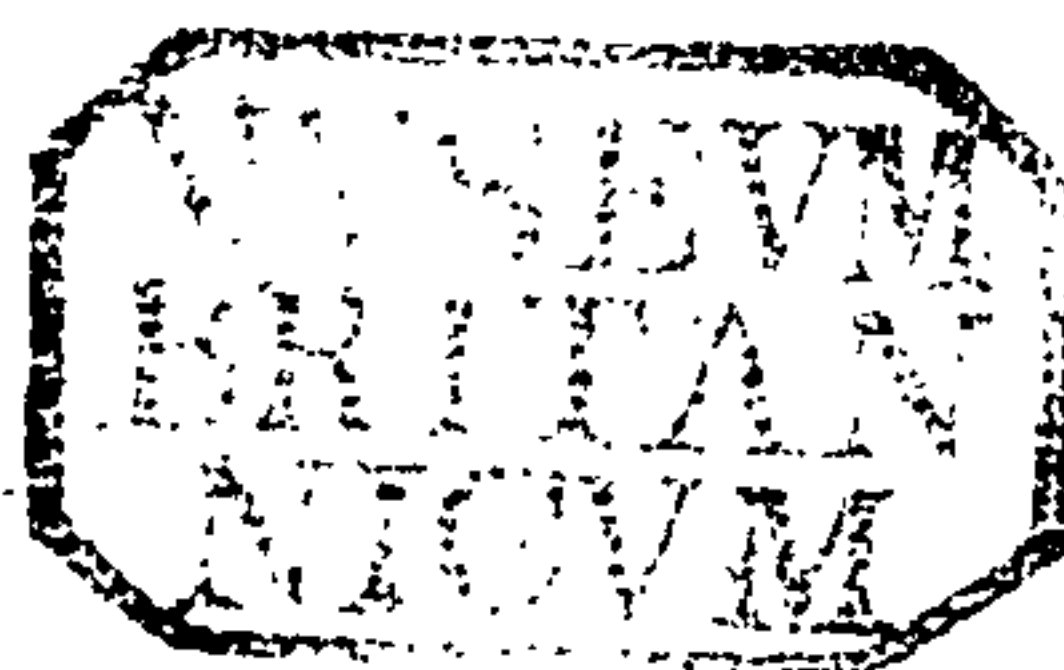
| Julian Period. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Persia. | After the Captivity. | High-priests of Judah. | Kings of Egypt. | |
|----------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|---|
| 4325 | 389 | 16 | 148 | 25 | 1 | |
| 6 | 388 | 17 | 149 | 26 | 2 | The <i>Athenians</i> sent <i>Chabrias</i> to the assistance of <i>Euagoras</i> King of <i>Cyprus</i> , who reduceth the whole island to him. |
| 7 | 387 | 18 | 150 | 27 | 3 | The peace of <i>Antalcidas</i> made between the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> and the <i>Persians</i> . |
| 8 | 386 | 19 | 151 | 28 | 4 | The <i>Persians</i> invade <i>Cyprus</i> with three hundred thousand men, |
| 9 | 385 | 20 | 152 | 29 | 5 | And make an absolute conquest of that island. |
| 4330 | 384 | 21 | 153 | 30 | 6 | <i>Artaxerxes</i> invades the <i>Cadusians</i> with ill success. <i>Aristotle</i> born. |
| 1 | 383 | 22 | 154 | 31 | 7 | |
| 2 | 382 | 23 | 155 | 32 | 8 | |
| 3 | 381 | 24 | 156 | 33 | 9 | |
| 4 | 380 | 25 | 157 | 34 | 10 | |
| 5 | 379 | 26 | 158 | 35 | 11 | |
| 6 | 378 | 27 | 159 | 36 | 12 | |
| 7 | 377 | 28 | 160 | 37 | 13 | <i>Artaxerxes</i> resolves on a war to reduce <i>Egypt</i> . |
| 8 | 376 | 29 | 161 | 38 | 14 | <i>Pharnabazus</i> appointed general for this war. |
| 9 | 375 | 30 | 162 | 39 | 1 | He makes great preparations for it. |
| 4340 | 374 | 31 | 163 | 40 | 2 | Invades <i>Egypt</i> , and is forced to return with ill success. |
| 1 | 373 | 32 | 164 | 1 | 3 | |
| 2 | 372 | 33 | 165 | 2 | 4 | |
| 3 | 371 | 34 | 166 | 3 | 5 | The <i>Lacedæmonians</i> beaten at <i>Leuctra</i> by the <i>Thebans</i> . |
| 4 | 370 | 35 | 167 | 4 | 6 | |
| 5 | 369 | 36 | 168 | 5 | 7 | |
| 6 | 368 | 37 | 169 | 6 | 8 | |
| 7 | 367 | 38 | 170 | 7 | 9 | |
| 8 | 366 | 39 | 171 | 8 | 10 | <i>Johanan</i> , high-priest of the <i>Jews</i> , kills his brother <i>Jeshua</i> in the temple, for which the <i>Persian</i> governor lays a mulct upon the <i>Jews</i> for seven years. |
| 9 | 365 | 40 | 172 | 9 | 11 | |
| 4350 | 364 | 41 | 173 | 10 | 12 | |
| 1 | 363 | 42 | 174 | 11 | 1 | The battel of <i>Mantineia</i> , between the <i>Lacedæmonians</i> and the <i>Thebans</i> , in which the former lose the victory, and the latter their general <i>Epaminondas</i> . |
| 2 | 362 | 43 | 175 | 12 | 2 | <i>Agefilaus</i> goes into <i>Egypt</i> with an army to assist <i>Tachus</i> . |
| 3 | 361 | 44 | 176 | 13 | 1 | He deserts <i>Tachus</i> , and makes <i>Neftanebus</i> King. |
| 4 | 360 | 45 | 177 | 14 | 2 | He vanquisheth the enemies of <i>Neftanebus</i> , |
| 5 | 359 | 46 | 178 | 15 | 3 | And fully settles him in the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> . |
| 6 | 358 | 1 | 179 | 16 | 4 | <i>Artaxerxes</i> dies. |
| 7 | 357 | 2 | 180 | 17 | 5 | He returns homeward, and dies in the way on the coasts of <i>Africa</i> . Great revolts in the <i>Persian</i> empire on the succession of <i>Ochus</i> . |
| 8 | 356 | 3 | 181 | 18 | 6 | |
| 9 | 355 | 4 | 182 | 19 | 7 | <i>Alexander the Great</i> born at <i>Pella</i> in <i>Macedonia</i> . |
| 4360 | 354 | 5 | 183 | 20 | 8 | |
| 1 | 353 | 6 | 184 | 21 | 9 | |
| 2 | 352 | 7 | 185 | 22 | 10 | |

| Julian Period. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Persia. | After the Captivity. | High-priests of Judah. | Kings of Egypt. | |
|----------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|---|
| 4363 | 351 | 8 | 186 | 23 | 11 | The Cyprians and Phœnicians revolting from Ochus, are again reduced. Sidon taken and destroyed by Ochus. |
| 4 | 350 | 9 | 187 | 24 | 12 | Ochus invades Egypt, expels Nectanebus, and reduceth the whole countrey. |
| 5 | 349 | 10 | 188 | 25 | | Mentor made governor of lesser Asia. Memnon his brother enters into the Persian service. |
| 6 | 348 | 11 | 189 | 26 | | Plato the philosopher dies. |
| 7 | 347 | 12 | 190 | 27 | | |
| 8 | 346 | 13 | 191 | 28 | | |
| 9 | 345 | 14 | 192 | 29 | | |
| 4370 | 344 | 15 | 193 | 30 | | |
| 1 | 343 | 16 | 194 | 31 | | |
| 2 | 342 | 17 | 195 | 32 | | |
| 3 | 341 | 18 | 196 | 1 | | |
| 4 | 340 | 19 | 197 | 2 | | |
| 5 | 339 | 20 | 198 | 3 | | |
| 6 | 338 | 21 | 199 | 4 | | Bagoas the eunuch poisoneth Ochus, and maketh Arogus or Arses King in his stead. |
| 7 | 337 | Arogus. 1 | 200 | 5 | | Philip King of Macedon, after the victory of Chæroneæ, made general of Greece against the Persians. |
| 8 | 336 | 2 | 201 | 6 | | Bagoas poisons Arogus, and Pausanias slays Philip King of Macedon: Darius succeeds the former, and Alexander the latter. |
| 9 | 335 | Darius. 1 | 202 | 7 | | Darius puts Bagoas to death. Alexander destroys Thebes, and is appointed general of the Grecians against the Persians, in the place of his father. |
| 4380 | 334 | 2 | 203 | 8 | | Alexander passeth into Asia, and wins the battel of Granicus. |
| 1 | 333 | 3 | 204 | 9 | | He reduceth all lesser Asia, and wins the battel of Issus. |
| 2 | 332 | 4 | 205 | 10 | | He destroys Tyre and Gaza, and conquers Egypt. |
| 3 | 331 | Alexander. 1 | 206 | 11 | | He passeth the Euphrates and the Tigris, wins the battel of Arbela, and takes Babylon, Susa, and Persopolis, and the provinces belonging to them. |
| 4 | 330 | 2 | 207 | 12 | | Darius slain by Bessus. Alexander subdues the Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanians, Arians, and several other nations: Puts Philotas and Parmenio to death. |
| 5 | 329 | 3 | 208 | 13 | | He subdues the Bactrians and Sogdians, and puts Bessus to death. |
| 6 | 328 | 4 | 209 | 14 | | He marries Roxana, passeth into India, and conquers all to the river Indus. |
| 7 | 327 | 5 | 210 | 15 | | He passeth the Indus, vanquisheth Porus, and subdues all as far as the river Hyphasis. |
| 8 | 326 | 6 | 211 | 16 | | He puts his army on board his fleet, and saileth down the Indus, conquering several nations in his way. |
| 9 | 325 | 7 | 212 | 17 | | Having passed down to the mouth of the Indus, he sends Nearchus with his fleet thorough the ocean to Babylon, and marcheth thitherward with his army by land. |
| 4390 | 324 | 8 | 213 | 18 | | He conquers the Cossæans, and enters Babylon, |

| Julian Period. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Persia. | After the Captivity. | High-priests of Judah. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|--|----------------------|------------------------|---|----------------------|-----------------|--|---|---|--|--|---|--|--|---|---|--|---|---|--|---|--|--|---|---|--|---|--|
| 4391 | 323 | Philipus. | 1 | 19 | And there dies. <i>Arideus</i> his brother made nominal King, and the commanders of the army divide the provinces of the empire among themselves. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | 322 | | 2 | 20 | <i>Perdiccas</i> and <i>Eumenes</i> make war against <i>Antipater</i> , <i>Craterus</i> , and <i>Ptolemy</i> . | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | 321 | | 3 | Onias. 1 | <i>Eumenes</i> vanquisheth <i>Craterus</i> , and slays him in battel. <i>Perdiccas</i> is slain by his own soldiers in <i>Egypt</i> . <i>Aristotle</i> dies. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | 320 | | 4 | 2 | <i>Antigonus</i> being sent against <i>Eumenes</i> , vanquisheth him in battel. <i>Ptolemy</i> seizeth <i>Judea</i> , <i>Phanicia</i> , and <i>Cale-Syria</i> , and taketh <i>Jerusalem</i> . | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | 319 | | 5 | 3 | <i>Antipater</i> being dead, <i>Cassander</i> seizeth <i>Macedon</i> , and <i>Antigonus</i> all lesser <i>Asia</i> , and shuts up <i>Eumenes</i> in the castle of <i>Nora</i> . | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | 318 | | 6 | 4 | <i>Eumenes</i> being got out of <i>Nora</i> , passeth into <i>Cilicia</i> , and having there gotten together an army, marcheth into <i>Syria</i> , and from thence into <i>Mesopotamia</i> . | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | 317 | | 7 | 5 | <i>Eumenes</i> marcheth to <i>Susa</i> , and is there joined by the governors of the eastern provinces. <i>Arideus</i> slain by <i>Olympias</i> . | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8 | 316 | Alexander Aegus. | 1 | 6 | <i>Antigonus</i> marcheth into the <i>East</i> against <i>Eumenes</i> . | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9 | 315 | | 2 | 7 | <i>Eumenes</i> betray'd into the hands of <i>Antigonus</i> by his own soldiers, and put to death. <i>Seleucus</i> , <i>Ptolemy</i> , <i>Cassander</i> , and <i>Lyfimachus</i> , confederate against <i>Antigonus</i> . | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4400 | 314 | | 3 | 8 | <i>Antigonus</i> dispossesseth <i>Ptolemy</i> of <i>Syria</i> , <i>Phanicia</i> , and <i>Judea</i> . | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 313 | | 4 | 9 | <i>Antigonus</i> leaveth <i>Demetrius</i> his son, with part of his army, in <i>Phanicia</i> , and marcheth with the other against <i>Cassander</i> . | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | <table><tr><th>The Era of Seleucus.</th><th>Kings of Syria.</th><th></th></tr><tr><td>1</td><td>1</td><td><i>Ptolemy</i> seizeth <i>Cyprus</i>, beats <i>Demetrius</i> at <i>Gaza</i>, and again recovers <i>Syria</i> and <i>Phanicia</i>, and loseth them all again by the defeat of <i>Cylles</i> his lieutenant. <i>Seleucus</i> seizeth <i>Babylon</i>.</td></tr><tr><td></td><td>2</td><td><i>Demetrius</i> marcheth to <i>Babylon</i> against <i>Seleucus</i>, and returns without success.</td></tr><tr><td></td><td>3</td><td><i>Cassander</i> slays <i>Alexander Aegus</i>, with <i>Roxana</i> his mother. <i>Epicurus</i> first teacheth his impious philosophy.</td></tr><tr><td></td><td>4</td><td><i>Ptolemy</i> takes several cities from <i>Antigonus</i> in lesser <i>Asia</i>.</td></tr><tr><td></td><td>5</td><td>He takes the isle of <i>Andros</i>, and <i>Corinth</i>, <i>Sicyon</i>, and several other cities on the continent of <i>Greece</i>.</td></tr><tr><td></td><td>6</td><td><i>Ophellas</i> slain by <i>Agathocles</i>, and <i>Ptolemy</i> recovers <i>Libya</i> and <i>Cyrene</i>.</td></tr><tr><td></td><td>7</td><td><i>Demetrius</i> gains a great victory over <i>Ptolemy</i> at <i>Cyprus</i>, and dispossesseth him of that whole island. <i>Antigonus</i> hereon takes the title of King.</td></tr></table> | The Era of Seleucus. | Kings of Syria. | | 1 | 1 | <i>Ptolemy</i> seizeth <i>Cyprus</i> , beats <i>Demetrius</i> at <i>Gaza</i> , and again recovers <i>Syria</i> and <i>Phanicia</i> , and loseth them all again by the defeat of <i>Cylles</i> his lieutenant. <i>Seleucus</i> seizeth <i>Babylon</i> . | | 2 | <i>Demetrius</i> marcheth to <i>Babylon</i> against <i>Seleucus</i> , and returns without success. | | 3 | <i>Cassander</i> slays <i>Alexander Aegus</i> , with <i>Roxana</i> his mother. <i>Epicurus</i> first teacheth his impious philosophy. | | 4 | <i>Ptolemy</i> takes several cities from <i>Antigonus</i> in lesser <i>Asia</i> . | | 5 | He takes the isle of <i>Andros</i> , and <i>Corinth</i> , <i>Sicyon</i> , and several other cities on the continent of <i>Greece</i> . | | 6 | <i>Ophellas</i> slain by <i>Agathocles</i> , and <i>Ptolemy</i> recovers <i>Libya</i> and <i>Cyrene</i> . | | 7 | <i>Demetrius</i> gains a great victory over <i>Ptolemy</i> at <i>Cyprus</i> , and dispossesseth him of that whole island. <i>Antigonus</i> hereon takes the title of King. |
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| | 4 | <i>Ptolemy</i> takes several cities from <i>Antigonus</i> in lesser <i>Asia</i> . | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 5 | He takes the isle of <i>Andros</i> , and <i>Corinth</i> , <i>Sicyon</i> , and several other cities on the continent of <i>Greece</i> . | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 6 | <i>Ophellas</i> slain by <i>Agathocles</i> , and <i>Ptolemy</i> recovers <i>Libya</i> and <i>Cyrene</i> . | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 7 | <i>Demetrius</i> gains a great victory over <i>Ptolemy</i> at <i>Cyprus</i> , and dispossesseth him of that whole island. <i>Antigonus</i> hereon takes the title of King. | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | 312 | 5 | | 10 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | 311 | 6 | | 11 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | 310 | 7 | | 12 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | 309 | 8 | | 13 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | 308 | 9 | | 14 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | 307 | 10 | | 15 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8 | 306 | 11 | | 16 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

| Julian Period. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Persia. | High-priests of Judah. | The Era of Seleucus. | Kings of Syria. | Kings of Egypt. | |
|----------------|----------------------|------------------|------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--|
| 4409 | 305 | 12 | 17 | 8 | 8 | 1 | <i>Antigonus</i> invadeth <i>Egypt</i> , and is repuls'd with loss. |
| 4410 | 304 | | 18 | 9 | 9 | 1 | <i>Demetrius</i> besiegeth <i>Rhodes</i> without success. |
| 1 | 303 | | 19 | 10 | 10 | 2 | <i>Seleucus</i> having made himself master of all the provinces of <i>Alexander's</i> empire beyond the <i>Euphrates</i> , invadeth <i>India</i> , and maketh peace with <i>Sandrocottus</i> . |
| 2 | 302 | | 20 | 11 | 11 | 3 | <i>Seleucus</i> , <i>Ptolemy</i> , <i>Cassander</i> , and <i>Lysimachus</i> , confederate against <i>Antigonus</i> . |
| 3 | 301 | | 21 | 12 | 12 | 4 | They vanquish and slay him at <i>Ipsus</i> in <i>Phrygia</i> . |
| 4 | 300 | | 1 | 13 | 13 | 5 | After this victory <i>Ptolemy</i> had <i>Judea</i> , <i>Phœnicia</i> , and <i>Cœle-Syria</i> ; and <i>Seleucus</i> the upper <i>Syria</i> , where he builds <i>Antioch</i> . |
| 5 | 299 | | 2 | 14 | 14 | 6 | <i>Demetrius</i> gives his daughter <i>Stratonice</i> in marriage to <i>Seleucus</i> , and seizeth <i>Cilicia</i> . |
| 6 | 298 | | 3 | 15 | 15 | 7 | <i>Cassander</i> dies in <i>Macedonia</i> . |
| 7 | 297 | | 4 | 16 | 16 | 8 | <i>Pyrrhus</i> marries <i>Antigone</i> the daughter of <i>Berenice</i> , <i>Ptolemy's</i> best beloved wife, and by his assistance recovers his kingdom of <i>Epirus</i> . |
| 8 | 296 | | 5 | 17 | 17 | 9 | <i>Samaria</i> wasted by <i>Demetrius's</i> soldiers from <i>Tyre</i> . |
| 9 | 295 | | 6 | 18 | 18 | 10 | <i>Ptolemy</i> recovers <i>Cyprus</i> from <i>Demetrius</i> . |
| 4420 | 294 | | 7 | 19 | 19 | 11 | <i>Demetrius</i> made King of <i>Macedon</i> , and there reigns seven years. |
| 1 | 293 | | 8 | 20 | 20 | 12 | <i>Seleucus</i> builds <i>Seleucia</i> on the <i>Tigris</i> . |
| 2 | 292 | | 9 | 21 | 21 | 13 | <i>Simon the Just</i> , high-priest of the <i>Jews</i> , dies, and is succeeded by <i>Eliezar</i> his brother. |

The End of the First Part.



676. g. ^u

4

The OLD and NEW
TESTAMENT

Connected in the

HISTORY

OF THE

J E W S

AND

NEIGHBOURING NATIONS,

FROM THE

Declension of the Kingdoms

OF

ISRAEL and JUDAH

TO

The TIME of CHRIST.

By HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX, D. D.
Dean of NORWICH.

PART II.

With a Compleat INDEX *to the Whole.*

L O N D O N :

Printed for R. KNAPLOCK, at the *Bishop's Head* in St. Paul's Church-Yard, and J. TONSON, at *Shakespear's Head* over against Catherine-Street in the Strand. MDCCLXVIII.



To the RIGHT HONOURABLE

DANIEL

Earl of *NOTTINGHAM*.

My LORD,

HAVING now, by God's Assistance,
finished this Second Part of
the Connection of the Histo-
ry of the Old and New Testament,
which I promised Your Lordship when
I presented You with the First Part,
I humbly offer it to Your Acceptance,
Vol. II. A 2 hoping

The Dedication.

hoping it may be received with the same Favour and Candour as the former; which I humbly pray from Your Lordship; and am,

My LORD,

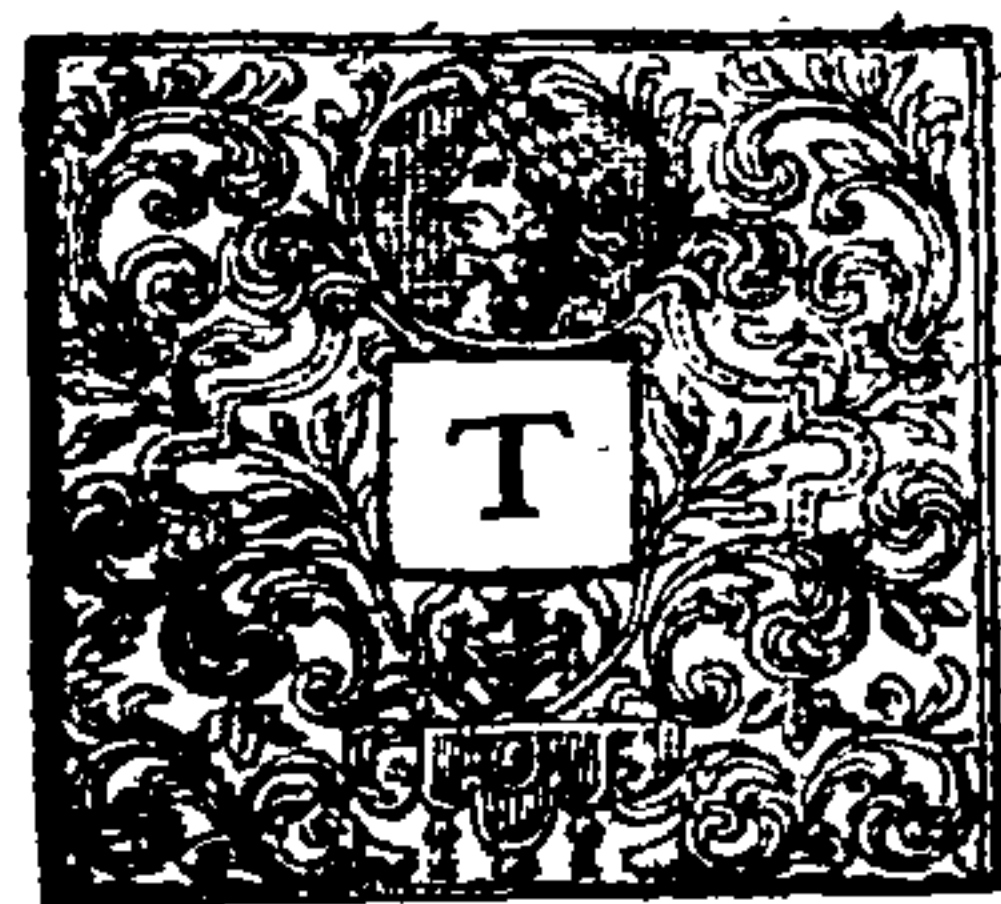
Your most Obedient, and

most Obliged Humble Servant,

Humphrey Prideaux.



THE PREFACE.



THE second part of this history, which I now offer to the publick, completes the whole of what I intend. My first purpose was to have concluded it at the birth of our Saviour, and to have left what thenceforth ensues to the ecclesiastical historian of the Christian Church, to whom it properly belongs. But since what is to connect the Old Testament with the New will there best end, where the dispensation of the Old Testament endeth, and that of the new begins; and since that was brought to pass in the death and resurrection of our Saviour, I have drawn down this history thereto. For then the *Jewish* Church was abolished, and the christian erected in its stead; then the law of *Moses* ceased, and that of *Christ* and his gospel commenced, and therein the accomplishment of all the prophecies of the Old Testament relating to the person of the *Messiah*, which begun at his birth, was fully perfected; and therefore here I have thought it properest to fix the conclusion of this work. But to avoid encroaching too far upon the christian ecclesiastical historian, I have from the time of *Christ's* birth treated but in a very brief manner of what afterwards ensued to his death; and have passed over the whole time of the publick ministration both of him and his forerunner. For all things that were done therein being
fully

fully related in the four gospels, which are, or ought to be, in every one's hands, barely to repeat them here would be needless; and all that can be done beyond a bare repetition is either to methodize them according to the order of time, or to explain them by way of interpretation; but the former belonging to the harmonist, and the latter to the commentator, they are both out of the province I have undertaken.

I having in the preface to the first part of this history recommended to the reader for his geographical guidance in the reading of it the maps of *Cellarius*, the bookseller hath in the third edition of that part inserted into it as many maps out of him, as may be useful for this purpose. And there hath also been added in the same edition a map of the temple of *Jerusalem*, which had been drawn and published by me in a single sheet some years before: All these may serve for the second part as well as for the first.

P E R C H A N C E there may be some who will think the history, which I give of the *Jewish* cycle of eighty four years, and of the other cycles which as well as that have been made use of for the fixing of the time of *Easter*, to be too long a digression from that which is the main subject of this work. And therefore I think it necessary to acquaint the reader, that I have been led hereto by these following inducements. *First*, To give him an account of the controversies which happen'd among Christians about the time of celebrating *Easter*, during the use of this 84 years cycle among them. *Secondly*, To explain one important part of our ancient *English* history, by shewing upon what foot that dissension about *Easter* stood, which was here carried on between our *British* and *Saxon* ancestors on the account of the same *Jewish* cycle during the whole seventh and eighth century, which hath no where else that I know of had a thorough and clear account given of it. And *Lastly*, to open the way to a better understanding of the modern dispute, which our Dissenters have here set on foot among us upon the same argument. For they alledge it as one reason of their dissension, that *Easter* is put wrong in the kalendar before the common-prayer book, and that therefore they cannot give their assent and consent thereto.

I T is a very odd thing, that this sort of people, who are against keeping any *Easter* at all, should raise any quarrel about the
the

the time of its observance. But since they are pleased so to do, I will here apply what is written in the ensuing history about the time of this festival, to the present case, and endeavour thereby to give them full satisfaction in it. In order whereto I shall lay down, *First*, The rule in the kalendar, against which the objection is made; *Secondly*, The objection it self, that is urged against it; and then in the *Third* place I shall give my answers thereto.

I. THE words of the rule in the kalendar, as they lye in the page next after the months of the year are these following, *Easter-day is always the first sunday after the first full moon which happens next after the one and twentieth day of March. And if the full moon happens upon a sunday, Easter-day is the sunday after.*

II. THE objection urged against this rule is, that if we take the common almanacks, in which the new moons and full moons are set down as they are in the heavens, it will seldom be found, that the first sunday after the first full moon which happens next after the one and twentieth day of *March*, is the *Easter-day* which is appointed to be observed according to the tables in the common-prayer book; and that therefore if the rule be true the tables must be false: And this the Dissenters think is reason enough for them to deny their assent and consent to the whole book.

III. I answer hereto, first, that it must be acknowledged, this objection would be true, were it the natural full moon that is meant in the rule. But besides the natural full moon, that is, that which appears in the heavens when the sun and moon are in direct opposition to each other, there is also an ecclesiastical full moon, that is, a full moon day so called by the church, tho' there be no natural full moon thereon. To explain this by a parallel case, it is in the same manner as there is a political month and a political year different from the natural. The natural month is the course of the moon from one new moon to another; the political month is a certain number of days, which constitute a month according to the political constitution of the countrey where it is used. And so a natural year is the course of the sun from a certain point in the *Zodiac* till it come about again to the same; but the political year is a certain number of months or days, which constitute a year according to the political

tical constitution of the countrey where it is used. And so in like manner there is a natural new moon day, and an ecclesiastical new moon day: The natural new moon day is that, on which the natural new moon first appears, and the fourteenth day after is the natural full moon day. And the ecclesiastical new moon day is that which by the ecclesiastical constitutions is appointed for it, and the fourteenth day after is the ecclesiastical full moon day. And the primes, that is, the figures of the golden numbers, which are in the first column of every month in the kalendar, are there placed to point out both, that is, the ecclesiastical new moon day first, and then by consequence from it the ecclesiastical full moon day, which is the fourteenth day after. This order was first appointed from the time^a of the council of *Nice*; and then the natural new moon and full moon, and the ecclesiastical new moon and full moon fell exactly together. And had the nineteen years cycle, called the cycle of the moon (which is the cycle of the golden numbers) brought about all the new moons and full moons exactly again to the same point of time in the *Julian* year, as it was supposed that it would when this order was first made, they would have always so fallen together. But it failing hereof by an hour and almost an half, hereby it hath come to pass, that the ecclesiastical new moon and full moon have overshot the natural new moon and full moon an hour and near an half in every nineteen years, which in the long process of time that hath happen'd since the council of *Nice*, hath now made the difference between them to amount to about four days and an half; and so much the ecclesiastical new moons and full moons do at this time in every month over-run the natural. However the Church still abiding by the old order still observes the time of *Easter* according to the reckoning of the ecclesiastical moon, and not according to that of the natural. And therefore it is of the ecclesiastical full moon, and not of the natural, that this rule is to be understood, and consequently what the Dissenters object against it from the full moon in the heavens is nothing to the purpose. But if it be still objected, that this ecclesiastical full moon different from the natural is the product of error, for that it hath its original from an astronomical mistake in the Churches falsely supposing, that the

^aThis council was held Anno Domini 325.

new moons and full moons would after every nineteen years all come over again to the same point of time in the *Julian* year as in the former nineteen years, whereas they do not so by an hour and half, and that therefore there is still an error in this matter; the answer hereto is that it would be so, were the feast of *Easter*, and the time of observing it, appointed by divine institution; but since both are only by the institution of the Church, wherever the Church placeth it, there it is well and rightly observed.

BUT *Secondly*, Were it truly the natural full moon, and not the ecclesiastical, that is meant in the rule, yet since in this supposal it would be only an astronomical, and not a theological error, this rule may be used without sin; and the use of it is all that the declaration of assent and consent obligeth to, as it is plainly expressed in the act that enjoins it.

Thirdly, BUT it seems to me that neither the kalendar, nor this rule belonging thereto, is within that declaration, and therefore no error in either can be urged as a reason against it. For the assent and consent required to be given by the act of uniformity is *to the book of common-prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, together with the psalter or psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches, and the form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*; but neither the kalendar, nor this rule belonging to it, can be brought under any of these particulars; and therefore cannot be contained within that declaration at all. If it be said that the words rites and ceremonies include the kalendar, and with it all the rules belonging thereto; my answer is, that the astronomical calculations, and the appointing thereby the times of the moveable feasts, concerning which our whole present dispute is, cannot be called either rites or ceremonies. If it be farther urged, that both the kalendar and the rule are in the book; the reply hereto is, so are several acts of parliament, but no one will say, that by the declaration any assent or consent is given unto them. But

Fourthly, SUPPOSING all to be in this case, as the Dissenters object, to make such a trifle to be a reason of breaking communion, and separating from the Church, is what men of common sense or common integrity may be ashamed of. They may

as well urge the errata of the press against this declaration; for these afford as good a reason against it as the other. This shews how hard they are put to it to find reasons for their separation, when they urge such a wretched and frivolous one for it as this.

Thus much of the objection as far as the Dissenters have urged it. But there being something that may be farther said on the same argument, with much more plausible appearance of reason, which the Dissenters have taken no notice of, I shall do it for them, that so by answering it I may clear this whole matter, and thereby fully justify the usage of our Church herein. For it may be objected, that allowing the full moon in the rule of the kalendar above mentioned to be the ecclesiastical full moon, and not the natural, yet the making of *Easter-day* to be the next *Sunday* after that full moon is contrary to the rule which all other Churches have gone by^b till Pope *Gregory's* reformation of the kalendar, and contrary also to the present usage of our own. For, *First*, it is contrary to the rule, which all other Churches have gone by till the said reformation of Pope *Gregory*; because till then from the time of the council of *Nice* their rule hath been, that *Easter-day* is always to be the first *Sunday* after the first fourteenth moon which shall happen after the one and twentieth of *March*, which fourteenth moon is therefore called the *Paschal* term; but the full moon never happens till the fifteenth day of the moon; and therefore to put *Easter-day* on the first *Sunday* after the said full moon; will be to make the first fifteenth moon after the said one and twentieth of *March* to be the *Paschal* term instead of the fourteenth, which no Church in the whole christian world hath ever yet done. And *Secondly*, it is contrary to the present usage of our own Church; for in the tables subjoined to the said kalendar *Easter-day* is every where put on the *Sunday* next after the first fourteenth moon after the one and twentieth day of *March*, and never otherwise. And therefore should *Easter-day* be always put according to the rule above mentioned on the next *Sunday* after the full moon of that rule, seeing no full moon can ever happen till the fifteenth day of the moon, *Easter-day* would sometimes fall on a *Sunday* different from that where it is placed in the

^b This reformation was made Anno Domini 1582, and gave birth to what we call the new style tables;

tables; as for example, *Anno* 1668, the placing of *Easter* on the first *Sunday* after the fifteenth day of that moon would make it fall on the twenty ninth of *March*, but the tables place it on the twenty second of *March*, which was the *Sunday* before, and then it was accordingly observed. And *Anno* 1678, the placing of *Easter* on the first *Sunday* after the fifteenth day of that moon would make it fall on the seventh of *April*, but the tables place it on the last of *March*, which was the *Sunday* before, and there it was accordingly observed: And so it will be found in many other instances. And therefore if the rule, by which all other Churches till Pope *Gregory's* reformation of the kalendar above mentioned observed their *Easter*, be right; and if the tables whereby our Church keeps that festival be right, then the rule which is in our common-prayer book must be false, and consequently cannot be assented to as true. Thus far the objection.

THE answer hereto is, that there is a twofold reckoning of the moon's age, the astronomical and the vulgar; the astronomical reckoning is from the conjunction of the moon with the sun, the vulgar from its first appearance, which is never till the next day after the conjunction. The *Jews* followed the vulgar reckoning, and according thereto accounted that to be the first day of the moon, ^c which was the first day of its appearance, as I have already shewn in the preface to the first part of this history, and by this reckoning settled the times of their *Paschal* festival; which usage the ^d ancient Christians borrowing from them did the same in their settling the feast of *Easter*, and so it hath continued to be done ever since. The first day therefore of the moon, which is marked out by the prime in the kalendar of our common-prayer book, is not the day of its conjunction with the sun, but the day of its first appearance, which is always the day after; and the fourteenth day from thence is the fifteenth from its conjunction; on which fifteenth day the full moon happens, which being applied to the *Paschal* moon solves the whole difficulty of this objection. For the fourteenth day of that moon, as reckoned from its first appearance, will be from its conjunction on the fifteenth day, on which the full moon happens. And

^c Talmud in Rosh Hashtanah. Maimonides in Kiddush Hachodesh. Selden de anno civili veterum Judæorum. ^d The ancient Christians appointed their Easter by the same rule, by which the Jews appointed their passover, and the Asian Churches for a long while observed it on the same day with them.

therefore this fourteenth day of the moon being the same with the full moon, and both the same with that, which hath ever been the *Paschal* term, the first *Sunday* after which is *Easter-day*, the said *Paschal* term may be expressed by either of them; and therefore this rule in the kalendar of our common-prayer book, in that it expresseth it by the full moon, doth the same, as if it had expressed it by the fourteenth day of the moon, and consequently it is not to be charged with any fault or error in this matter. And thus having opened the cause in all its points, I shall leave the farther prosecution of it to those who shall think fit to contend about it. All that I propose hereby is only to give such light into it, that neither side may like the *Andabæ* fight in the dark, as both in the handling of this particular seem hitherto to have done.

IN the compiling of this history I have taken all the helps that the *Jewish* writers could supply me with, but these I must confess are very poor ones. Of the succession of the presidents and vice-presidents of their sanhedrim, by whom they say their traditions were handed down from *Simon the Just*, and the men of the great synagogue, I have given their names as far as this history goes. But besides their names there being scarce any thing related of them, but what carries with it a manifest air of improbability and fable, I have forbore troubling the reader with such trash: Only about *Hillel* and *Shammai* I have enlarged. For their followers constituting two opposite sects among the *Jews*, in the manner as the *Scotists* and *Thomists* among the schoolmen, their names run through both their Talmuds, and all their talmudic writings, and they are of all that have been in that station within the compass of this history of the most eminent note and fame among them, and have had more said of them than all the rest. And therefore I have given as full an account of them as the *Jewish* writers can afford me within the limits of a just credibility.

BUT nothing can be more jejune and empty than the histories which the rabbinical *Jews* give of themselves. *Josephus's* history in *Greek* is a noble work; but they disown and condemn it, and instead of it would obtrude upon us an *Hebrew Josephus* under the name of *Josipon Ben Gorion*; this they say is the true and authentic *Josephus*, but ours, that is the *Greek Josephus*, a false one. There is a *Josephus Ben Gorion* mentioned

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in *Josephus's* history of the *Jewish* war, who is there said to have been one of the three to whose conduct that war was first committed. This person, the impostor who composed this book mistaking for *Josephus* the historian, set forth that spurious work under his name, intending thereby to quash the credit of the true *Josephus*, which we have in *Greek*, as if that were the imposture, and this in *Hebrew* the only true and authentic work of that historian. But the book it self proves the fraud; for there is in it mention made both of ^cnames and things which had no being till many hundreds of years after the time in which it's pretended the book was written, neither was it heard of or ever quoted by any author till above a thousand years after that time. *Solomon Jarchi* a *French Jew*, who flourished about the year of our Lord 1140, is the first that makes mention of it. After that it is quoted by *Aben Ezra*, *Abraham Ben Dior*, and *R. David Kimchi*, who all three lived in the same century. After this it became generally owned by the *Jews*, and hath obtained that credit and esteem among them, as to be held next the sacred writings a book of principal value among them; and was one of the earliest of their books, that hath been published in print by them. For it was published at *Constantinople* in the year of our Lord 1490, which was within fifty years of the first invention of that art; and hereon it became so generally received and valued by that people, that twenty years after there came out another edition of it from the same place, and after that a third at *Venice Anno Domini* 1544. What *Munster* hath published of it is no more than an epitome of this author; but the whole of it is in the *Constantinopolitan* and *Venice* editions. It is divided into six books and ninety seven chapters. The best that can be said of it is, that it is written in an elegant *Hebrew* style, and therefore on this account is very fit for the use of young students in the *Hebrew* language. But as to the subject matter, it is every where stuffed with apocryphal and talmudic fables; most of that, which is not of this sort, is taken from the true *Josephus*; but it is to be observed, that what the impostor takes from him is from the *Latin* version of *Rufinus*, and not from the *Greek* original, which leads him into several blunders. But who this author was, or where or when

^c Lib. 2. κ. φ. μ β.

^f For in that book there is mention made of Lombardy, France, England, Hungary, Turkey, &c. which are all modern names, and never heard of till several hundred years after the time in which it is pretended this book was written.

he wrote his book, is uncertain. ^s*Scaliger* conjectures that he was a *Jew* of *Tours* in *France*; but his reason for it being only that he speaks more of the places about *Tours* than of any other parts of *France*, this doth not prove the thing. But it being sufficiently proved that the book is an imposture, it is of no moment to know who was the true author of it, or where or when he lived. Mr. *Gagnier*, a *French* Gentleman now living in *Oxford*, hath lately given a very accurate *Latin* version of this work, according to the best edition of it: It is to be wish'd that his learned pains had been employed about a better author.

FOR several hundred years after the destruction of the temple of *Jerusalem*, where *Josephus* ends, no other *Jew* hath written any history of the affairs of that people till about the tenth century after *Christ*. But the sect of the *Karraïtes*, (who adhering only to the written word rejected all traditions) then prevailing, and often pressing their *Rabbinists* their antagonists in this controversy, to make good the succession through which they pretended to have received their traditions, this did put several of their learned men upon the hunt for it; and they having raked thorough both their *Talmuds*, and from them gotten together some historical scraps to serve for this purpose, with these poor materials have endeavoured to compose something like an history of their nation, giving an account therein, how their traditions were delivered down from *Moses* to the prophets, and from the prophets to the men of the great synagogue, and from the men of the great synagogue to the doctors, who afterwards in a continued series handed them down from one to another through after-generations. Of this sort they have some few historical composures among them, but such as are very mean and contemptible. They all begin from the creation of the world, and as far as the scriptures of the Old Testament go, they write from them, but often interpose fabulous glosses and additions of their own. From the time where the Old Testament scriptures end the two *Talmuds* supply them, and from the time where the *Talmuds* end they are supplied from the traditions that were afterward preserved among them. And an account of their doctors, and the succession of them in their chief schools and academies in *Judæa*, *Babylonia*, and elsewhere, is the main subject

which after the scriptural times they treat of. And of these historical books there are but seven in all; that I know of among them, and they are these following. 1. *Seder Olam Rabbah*, 2. *Teshuvoth R. Sherira Gaon*, 3. *Seder Olam Zeutab*, 4. *Kabbalah R. Abraham Levita Ben Dior*, 5. *Sepher Yuchasin*, 6. *Shalsheleth Hakkabbalah*, 7. *Zemach David*. The four first are the ancientest, but all of them have been written since the beginning of the ninth century, and are very short. The three last are much larger, but of a very modern compofure, being all of them written since the time of our *King Henry the Eighth*. I will here give an account of each of them in their order.

I. *Seder Olam Rabbah*, i. e. *the Larger Chronicon*, is so called in respect to *Seder Olam Zeutab*, i. e. *the Lesser Chronicon*, which was afterwards composed. However, notwithstanding this great name, it is but a short history, and treats mostly of the scriptural times. ^h *Buxtorf* tells us it reached down to the time of *Adrian* the *Roman* Emperor, and his vanquishing *Ben Cuzibab* the impostor, who did then set up for the *Messiah*. I have not seen any copy of that history which reacheth down so far, but no doubt that great and learned man did, otherwise he would not have told us so. The author is commonly said to have been *R. Jose Ben Chaliptba*, who flourish'd a little after the beginning of the second century after *Christ*, and is said to have been master to *R. Judah Hakkadosh*, who composed the *Mishna*. But *R. Azarias*, the author of *Meor Enaim*, in the third part of that book, (which he calls *Imre Binah*) tells us, that he had seen an ancient copy of this book, in which it was written, that the author lived 762 years after the destruction of the temple of *Jerusalem*, which refers his time to the year of *Christ*, 832. It was most certainly written after the *Babylonish* Talmud; for it contains many fables and dotages taken from thence.

II. *TESHUVOTH R. Sherira Gaon*, i. e. *The answers of R. Sherira sublime Doctor*, is an historical tract written by way of questions and answers by him whose name it bears. It is a very short Piece, and is usually inserted with some other historical fragments in the editions of *Yuchasin*. He was *Æchmalotarch* in *Babylonia*, and head of all the *Jewish* schools and academies in that countrey, which dignity he obtained *Anno Domini* 967, and con-

^h *Bibliotheca Rabbinica*, p. 386.

tinued in it thirty years, that is till the year 997, when he resigned it to *R. Haid* his son, who was the last that bore the title of *Gaon* or *Sublime Doctor*. For in his time, *i. e.* Anno 1037, the *Mahometan* King that then reigned over *Babylonia*, expelled the *Jews* out of all those parts, and thereon ^k all their schools and academies which they had there were dissolved, and all the degrees and titles of Honour, which on the account of learning used to be conferred in them, utterly ceased, and no learned man hath since that time among the *Jews* assumed any higher name or title of honour in respect of his learning, than that of *Rabbi*.

III. *SEDER Olam Zeutab*, *i. e.* *The Lesser Chronicon*, is so called in respect to *Seder Olam Rabbah* or *the Greater Chronicon*. This book was written, as it is therein expressed, 1053 years after the destruction of the temple at *Jerusalem*, that is in the year of our Lord 1123. Who was the author of it is not known. It is agreeable to its name a very short Chronicon, and is carried down from the beginning of the world to the year 452 after the destruction of the temple of *Jerusalem*, that is, to the year of our Lord 522: Eight generations after are named in it, but nothing more than their names is there mentioned of them.

IV. *SEPHER Kabbalah R. Abraham Levita Ben Dior*, *i. e.* *The book of tradition* by *Rabbi Abraham the Levite the son of Dior*, is an historical tract, chiefly intended to give an account of the succession of those, by whom the traditions of the *Jews* as they pretend, from the time of *Moses* were handed down to them from generation to generation. It begins from the creation of the world, and ends at the year of *Christ* 1160. The author of it was *R. Abraham the Levite*, whose name it bears in the title. He flourished in the time where his book ends. He writes much from *Josippon Ben Gorion*, and was one of the first, that gave credit to that spurious book.

V. *SEPHER Juchasin*, *i. e.* *The book of genealogies*, is an history of the *Jews* much larger than all the four above mentioned put together. It begins from the creation of the world, and is continued down to the year of our Lord 1500. In the process and series of it an account is given of the succession of the *Jewish* traditions from mount *Sinai*, and of all their eminent doctors

ⁱ On this expulsion out of the East they flocked into the West, and from that time Spain, France, England, and Germany were filled with them. ^k The chiefest of their academies were Naherda, Sora, and Pumbeditha, towns in *Babylonia*.

teaching and professing them, down to the time where the book ends. The author of it was *R. Abraham Zacuth*, who first published it at *Cracow* in *Poland* in the year of our Lord 1580.

VI. *SHALSHELETH Haccabbalah*, i. e. *The chain of tradition*, is an historical book of the same contents with *Sepher Yuchasin*. The author of it was *Rabbi Gedaliah Ben Jechariah*, who first published it at *Venice* in the year of our Lord 1587.

VII. *ZEMACH David*, i. e. *a branch or sprout of David*, is an history treating of the same subject as the two last preceding. It begins as they do, from the creation of the world, and is continued down to the year of *Christ* 1592, in which year it was first published at *Prague* in *Bohemia*. The author was *Rabbi David Ganz* a *Bohemian Jew*. There is extant a *Latin* version of this book composed by *William Henry Vorstius* the son of *Conrad Vorstius*, and published by him at *Leiden*, *Anno Domini* 1644.

By this it may be seen how little light into ancient times is to be gotten from histories of so modern and mean a composition, neither can any thing better be expected from their other writings. If any thing of ancient history be found any where in them more than what is scriptural, it is either taken from one of the histories, which I have here given an account of, or from the *Talmud*, which is the common fountain, from which they all draw: For this is the best authority they have, and how mean this is I have already shewn.

My living at a distance from the press hath deprived me of the opportunity of correcting the errors of it; but this defect hath been supplied by my very worthy friend Mr. *Brampton Gurdon*, who hath been pleased to take on him the trouble of correcting the last revise of every sheet; and I know no one more able to correct the errors, not only of the printer, but also of the author, wherever I may have been mistaken in any particular contained in this book, he being a person eminently knowing in all those parts of literature, that are treated of through the whole of it, and otherwise of that worth and learning, as may justly recommend him to every man's esteem.

I shall be glad if this second part of my history may be as acceptable to the publick, as the former hath been. I must confess it hath been written under greater disadvantages, by reason of the decays which have since grown upon me. It hath always been the comfort, as well as the care of my life, to make my

self as serviceable as I could in all the stations which I have been called to. With this view it hath been, that I have entered on writing of any of those works, that I have offered to the publick; and I hope I have by all of them in some measure served my generation. But being now broken by age, and the calamitous distemper mentioned in the preface to the former part of this history, I find my self superannuated for any other undertaking, and therefore must, I fear, spend the remainder of my days in an useless state of life, which to me will be the greatest burden of it. But since it is from the hand of God, I will comport my self with all patience to submit hereto, till my great change shall come, and God shall be pleased to call me out of this life into a better. For which I wait with a thorough hope and trust in his great and infinite mercy through *Jesus Christ* our Lord, to whom be glory, honour, and praise, for ever and ever.

Norwich,
January 1. 1717-18.

HUMPHREY PRIDEAUX.





THE
Old and New TESTAMENT
Connected in the
HISTORY
OF THE
Jews and Neighbouring Nations,
FROM THE
Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
to the time of CHRIST.



PART II. BOOK I.



ELEAZAR the brother of *Simon the Just* ^a succeeded him in the High-priesthood at *Jerusalem*, and there executed this office ^b fifteen years. But whereas *Simon the Just* had been also president of the *Sanhedrim*, or national council of the *Jews*, he was in this last charge succeeded ^c by *Antigonus of Socho*, to which he was recommended by his great learning. For he was an eminent scribe in the law of God, and a great teacher of righteousness among the people. And he being the first

An. 291.
Ptolemy
Soter 14.

^a Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. c. 2. *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, Eusebii *Chronicon*. ^b *Chronicon Alexandrinum*. ^c *Juchasin, Shalheleth Haccabbala, & Zemach David. R. Abraham Levita in historica Cabbala.*

of the *Tannaim* or *Mishnical* doctors, from his school all those had their original, who were afterwards called by that name. And these were all the doctors of the *Jewish* law from the death of *Simon the Just* to the time that *Rabbi Judah Hakkadosh* composed the *Mishna*, which was about the middle of the second century after *Christ*, as hath been before observed. In the gospels they are sometimes called scribes, sometimes lawyers, and sometimes those that sat in *Moses's* seat. For those different appellations all denote the same profession of men, that is those, who being bred up in the knowledge of the law of God, and the tradition of the elders concerning it, taught it in the schools and synagogues of the *Jews*, and judged according to it in their Sanhedrims. For out of the number of these doctors were chosen all such, as were members of those courts, that is either of the great Sanhedrim of seventy-two, which was for the whole nation; or of the Sanhedrim of twenty-three, which was in every city in *Judah*. And such were *Nicodemus*, *Joseph of Arimathea*, and *Gamaliel*; and in respect hereof is it, that they are called elders, counsellors, and rulers, because being of the number of those, who were chosen into these councils, they did there declare and execute those laws, by which they ruled and governed the people.

THE *Jews* tell us great things of this *Simon the Just*, and speak of great alterations that happen'd on his death in some parts of their divine worship, and the signs of the divine acceptance, that had till then appeared in the performance of them. For ^d it is said in the *Jerusalem Talmud*, that “All
“ the time of *Simon the Just* the scape-goat had scarce come to the middle
“ of the precipice of the mountain, from whence he was cast down, but
“ he was broken into pieces: But when *Simon the Just* was dead, he fled
“ away alive into the desert, and was eaten of the *Saracens*. While *Simon*
“ *the Just* lived, the lot of God in the day of expiation went forth always
“ to the right hand: But *Simon the Just* being dead, it went forth some-
“ times to the right hand, and sometimes to the left. All the days of *Si-*
“ *mon the Just* the little scarlet tongue look'd always white: But when
“ *Simon the Just* was dead, it looked sometimes white, and sometimes red.
“ All the days of *Simon the Just* the ^e west light always burnt: But when
“ he was dead, it sometimes burnt, and sometimes went out. All the days
“ of *Simon the Just* the fire upon the altar burnt clear, and bright, and
“ after two pieces of wood laid on in the morning, they laid on nothing
“ else the whole day after: But when he was dead, the force of the fire
“ languished in such manner, that they were forced to supply it all the day.
“ All the days of *Simon the Just* a blessing was sent upon the ^f two loaves,
“ and ^g the shew-bread; so that a portion came to every priest to the
“ quantity of an olive at least; and there were some, who did eat, and
“ there were others, to whom something remained after they had eaten
“ their fill: But when *Simon the Just* was dead, that blessing was with-
“ drawn, and so little remained to each priest, that those who were mo-
“ dest withdrew their hands, and those who were greedy still stretch'd

^d Mishna & Gemara Hierosol. in yoma.

^e That is the most western of the seven lamps of the golden candlesticks, which stood in the holy place in the temple.

^f That is the two wave loaves offered in the feast of Pentecost, of which see Levit. ch. xxiii. v. 15 — 21.

^g That is the twelve loaves of shew-bread, which were placed upon the shew-bread table in the holy place every sabbath, and taken away the next sabbath after, and divided among the priests, that then officiated. See Levit. ch. xxiv. v. 5 — 10.

“ them

“them out.” For the explication hereof it is to be observed, that on the great day of expiation, which was a most solemn fast among the *Jews*, kept every year by them on the tenth day of their month *Tizri* (which answers to our *September*)^h two goats were brought into the inner court of the house of the Lord, and there on the north side of the altar presented before the High-priest, the one to be the scape-goat, and the other to be sacrificed unto the Lord. And in order to determine, which of them should be for each purposeⁱ Lots were cast to decide the matter; the manner of which was as followeth. The^k goats being put one before the right hand of the High-priest, and the other before the left hand, an urn was brought and placed in the middle between them, and two lots were cast into it. (They might be of wood, silver, or gold, but under the second temple they were always of gold.) On the one of these was written *for the Lord*, and on the other *for the scape-goat*; which being well shaken together, the High-priest put both his hands into the urn, and with his right hand took out one lot, and with his left hand the other, and according to the writing on them were the goats appointed, as they stood on each hand of the High-priest, either for the Lord to be sacrificed to him, or to be the scape-goat to be let escape into the wilderness; that is, if the right hand lot were *for the Lord*, then the goat, that stood before him at the right hand, was to be sacrificed, and the other to be the scape-goat: But if the left hand lot were *for the Lord*, then the Goat, that stood at the left hand, was to be sacrificed, and the other to be the scape-goat. And therefore, whereas it is said, that the lot of God till the death of *Simon the Just* went forth always to the right hand, the meaning is, that till then the High-priest always drew out with his right hand the lot *for the Lord*, and with his left hand that *for the scape-goat*; but afterwards with each hand sometimes one lot, and sometimes the other. As soon as the goats were thus appointed each to their proper use, the High-priest bound upon the head of the scape-goat a long piece (they call it a tongue) of scarlet. And this is that scarlet tongue, which the Talmud saith looked always white; till the death of *Simon the Just*; but afterwards sometimes white and sometimes red. And the change of red into white being here spoken of as a sign of God’s accepting of the expiation of that day, hither may be referred what is said in *Isaiah* (ch. i. v. 18.) *Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow; though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool*; or rather to this text may be referred the foundation of all that they say of this matter. After the goat for the Lord was offered up in sacrifice to him, the scape-goat was brought before the High-priest, who laying both his hands upon his head, confessed over him all the iniquities of the children of *Israel*, and all their transgressions, and all their sins, by that ceremony putting them all upon the head of that goat; and then sent him away by a fit person into the wilderness. The place where they led him was a rock or precipice at the distance of twelve miles from *Jerusalem*, where he was to be let escape to carry away the sins of the children of *Israel* with him far out of sight. Till the time of *Simon the Just*, the Talmud saith, this goat was always dash’d in pieces in the fall, on his being let loose over the precipice; but that afterwards

^h Mishna in yoma. Maimonides in yom Haccipurim.

ⁱ Levit. xvi. 8.

^k Mishna & Maimonides, ibid.

he always escaped, and flying into *Arabia*, was there taken and eaten by the *Saracens*.

An. 288.
Ptolemy
Soter 17.

DEMETRIUS having, as he thought, thoroughly settled his affairs in *Greece* and *Macedon*,¹ made great preparations to recover his father's empire in *Asia*; for which purpose he got together an army of an hundred thousand men, and a fleet of five hundred sail of ships, which was a greater force both by sea and land, than had been gotten together by any Prince since the time of *Alexander the Great*.

An. 287.
Ptolemy
Soter 18.

Thus alarming *Ptolemy*, *Lyfimachus*, and *Seleucus*,^m they all three entered into a confederacy together for their mutual defence against his designs; and also drew in *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus* to join with them herein. And therefore while *Lyfimachus* invaded *Macedonia* on the one side, *Pyrrhus* did the same on the other. This drew *Demetrius* out of *Greece* (where he was then attending his preparations for the *Asian* expedition) back into *Macedonia* for the defence of that countrey. But before he could arrive thither, *Pyrrhus* having taken *Beræa*, a great city in *Macedonia*, where many of *Demetrius's* soldiers had their families, friends, and effects, the news hereof no sooner got into the army, but it put all into disorder and mutiny, many declaring, that they would follow him no farther, but return home to defend their friends, families, and fortunes, in their own countrey; whereon *Demetrius* seeing his interest absolutely lost among them, fled in the disguise of a private soldier into *Greece*; and all his army revolted to *Pyrrhus*, and made him their King. *Demetrius* on his return into *Greece*, having there ordered his affairs in the best manner his present circumstances would admit, committed the care of all he had in those parts to *Antigonus* his son, and with all the remainder of his forces, that could be spared from thence (which amounted to about eleven thousand men) went on board his fleet, and sailed into *Asia*, there in a desperate manner to seek his fortunes. On his arrival at *Miletus* he took that city, and there married *Ptolemaida* the daughter of *Ptolemy*. She was brought to him thither by *Eurydice* her mother the wife of *Ptolemy*, and sister of *Phila*, *Demetrius's* former wife, who died a little before of a dose of poison, which she desperately took on her husbands flight out of *Macedonia*, to avoid the calamity which she thought would follow that declension of his fortune. However this did not hinder *Ptolemy* from marrying his daughter to him, and of this marriage was born *Demetrius*, who afterwards reigned in *Cyrene*.

FROM *Miletus* *Demetrius*ⁿ invaded *Caria* and *Lydia*, and having taken many cities from *Lyfimachus* in those provinces, and there much augmented his forces with new recruits, at length made himself master of *Sardis*. But on the coming of *Agathocles* the son of *Lyfimachus* with an army against him, he was forced again to quit all, that he had taken, and marched eastward. His intentions in taking this rout were to pass into *Armenia*, and *Media*, and seize those provinces. But *Agathocles* having coasted him all the way in his march, reduced him to great distress for want of provisions and forage, which brought a sickness into his army, that destroyed a great number of them, and when he attempted to pass mount *Taurus* with the remainder, he found all the passes over it seized by *Agathocles*; whereby

¹ Plutarchus in *Demetrio* & *Pyrrho*. Justin. lib. 16. cap. 2.

ⁿ Plutarchus in *Demetrio*.

^m Plutarchus & Justin. *ibid*.

being obstructed from proceeding any farther that way, he marched backward to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, a town belonging to *Seleucus*, and from thence signifying to that Prince the calamitous condition he was reduced to, earnestly prayed relief and assistance from him for the subsisting of himself, and the forces that followed him. *Seleucus* being moved with this representation of his doleful case, at first took compassion of him, and ordered his lieutenants in those parts to furnish him and his forces with all things necessary. But afterwards being put in mind of the valour, and enterprising genius of this Prince, and of his great abilities in all the arts and stratagems of war, and his undaunted boldness for the attempting of any design he should have an opportunity for, he began to think, that the setting up of such a man again might tend to the endangering of his own affairs, and therefore instead of helping him any farther, he resolved to lay hold of this opportunity absolutely to crush him, and accordingly marched against him with an army for this purpose; of which *Demetrius* having received intelligence, he seized on those fastnesses of mount *Taurus* where he could best defend himself, and from thence sent again to *Seleucus*, intreating him that he would permit him to pass into the east, that there seizing some country of the barbarous nations, he might therein pass the remainder of his life in quiet and repose; or otherwise, if he liked not this, that he would at least allow him quarters for that winter, and not in the rigorous season of the year drive him out in a naked and starving condition into the very jaws of his enemies, to be devoured and destroyed by them. But *Seleucus* not at all liking his design of going into the east, this first part of his request served only to encrease his jealousy; and therefore all that he would grant him, was to take winter quarters in *Cataonia* (a province confining upon *Cappadocia*) for two months, during the severity of the winter, and after that to be gone. And then he immediately put guards on all the passes of the mountains leading from *Cilicia* into *Syria* to obstruct his coming that way. *Demetrius* finding himself hereby pent up and beset, that is by *Agathocles* on the one side, and by *Seleucus* on the other, was necessitated to betake himself to force for the extricating of himself; and therefore falling upon *Seleucus's* his forces, that guarded the passes of the Mountains into *Syria*, he drove them thence, and entered thorough them into that country.

But ° when he was ready to have proceeded farther on some bold enterprise for the restoring of his affairs, he was taken with a dangerous sickness, which lasted forty days; in the interim most of his men deserted, whereby finding himself on his recovery reduced to the utmost necessity, he resolved to make a desperate attempt upon *Seleucus*, by storming his camp in the night with that small handful of his forces that still remained with him. But his design being discovered by a deserter, and thereby disappointed, just as he was ready to have put it in execution, and many more of his soldiers deserting from him hereon, he attempted to make a retreat back over the mountains, and if possible that way again reach his fleet. But finding all the passes there seized against him, he was forced to take shelter in the woods; but being there ready to be starved, he was brought at length to the necessity of surrendering himself into the hands of *Seleucus*, who having caused him, under a strong guard, to be carried to the *Syrian*

An. 286.
Ptolemy
Soter 19.

° Plutarchus in Demetrio.

Cherfonefus near *Laodicea* there kept him a prisoner, till he died. He allowed him there the freedom of a park to hunt in, and all other accommodations both for the pleasures, as well as the necessaries of life. Whereon giving himself wholly up to eating, drinking, gaming, and laziness, he passed away the remainder of his life in those voluptuous and idle enjoyments, till at length having fed up his body hereby to an excessive fatness, and fill'd it with gross and noxious humours, he fell into that sickness, of which he dyed in this confinement, after he had passed in it three years, and had lived to the fifty fourth year of his age.

ALL the time of his confinement *Seleucus* frequently sent him kind messages, with promises of a release from his captivity, assuring him that as soon as *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* should be returned again to court, the articles of his restoration should be settled by them to his content. This *Stratonice* was the Daughter of *Demetrius*, and had been first married to *Seleucus* (as hath been above related) but was then by an unparallel'd example become the wife of *Antiochus* his son. The manner how it came to pass is thus related. ^P *Stratonice* being a very beautiful lady *Antiochus* fell in love with her, but not daring to own his passion, he silently languish'd under it, and at length through the violence of it fell desperately sick. *Erasistratus* an eminent *Greek* physician having the care of him in his sickness, soon found out what the distemper was, but to discover who was the person, that had kindled this flame in him, was the difficulty: For the finding of this out he carefully attended his patient, when visited by any of the court ladies, and observing, that whenever *Stratonice* came into his chamber, great alterations were made in his pulse, in his countenance, in his behaviour, and in every thing else about him, which the passion of love could reach; and that nothing of this happen'd, when any other lady came to make him a visit, he hereby fully discovered, that *Stratonice* was the sole object of that violent love, which caused his sickness; and finding that nothing else could cure him of it, but the enjoyment of the person beloved, for the bringing of this about he thus craftily managed the matter. The next time that *Seleucus* inquired of him about his son's sickness, he told him, that his disease was love, and that he must necessarily dye of it, because he could not have the person he loved, and he could not live without her. *Seleucus* being surpris'd at this account, asked, why he could not have the person he loved; because, saith the physician, he is in love with my wife, and I cannot part with her. How! not part with her, replied *Seleucus*, to save my beloved son's life, how then can you pretend to be my friend? Sir, said the physician, pray make it your own case, would you, I pray, part with your wife *Stratonice* for the sake of *Antiochus*? And if you, who are his most tender father, will not do it for a most beloved son, how can you expect it from any other? Oh, replied *Seleucus*, would to God the safety of my son were put upon this issue, I would then gladly part with *Stratonice*, or any thing else to effect his recovery. Why then, said *Erasistratus*, you are the only physician that can cure him, for it is the love of *Stratonice* that hath cast him into this disease, which he languisheth with, and nothing can restore him, but the giving of her to him to wife. Hereon *Seleucus* having easily enough

^P Plutarchus in Demetrio. Appian. in Syriacis. Valerius Maximus lib. 5. c. 7. Lucianus de Deâ Syriâ. Julianus in Misopogone.

prevailed with *Stratonice* to accept of a young Prince for her Husband instead of an old King, she was given to him to wife, after she had born children to his father, and they being thereon crowned King and Queen of upper *Asia*, were sent thither to govern those provinces, and there they were all the time that *Demetrius* was in his confinement in *Syria*. And from this abominable incestuous marriage (the like whereof was not heard of among the *Gentiles* ^a in *St. Paul's* time) sprung all that race of *Syrian* Kings, who so grievously persecuted, vexed, and oppressed God's people in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, as will be hereafter related.

PTOLEMY Soter having reigned in *Egypt* twenty years from the time of his assuming the title of King, and thirty nine from the death of *Alexander*, ^b placed *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, one of the sons which he had by *Berenice*, on the throne, and made him King in copartnership with him. He had several sons by other wives, one of which was *Ptolemy* surnamed *Ceraunus* or *the Thunderer*, who being born to him by *Eurydice* the Daughter of *Antipater*, and the elder of the two, expected the crown after his father, as due to him before the other by virtue of his birth-right. But *Berenice*, who came first into *Egypt* only as companion to *Eurydice*, when she first married *Ptolemy*, having also become his wife, and ^c by reason of her beauty been exceedingly beloved by him, she gained hereby such an ascendant over him above all his other wives, that she carried it for her son. And therefore being now past eighty, and apprehending the day of his death not to be far off, he determined to put the crown upon his head, while he yet lived, that so there might be no war nor contention about it after his death. Whereon ^d *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, not bearing this preference of his younger brother before him, fled first to *Lysimachus*, whose son *Agathocles* had married *Lysandra* his sister by the same mother, and after that, on the death of *Agathocles*, went to *Seleucus*, who received him with great kindness, which he repaid with the most villainous treachery, as will be hereafter related.

An. 285.
Ptolemy
Soter 20.

IN the first year of the reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* (which was the first year of the one hundred twenty fourth olympiad) was ^e finished the great tower or light-house in the island of *Pharus* over-against *Alexandria*, commonly

An. 284.
Ptolemy
Phila-
delph. 1.

^a 1 Cor. v. 1. ^b Pausanias in Atticis. Justin. lib. 16. cap. 2. Diogenes Laërtius in Demetrio Phalereo. ^c Vide Theocriti Idyllium 17. ^d Appian. in Syriacis, Memnonis excerpta apud Photium. ^e Plin. lib. 36. c. 12. Strabo, lib. 17. p. 791. Eustathii Comment. in Dionysii Periegesin. Suidas in φάρω. Eusebii Chronicon. p. 66. Stephanus Byzantinus. Geographia Nubiensis. Vetus Scholiastes in Lucianum. This old Greek scholiast here quoted is an unprinted manuscript. That which I quote it for is a passage taken out of it by Nicholas Lloyd in his geographical Lexicon, where under the word *Pharus* he tells us in the words of that scholiast, that this tower was τετραγώνου σταδίων ἑπτά πλάτους ἐπὶ πρὸς τὴν αἰετὸν ἀνέχων ὥς ἂν ἑ ὀρεῶν μιλίων. i. e. That it was a square of a furlong (i. e. 600 foot) on every side, and ascended up so high into the air that it might be seen at the distance of an hundred miles. Tho' this determines the breadth to a certain measure, yet it doth not the height, but in an uncertain manner. But this defect is supplied by Eben Adris an Arabic author in his book called by the Latin translator Geographia Nubiensis. For there he tells us (Clim. 3. Part 3.) That this tower or light-house of *Pharus* was 300 cubits (i. e. 450 foot) high. But both these accounts are very improbable, and the former is contradicted by what Josephus tells us of it. (De bello Judaico lib. 6. p. 914.) For speaking of the tower of Phasaelus at Jerusalem, which he describes to be a square building of forty cubits (i. e. sixty foot) on every side, and ninety cubits (i. e. 135 foot) high, saith of it, that it was like the tower of *Pharus* near *Alexandria*; τῇ ὡμοιοχῇ δὲ πρὸς μείζων ὡς, i. e. But as to its circumference it was much larger. And Josephus having often seen both these towers could not be mistaken herein. Were the tower of *Pharus* of the breadth of 600 foot on every

commonly called the tower of *Pharus*, which was reckoned by the ancients among the seven wonders of the world. It was a large four-square pile of building, all built of white marble, and had always fires maintained on the top of it for the direction of seamen. It cost in the building eight hundred talents. This, if computed by *Attic* talents, amounts to one hundred sixty five thousand pound of our sterling money; but if by *Alexandrian* talents it will come to twice as much. The architect, who built it, was *Sostratus* of *Cnidus*, who craftily endeavoured to usurp the honour of it with posterity to himself by this fraudulent device. The inscription ordered to be set on it being [*King Ptolemy to the gods the saviours for the benefit of those who pass by sea*] instead of *Ptolemy's* name he craftily engraved his own in the solid marble, and then filling up the hollow of the engraved letters with mortar, wrote upon it what was directed. So the inscription, which was first read, was according as it was ordered, and truly ascribed the work to King *Ptolemy* its proper founder; but in process of time the mortar being worn off, the inscription then appeared to be thus [*Sostratus the Cnidian son of Dexiphanes to the gods the saviours for the benefit of those who pass by sea*] which being in lasting letters deeply engraved into the marble stones, lasted as long as the tower it self. This tower hath been demolished for some ages past. There is now in its place a castle called *Farillon*, where a garrison is kept to defend the harbour, perchance it is some remainder of the old work. *Pharus* was at first wholly an island at the distance of seven furlongs from the continent, and had no other passage to it but by sea. But it * hath many ages since been turned from an island into a peninsula by being joined to the land, in the same manner as *Tyrus* was, by a bank carried through the sea to it, which was anciently called in *Greek* the *Heptastadium*, i. e. the seven furlong bank, because seven furlongs was the length of it. This work was performed by *Dexiphanes* the father of *Sostratus* about the same time that *Sostratus* finished the tower, and seems to have been the more difficult undertaking of the two. They being both very famous architects were both employed by *Ptolemy Soter* in the works, which he had projected for the beautifying, adorning and strengthening the city of *Alexandria*: The father having undertaken the *Heptastadium* at the same time that his son did the tower, they finished both these works at the same time, that is in the beginning of the reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. Those who attribute the making of the *Heptastadium* to *Cleopatra* follow *Ammianus Marcellinus*, whose relation concerning it cannot be true; for it contradicts *Cæsar's* commentaries and many other authors, that are better to be credited in this matter.

every side, and of the height of 450 foot, it would within 30 foot be as high as the great pyramid, and stand upon altogether as much ground in a direct perpendicular building, as that doth in a pyramidal; which would render it beyond all other buildings in the world very prodigious; and were it so, Josephus could not have said in reference to it the words above recited. But against Josephus as to this matter it may be objected, that if the tower of *Pharus* were so much less, than the tower of *Phasaelus* at Jerusalem, how came it to be reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world? It would be an answer to this objection if we could say the words of Josephus as above recited, were to be referred to the tower of *Pharus*, and not to that of *Phasaelus*, but the grammatical construction will not admit it. If any one shall say that in the place cited μέω (i. e. lesser) should be read instead of μέζω (i. e. larger) I should readily agree to this emendation, could it be justified from any authentic copy.

* Thevenot's travels, part 1. book 2. chap. 1. x Strabo lib. 17. p. 792. Plin. lib. 5. cap. 31. & lib. 13. c. 11. Cæsar's Comment. de bello civili, lib. 3. Pomponius Mela lib. 2. cap. 7.

y Lib. 22. cap. 16.

TOWARDS the end of this year ^z died *Ptolemy Soter*, King of *Egypt*, in the second year after his admitting of his son to sit on his throne with him, being at the time of his death ^a eighty-four years old. He was the wisest and best of his race, and left an example of prudence, justice, and clemency behind him, which none of his successors cared to follow. During the forty years, in which he governed *Egypt* from the death of *Alexander*, he had brought that countrey into a very flourishing condition, with administering great plenty to his successors; this administered to as great luxury in them, in which they exceeded most that lived in their time.

A little before his death, this very same year, was brought out of *Pontus* to *Alexandria* the image of *Serapis*, after three years sedulous endeavour made for the obtaining of it; concerning which we are told, that ^b while *Ptolemy* the first of that name that reigned in *Egypt* was busying himself in fortifying *Alexandria* with its walls, and adorning it with temples, and other publick buildings, there appeared to him in a vision of the night a young man of great beauty, and more than an human shape, and commanded him to send to *Pontus*, and fetch from thence his image to *Alexandria*, promising him, that his doing this should make that city famous and happy, and bring great prosperity to his whole kingdom, and then on his saying this ascended up into heaven in a bright flame of fire out of his sight. *Ptolemy* being much troubled hereat, called together the *Egyptian* priests to advise with them about it; but they being wholly ignorant of *Pontus*, and all other foreign countries, could give him no answer concerning this matter; whereon consulting one *Timotheus* an *Athenian* then at *Alexandria*, he learnt from him, that in *Pontus* there was a city called *Sinope*, not far from which was a temple of *Jupiter*, which had his image in it, with another image of a woman standing nigh him, that was taken to be *Proserpina*. But after a while other matters putting this out of *Ptolemy's* head, so that he thought no more of it, the vision appeared to him again in a more terrible manner, and threatened destruction to him and his kingdom, if his commands were not obeyed; with which *Ptolemy* being much terrified, immediately sent away ambassadors to the King of *Sinope* to obtain the image. They being ordered in the way to consult *Apollo* at *Delphos*, were commanded by him to bring away the image of his father, but to leave that of his sister. Whereon they proceeded to *Sinope*, there to execute their commission in the manner as directed by the oracle. But neither they with all their solicitations, gifts, and presents; nor other ambassadors, that were sent after them with greater gifts, could obtain, what they were sent thither for, till this last year. But then the people of *Sinope* being grievously oppressed by a famine, were content on *Ptolemy's* relieving them with a fleet of corn to part with their god for it, which they could not be induced to do before. And so the image was brought to *Alexandria*, and there set up in one of the suburbs of that city called *Rhacotis*, where it was worshipped by the name of *Serapis*; and this new god had in that place a while after a very famous temple erected to him called the *Serapeum*: And this was the first time, that this deity

^z Pausanias in Atticis. Eusebii Chronicon.

^a Lucianus in Macrobiis.

^b Tacitus Histor. lib. 4. cap. 83, 84. Plutarchus de Iside & Osiride. Clemens Alexandrinus in protreptico.

was either worshipped or known in *Egypt*; and therefore it could not be the patriarch *Joseph*, that was worshipped by this name, as some would have it. For had it been he that was meant hereby, this piece of idolatry must have been much ancients among them, and must also have had its original in *Egypt* it self, and not been introduced thither from a foreign countrey. Some of the ancients indeed had this conceit, as ^c *Julius Firmicus*, ^d *Ruffinus*, and others; but all the reason they give for it is, that *Serapis* was usually represented by an image with a bushel on its head, which they think denoted the bushel wherewith *Joseph* measured out to the *Egyptians* his corn in the time of the famine; whereas it might as well denote the bushel with which *Ptolemy* measured out to the people of *Sinope* the corn, with which he purchased this god of them. However this same opinion is embraced ^e by several learned men of the moderns, and for the support of it against what is objected from the late reception of *Serapis* among the *Egyptian* deities, they will have *Serapis* to have been an ancient *Egyptian* god, and the same with their *Apis*, and that *Serapis* was no other than *Apis* ἐν Ὀρεῶν, that is *Apis* in his coffin; and for this they quote ^f some of the ancients. Their meaning is, that while the sacred bull, which the *Egyptians* worshipped for their great God, was alive, he was called *Apis*, and that when he was dead and salted up in his coffin, and buried, he was called *Serapis*, that is *Apis* in *soro* (i. e. in his coffin) from whence they say his name was at first *Soroapis*, made up of the composition of these two words *Soros* and *Apis* put together, and that by corruption from thence it came to be *Serapis*. But what is there, that after this rate learned men may not tender any thing to? But the worst of it is, the ancient *Egyptians* did not speak *Greek*. The *Ptolemys* first brought that language among them, and therefore had *Serapis* been an ancient god worshipped in that countrey before the *Ptolemys* reigned there, his name could not have had a *Greek* etymology. Much more might be said to shew the vanity of this conceit, were it worth the readers while to be troubled with it. It's certain *Serapis* was not originally an *Egyptian* deity anciently worshipped in that countrey (as he must have been, had it been *Joseph* that was there worshipped under that name) but was an adventitious god brought thither from abroad about the time which we now treat of. The ancient place of his station ^g *Polybius* tells us, was on the coast of the *Propontis* on the *Thracian* side over against *Hierus*, and that there *Jason*, when he went on the *Argonautic* expedition sacrificed unto him. From thence therefore the people of *Sinope* had this piece of idolatry, and from them the *Egyptians* in the manner as I have related; and till then this deity was wholly unknown among them. Had it been otherwise, *Herodotus*, who is so large in his account of the *Egyptian* gods, could not have escaped taking notice of him; but he makes not the least mention of him as worshipped in that Countrey, neither doth any other author, that wrote before the times that the *Ptolemys* reigned in *Egypt*. And when his image was first set up in *Alexandria*, *Nicocreon*, then King of *Cyprus*, as having never heard of him before, ^h sent to know what

^c In libro de errore prophanarum religionum.

^d Histor. lib. 2. cap. 23.

^e Vossius, Ouzelius, Spencerus, aliique.
 Evang. lib. 10. cap. 12. Ruffin. ibidem.
 cap. 20.

^f Nymphiodorus. Clem. Alexandr. Euseb. Præp.

^g Lib. 4 p. 307.

^h Macrobius Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 20.

God he was, which he would not have done, had he been a deity anciently worshipped by the *Egyptians*. For then *Nicocreon*, who was a very learned Prince, must necessarily before that time have had full knowledge of him. And ⁱ*Origen*, who was an *Egyptian*, speaks of him as a god not long before received in that countrey. And it is to be observed, that as he was a new god, so he brought in with him among the *Egyptians* a new way of worship. For till the time of the *Ptolemys* ^k the *Egyptians* never offered any bloody sacrifices to their gods, but worshipped them only with their prayers and frankincense. But the tyranny of the *Ptolemys* having forced upon them the worship of two foreign gods, that is *Saturn* and *Serapis*, they in this worship first brought in the use of bloody sacrifices among that people. However they continued always so averse hereto, that they would never suffer any temple to be built to either of those gods within any of the walls of their cities; but wherever they were in that countrey, they were always built without them in their suburbs. And they seem only to have been the *Egyptians* of the *Greek* original who conformed hereto, and not those of the old race. For they still retained their old usage in all their old temples, and could never be induced to offer the blood of beasts in any of them; for this was always an abomination unto them from the beginning. And therefore when the children of *Israel* desired leave of *Pharaoh* to go three days journey into the wilderness to offer sacrifice unto the Lord, ^lthey gave this for the reason of it, that their religion obliging them to offer to their God the bloody sacrifices of sheep and oxen, ^m and other living creatures, they durst not do this in the sight of the *Egyptians*, lest they should stone them, because such sort of sacrifices were ^man

ⁱ Contra Celsum lib. 5. ^k Macrobius Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 7. verba ejus sunt, Nunquam fas fuit Ægyptiis peonibus aut sanguine, sed precibus & thure solo placare Deos. *This was true of the ancient Egyptians. For among the ancients Porphyry tells us (de abstinentiâ, lib. 2. § 59.) That the sacrifices, with which they worshipped their gods, were cakes and the fruits of the earth; and he tells us in the same book (lib. 4. § 15.) Of the Syrians, who were next neighbours to the Egyptians, and agreed in many things with them, that they offered no living creatures in sacrifice to their gods. But this could not be true of the Egyptians in Herodotus's time. For it appears from him, that they then offered some animals in sacrifices to their gods, but those were very few; much the greatest number of them were excepted, till the Ptolemys with the Grecian gods brought in the Grecian way of worshipping them with all manner of sacrifices, and of this perchance may be understood what Macrobius tells us of this matter. Alexander Sardus in his book De moribus & ritibus gentium (lib. 3. cap. 15.) hath these words. Dicebat Pythagoras se aliquando concilio deorum interfuisse & didicisse eos Ægyptiorum sacrificia probare, quæ libationibus constant, thure, & laudibus; non placere animantium cædes, quæ tamen postea immolârunt Ægyptii, ut Soli gallum, cygnum, taurum, Veneri columbam, & Syderibus, quæ cum Syderibus similitudinem habent. This makes fully for what I have said. Sardus had it from some ancient authority, but doth not name his author.* ^l Exod. viii. 26, 27. ^m The chief cause of this abomination was, that many of those living creatures, which the Jews offered in sacrifice, were worshipped as gods by the Egyptians, and therefore were never slain by them, nor could they bear the slaying of them by others, of which Diodorus Siculus gives us a sufficient instance (lib. 1. p. 75. Edit. Hanov.) where his words are as followeth: Such a superstition towards those sacred animals was ingenerated in their minds, and every one of them was in his affections so obstinately bent to pay honour and veneration to them, that at a time when Ptolemy their King was not yet declared a friend of the Romans, and all the people studied to court and pay observance to all that came out of Italy out of fear of the Romans, that they might not give them any cause of displeasure, or reason for war against them, a Roman then in Egypt happening to have slain a cat, the multitude immediately running together beset the house where the Roman was, and neither the nobles sent by the King to deprecate their rage, nor the fear of the Romans, could withhold them from punishing this man with death, tho' it was by chance, and not wilfully, that he did the fact. Thus far Diodorus. But sheep and cows, which the Jews sacrificed, were in an higher degree sacred among the Egyptians, than their cats; and for this reason they could not have born the Jewish sacrifices among them.

abomination to that people, and therefore they desired that they might go to the distance of three days journey from them to perform this part of their worship unto their God, that being thus far out of their sight, and observation, they might give them no offence, nor provoke them by it to any mischief against them.

IN that place in the suburb *Rhacotis*, where the image of *Serapis*, which *Ptolemy* brought from *Sinope*, was set up, was afterwards built a very famous temple to that idol, called the *Serapæum*, which ⁿ *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us did in the magnificence and ornaments of its buildings exceed all other edifices in the world, next that of the capitol at *Rome*. Within the verge of this temple there was also ^o a library, which was of great fame in after-ages both for the number and value of the books it was replenished with. *Ptolemy Soter* being a learned Prince, as appeared by the history of the life of *Alexander* written by him (which ^p was of great repute among the ancients, tho' now not extant) out of the affection he had for learning, founded at *Alexandria* ^q a *Musæum* or college of learned men for the improving of philosophy, and all other knowledge, like that of the royal society at *London*, and the royal academy of sciences at *Paris*. And for this use he got together ^r a library of books, which being augmented by his successors grew afterwards to a very great bulk. *Ptolemy Philadelphus* the son of *Soter* left in it at the time of his death ^s an hundred thousand volumes. Those that reigned after him of that race still added more to them ^t, till at length they amounted to the number of seven hundred thousand volumes. Their method in the collecting of them was thus. ^u They seized all the books that were by any *Greek* or other foreigner brought into *Egypt*, and sending them to the *Musæum*, caused them there to be written out by those of that society, whom they there maintained, and then sent the transcripts to the owners, and kept the originals to lay up in the library. And particularly it is said of *Ptolemy Euergetes*, that having thus borrowed of the *Athenians* the works of *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, and *Æschylus*, he sent them back the copies, which he had caused very fairly to be transcribed, and retained the originals for his library, giving them ^w fifteen talents over and above for the same. The ^x *Musæum* being placed in the region of the city called *Bruchium* near the King's palace, there the library was at first placed also, and had great resort made to it: But afterwards, when it was filled with books to the number of four hundred thousand volumes, the ^y other library within the *Serapæum* was erected by way of supplement to it, and it was therefore called ^z the daughter of the former. And that grew up to have three hundred thousand volumes placed in it. And these two put together made up the number of seven hundred thousand volumes in the whole, of which the royal libraries

ⁿ Lib. 22. cap. 16. p. 343. ^o Marcellinus ibid. Epiphanius de ponderibus & mensuris. Tertullianus in apologetico cap. 18. ^p Arrianus in præfatione ad historiam de expeditione Alexandri. Plutarchus in Alexandro. Q. Curtius, lib. 9. c. 8. ^q Strabo, lib. 17. p. 793. Plutarchus in libro quo probat non posse jucundè vitam agi ex Epicuri præceptis. ^r Constat ex Suidâ Zenodotum Ephesium præfuisse bibliothecæ Alexandrinæ sub Ptolemæo primo. ^s Euseb. in chronico, p. 66. Syncellus, p. 271. Cedrenus. ^t Amm. Marcellinus, lib. 22. cap. 16. A. Gellius, lib. 6. cap. 17. Isidor. Orig. lib. 6. cap. 3. ^u Galenus in commentar. secundo in tertium librum Hippocratis de morbis vulgaribus. ^w This amounts to 3093 l. 15 s. of our sterling money. ^x Epiphanius de ponderibus & mensuris. Strabo, lib. 17. ^y Epiphanius ibidem. Tertullianus in apologetico, cap. 18. — Chrysostomus contra Judæos, lib. 1. ^z Epiphan. ibid.

of the *Ptolemean* Kings at *Alexandria* were said to consist. When *Julius Cæsar* waged war against the *Alexandrians*, ^a it happen'd that the library in *Bruchium* was burnt; and ^b the four hundred thousand volumes that were laid up in it were all consumed. But that in the *Serapæum* ^c still remained, and there we may suppose it was, that *Cleopatra* laid up the two hundred thousand volumes of the library of *Pergamus*, which ^d *Antony* gave unto her; with which and other books there repositied, the later *Alexandrian* library being much augmented soon grew up to be larger, and of more eminent note, than the former. And altho' it had sometimes been rifled on the commotions and revolutions that happen'd in the *Roman* empire (as ^e *Orosius* particularly complains it had been in his time) yet it was as often repaired and replenished again with its full number of books, and continued for many ages to be of great fame and use in those parts, till at length it underwent the same fate with the other, and was also burnt and finally destroyed by the *Saracens* on their making themselves masters of that city. This happen'd in the year of our Lord 642 ^f in the manner as followeth: *Johannes Grammaticus* the famous *Aristotelian* philosopher being then living at *Alexandria*, when the city was taken, and having much ingratiated himself with *Amrus Ebnol As* the general of the *Saracen* army, and by reason of his great learning made himself acceptable unto him, he begged of him the royal library of *Alexandria*; to this *Amrus* replied, that this was not in his power, but was wholly in the disposal of the Caliph or Emperor of the *Saracens*; but he promised that he would send to him his request, and accordingly he wrote to *Omar* the then Caliph about it; his answer hereto was, That if those books contained what was agreeing with the *Alcoran*, there was no need of them, for the *Alcoran* alone was sufficient of it self for all truth; but if they contained what was disagreeing with the *Alcoran*, they were not to be endured, and therefore he ordered that whatsoever the contents of them were, they should all be destroyed; whereon being distributed among the publick baths, they served as fuel for six months time to heat all the baths of *Alexandria*, which shews how great the number of them was. And in this manner was that inestimable treasure of learning wholly destroyed. According to ^g *Tertullian* and ^h *St. Chrysostom* the *Alexandrian* library, in which the *Greek* translation of the *Hebrew* scriptures, called the *Septuagint*, was laid up, was that in the *Serapæum*; but according to ⁱ *Epiphanius* it was that in the *Bruchium*, and they were only the translations of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*, that were repositied in the *Serapæum*. The *Musæum*, which stood in *Bruchium*, still lasted after the library adjoining to it had been consumed, till at length that whole quarter of the city was destroyed in a war, which they had with *Aurelian* the *Roman* Emperor. For ^k *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us, that till then it had been for a long time the habitation of excellent men, meaning the society of those learned men, who had been there maintained for the advancement of

^a Plutarchus in *Julio Cæsare*. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, lib. 22. cap. 16. *Dion Cassius*, lib. 42. p. 202. ^b *Livius* apud *Senecam* de tranquillitate. *Orosius*, lib. 6. cap. 15.

^c *Tertullian*. *Chrysostomus*, *Epiphanius*, *Orosius*, and others of the ancients speak of this library in the *Serapæum* as still remaining in their time. ^d *Plutarchus* in *Antonio*.

^e *Orosius*, lib. 6. cap. 15. This author wrote his history about the year of our Lord 417.

^f *Abulpharagius* in *historiâ Dynastiæ nonæ*, p. 114. ^g In apologetico, cap. 18.

^h *Contra Judæos*, lib. 1.

ⁱ De ponderibus & mensuris.

^k Lib. 22. cap. 16. p. 343.

humane knowledge. *Strabo* in the description of this *Museum*¹ tells us, that it was a large building adjoining to the palace, and standing near the port, that it was furrounded with a portico or piazza, wherein the philosophers walked and conversed together; that the members of the society, which were there admitted, were under the government of a president, whose office was of that consideration and dignity, that during the reign of the *Ptolemys* he was always appointed by those Kings, and afterwards by the *Roman* Emperors; and that they had within this building a common hall, where they did eat together, being there plentifully provided for at the publick charge. For this *Museum* from its first erection had been endowed with large revenues for this purpose, and therefore *Timon* the *Phliasian*, who was contemporary with *Ptolemy* the first founder of it, ^m called it *τάλαρον*, because there the philosophers were maintained with plenty of food like birds (as he said) fatted in a coop. For that word in *Greek* signified a vessel used to put victuals into. However to this *Museum* it was owing, that *Alexandria* for a great many ages together was the greatest school of learning in all those parts of the world, and a great many men of very excellent literature were bred in it, and particularly the christian church received out of it some of the eminentest of its doctors, as *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Ammonius*, *Origen*, *Anatolius*, *Athanasius*, and others. For all these had their education in that city.

DEMETRIUS the *Phalerean* seems to have been the first president of this *Museum*. For the library being a part of that college, and instituted chiefly for the use of it, it's most likely that he that had the government of the college had the government of the library also, and that they always went thus both together. And therefore since, according to *Aristeas*, *Demetrius* had the latter, it is very obvious to infer that he had the former also. But if, where *Aristeas* saith this, he be understood, as if he meant thereby, that *Demetrius* was made the King's library-keeper to look after and take care of the books, they who argue from hence against the authority of that author argue right. For that was too mean an office for so great a man. For he had been Prince of *Athens*, and governed that state with absolute authority ten years together, and was also a great lawgiver, and a great philosopher, and in these respects was reputed one of the eminentest men of the time in which he lived. The Emperor *Antoninus*ⁿ ranks him with the greatest Princes of that age, even with *Philip* and *Alexander the Great*. And therefore to tend the King's library as his library-keeper, and there look after and take care of the books in it, was an office below the eminency and dignity of such a person. Besides we find another in it, *Zenodotus* of *Ephesus*. For he, ^o it's said, was library-keeper to *Ptolemy Soter*, and also to *Philadelphus* his son, and being by profession a *Grammarian* he was the most proper for this work, such being usually employed in the keeping and looking after libraries. However it might not be below *Demetrius*, when received by *Ptolemy* among his friends and counsellors, to assist him in what he did so much set his heart upon, that is the setting up of his *Museum* and the library belonging to it. *Demetrius* being a great philosopher, and as eminent for his learning, as he was for his dignity, and other great qualifications, it is most

¹ Lib. 17. p. 793.^m *Athenæus*, lib. 1. p. 22.ⁿ Lib. 9. c. 29. de seipso.^o *Suidas* in *Zenodotus*.

likely it was he, that did first put *Ptolemy* upon both these projects; and who then could be more proper to assist him in the carrying on of both, by taking upon him the superintendency and direction of the whole matter? That he first directed *Ptolemy Soter* to get together a collection of books relating to policy and government is well attested; for ^p *Plutarch* tells us so; his words are these: *Demetrius Phalereus persuaded King Ptolemy to get together books, which treated of the government of kingdoms and states, and read them: For in those he would find such good advice, as none of his friends would dare to give him.* And when the King upon his having this good counsel given him, and approving thereof, was upon the pursuit of getting all such books together, it's easy to suppose this might lead him farther to the collection of all other sort of books for the making of the library mentioned. And it was not below the dignity of any of his counsellors to be assisting to him herein. And to be one of his prime counsellors was the highest station that *Demetrius* could be in about him. And in this station we are told he was. And this we acknowledge must have put him above the mechanical employment and servile attendance of keeping and looking after a library, but not above that of having the superintendency and chief direction over it. For we find at *Rome* one of the prime Cardinals always in this office as to the Pope's library. And lately in *France* the Archbishop of *Rheims*, who is by his place Primate of the *Gallican* Church, and first peer of the whole realm, thought it an honour to be in the same office as to the King's library. That therefore which we may suppose in this case, and which I think was the truth of the matter, is, that *Demetrius* being a great scholar, as well as a great statesman and politician, did on his coming to *Ptolemy* put him upon the founding of the *Museum* at *Alexandria* for the advancement of learning, and the erecting of his great library there for the use of it, and that on his prevailing with the King to hearken to these two projects of his proposal, he undertook the charge of carrying on both of them under him. How this great man came to *Ptolemy* hath been above related in the former part of this history. After ^q he had been driven out of *Athens* by the prevailing power of *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*, he retired to *Cassander* his friend, and lived under his protection till his death; but after that fearing the brutal ferity of *Antipater* his son, who had murdered his own mother, he withdrew into *Egypt*, ^r where he was received with great favour and honour by King *Ptolemy Soter*, and became his chief counsellor, whom he advised with above all others concerning his most important affairs, as especially he did in the matter of settling the succession of his crown. For he had sons by two wives, who were then both alive, *Eurydice* the daughter of *Antipater*, and *Berenice* an inferior *Macedonian* lady, who came into *Egypt* in the retinue of *Eurydice*, but having gotten to be his wife also, and by reason of her beauty gained the first place in his affection, and the greatest ascendant over him, she prevailed with him to disinherit the sons of *Eurydice*, who were the first-born, and place the crown on the head of *Philadelphus* her son, as hath been already said. *Demetrius* on *Ptolemy's* proposing this to him for his advice, ^s earnestly dissuaded him

^p Apothegm. regum. ^q Diogenes Laërtius in Demetrio. Plutarchus in Demetrio Poliorcete. ^r Diogenes Laërtius, ibid. Cicero de finibus, lib. 5. Strabo, lib. 9, p. 398, Ælian. histor. var. lib. 3. c. 17. ^s Diogenes Laërtius in Demetrio.

from it, being moved hereto not only by what he thought was in justice due to the children of *Eurydice* by reason of their birth-right; but also by the affection which he bore to them for the sake of *Cassander* his deceased friend, whose sister *Eurydice* was. This exceedingly provoked *Berenice*, and her son *Ptolemy Philadelphus* against him; and therefore when he came to be King, although he expressed not his displeasure against him, as long as his father lived; yet he was no sooner dead, but he let loose all his wrath against him, for the ill offices he knew he had endeavoured to do him in respect of the succession. And therefore having ordered him to be taken into custody, he sent him under a strong guard to a remote fortress of his kingdom, there to be kept in prison, till he should determine what farther to do with him. But in the interim being bitten by an asp, while he slept in his prison, he there^c dyed of it; and so ended the life of this great man. But this did not put an end to those laudable designs which he had put *Ptolemy Soter* upon, either as to the *Museum* or the library. For King *Ptolemy Philadelphus* carried on both of them, especially that of the library, which he very much augmented. And his successors after him continued to do the same, till it at length grew up to the bulk I have mentioned.

An. 283.
Ptolemy
Philadelphus 2.

AFTER the death of *Ptolemy* two of *Alexander's* captains still survived, *Lyfimachus* and *Seleucus*. But they in their old age (being each of them about eighty) making war upon each other, opened thereby a way to both their destructions. The occasion of it was thus. "After *Lyfimachus* had married his son *Agathocles* to *Lyfandra* one of *Ptolemy's* daughters, he took another of them called *Arfinoe* to wife to himself, and had several children by her. Hereon great emulation happen'd between the two sisters, each striving to secure the best interest they could for themselves and families against the death of *Lyfimachus*, whenever that should happen; and they being sisters by different mothers (for *Lyfandra* was born of *Eurydice*, and *Arfinoe* of *Berenice*) this conduced to heighten the contention that was between them. On the coming of *Ptolemy Ceraunus* to the court of *Lyfimachus*, who was brother to *Lyfandra* by both parents, *Arfinoe* feared his conjunction with *Agathocles* and *Lyfandra* might make them too strong for her, and enable them to destroy hers and her childrens interest on the death of *Lyfimachus*, and therefore to prevent this she plotted the death of *Agathocles*, and effected it. For having infused jealousies into the head of the old King her husband, as if *Agathocles* were laying plots against his life and crown, she induced him by these false accusations to cast him into prison, and there put him to death. Hereon *Lyfandra* with her children, and *Ptolemy Ceraunus* her brother fled to *Seleucus*, and excited him to make war against *Lyfimachus*, and many of *Lyfimachus's* captains and chief followers did the same. For revolting from him out of the abhorrence they had of him for the death of his son, and other cruelties, which he had committed upon it, they went over to *Seleucus*, and joined with *Lyfandra* for the persuading of *Seleucus* to this war; and they the easier prevailed herein, because on other accounts he was then of himself inclined to it.

^c Cicero in oratione pro C. Rabirio.
in Atticis.

" Justin. lib. 17. Appianus in Syriacis. Pausanias

AND therefore *Seleucus* having prepared a great army, marched with it out of the east into the lesser *Asia*, and having there brought all under him that belonged to *Lyfimachus* as far as *Sardis*, he laid siege to that city, ^{and} having taken it, made himself master of all the treasure of *Lyfimachus*, that was laid up in that place. An. 282.
Ptolemy
Philadel-
phus 3.

LYSIMACHUS on his having an account of this invasion made ready an army to repel it, and ^{*} passing over the *Hellepont*, came to a battle with *Seleucus* at a place called *Corupedion* in *Phrygia*, in which he was vanquished and slain; whereby *Seleucus* became master of all his dominions. But that which most pleased him was, that he was now the survivor of all *Alexander's* captains, and had made himself by this victory the conqueror of the conquerors, and in this he much vaunted himself; and upon this account may he seem to have acquired the best title to the name of *Nicator* (i. e. the conqueror) though he had assumed it before, and is commonly called so by historians to distinguish him from others of the same name, who afterwards reigned in *Syria*. An. 281.
Ptolemy
Philadel-
phus 4.

BUT this triumph of his did not last long, for within seven months after, ^y as he was marching into *Macedonia* to take possession of that kingdom, where he purposed to pass the remainder of his life, he was in the march treacherously slain by *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, whom he had received with great kindness into his court on his flight thither, and there maintained him in a princely manner, and carried him with him in this expedition, with purpose on having finished it with success to have employed his forces for the restoring of him to his father's kingdom. But this wicked traitor having no sense of gratitude for these favours conspired against his benefactor, and basely murdered him. The manner of it is thus told. *Seleucus* having passed the *Hellepont* in his way to *Macedonia*, as he marched on from thence towards *Lyfimachia* (a city which *Lyfimachus* had built near the *Isthmus* of the *Thracian Chersonesus*) he stopped at a place, where he observed an old altar had been erected, and being told, that it was called *Argos*, this made him very inquisitive about it. For he had been warned it seems by an oracle to have a care of *Argos*, which he understood of the city of *Argos* in *Peloponnesus*. But while he was asking several questions about it, and how it came to be called by that name, the traitor came behind him, and thrust him thorough, and then getting the army to declare for him, seized the kingdom of *Macedon*. Those who were the soldiers and friends of *Lyfimachus*, looking on him as a revenger of his death, on this account at first had a kind liking unto him, and stuck by him; but he soon gave reason to make them otherwise affected to him. For his sister *Arsinoe* with her children still surviving, ^z he thought himself not safe in the possession of *Lyfimachus's* dominions, as long as any of his children remained alive, and therefore pretending to take *Arsinoe* to be his wife, and to adopt her two sons, which she had by *Lyfimachus*, and having by this means gotten them into his power, he murdered them both on the very feast of the nuptials; and after that having stripp'd *Arsinoe* of all that she had, he sent her to *Samothracia* into banishment with two maids An. 280.
Ptolemy
Philadel-
phus 5.

^w Polyænus, lib. 4. cap. 9. § 4. ^{*} Justin. lib. 17. cap. 1. Appian. in Syriacis. Memnonis excerpta apud Photium, cap. 9. Pausanias in Atticis. Orosius, lib. 3. cap. 23.

^y Justin. lib. 17. c. 2. Appian. in Syriacis. Memnonis excerpta apud Photium, cap. 13. Pausanias in Atticis. ^z Justin. lib. 24. cap. 2. Memnonis excerpta apud Photium, cap. 15.

only to wait upon her. But providence did not suffer all those wickednesses to go long unpunish'd.

An. 279.
Ptolemy
Philadelphus 6.

For the next year after ^a *Ptolemy* waging war against the *Gauls*, who had invaded *Macedonia*, he was taken prisoner in the battel, and afterwards on being known was torn by them in pieces, which was a death he sufficiently deserved. For what is above related of him, shews him to have been a man of a most perfidious and wicked temper of mind; and the knowledge which his father had of this, no doubt, was that which most prevailed with him to exclude him from the succession of his crown, and settle it on his younger brother. After his death *Arsinoe* retired into *Egypt* to *Ptolemy Philadelphus* her brother, who falling in love with her, after ^b he had divorced another *Arsinoe*, ^c the daughter of *Lysimachus*, whom he had married immediately on his first accession to the throne, took this sister of his to be his wife, according to the corrupt usage of the *Persians* and *Egyptians*, who from the time of *Cambyfes* had these incestuous marriages in practice among them, and we have frequent instances of it among the *Ptolemean* Kings, as well as among those that succeeded *Cyrus* in the kingdom of *Persia*. How *Cambyfes* first gave the ill example for it, hath been afore related in the former part of this history. The reason why *Ptolemy* divorced *Arsinoe* his first wife was, he had convicted her of being in a plot against his life. For on the coming of *Arsinoe* his sister to him, *Arsinoe* the wife finding that he was fall'n in love with her, and that she was thereon neglected, out of a furious jealousy and passion of revenge together, she entered into a conspiracy with *Chrysippus* her physician, and others, to cut him off. But the treason being discovered, she was thereon sent into the upper *Egypt* as far as the confines of *Ethiopia*, there to end her days in banishment, after she had brought him two sons and a daughter, the eldest of which was that *Ptolemy*, who by the name *Euergetes* succeeded him in the throne. And after this removal of her was it, that *Ptolemy* took the other *Arsinoe* his sister to be his wife in her stead. And altho' she was now past child-bearing, yet she had such charms to engage his affections, that he never took any other wife as long as she lived, and when she dyed did not long survive her. In the epistle, which according to *Aristeas Eleazar* the High-priest of the *Jews* wrote to him, she is named as his Queen and sister.

ON the death of *Seleucus*, ^d *Antiochus* surnamed *Soter*, his son by *Apama* the daughter of *Artabazus* a *Persian* lady, succeeded him in the empire of *Asia*, and reigned over it nineteen years. As soon as he had heard of his father's death, and secured himself of his dominions in the east, where he then was, he ^e sent *Patrocles* one of his generals, with an army over mount *Taurus* into lesser *Asia* to take care of his affairs in those parts. On his first arrival he marched against the *Heracleans*, a colony of the *Greeks* lying on the *Euxin* sea in the countrey of *Pontus*, and then a potent state. But matters between them being made up by a treaty, he turned all his force against the *Bithynians*, and invaded that countrey; but being drawn into a snare by a stratagem of the enemies, he and his whole army were there all cut off to a man. ^f *Zipates* was then King of *Bithynia*, an aged

^a Justin. lib. 24. cap. 5. Memnonis excerpta, cap. 15. Pausanias in Phocicis. Eclogæ Diodori Siculi, l. 22. ^b Theocriti scholiastes. ^c Pausanias in Atticis. ^d Appian. in Syriacis. Eusebii chronicon. ^e Memnonis excerpta, cap. 16. ^f Memnonis excerpta, cap. 21.

Prince, that had reigned there forty eight years, and was then seventy six years old, who being overborn with the joy of this victory, soon after dyed, leaving behind him four sons, the eldest of which was *Nicomedes*, who succeeding him in the kingdom, to secure himself the better in it, forthwith caused two of his brothers to be cut off; but ^s the youngest, called also *Zipætes* from his father's name, escaping his power, seized on some part of his father's dominions, and there maintained a long war with his brother. From this *Nicomedes* were descended the *Bitynian* Kings, of whom we find so frequent mention in the *Roman* histories. At the ^h same time that he had war with his brother, being threaten'd with another from *Antiochus*, who was preparing a great army to be revenged of him for the death of *Patrocles*, and the loss of his army with him, he called in the *Gauls* to his assistance, and on this occasion was it, that the *Gauls* first passed into lesser *Asia*. The whole history of this expedition of those barbarous people into those parts is thus related.

IN the beginning of this year, it being (as ⁱ *Polybius* tells us) the next year after *Pyrrhus's* first passing into *Italy*, ^k the *Gauls* being overstock'd at home, sent out a vast number of their people to seek for new habitations. These dividing themselves into three companies, took three several ways. The first company under the command of *Brennus* and *Acichorius* marched into *Pannonia*, the countrey now called *Hungary*. The second under the command of *Cerethrius* went into *Thrace*; and the third under the command of *Belgius* invaded *Illyrium* and *Macedonia*; and by these last was it, that *Ptolemy Ceraunus* was slain. But after this victory they having dispersed themselves to plunder the countrey, *Softhenes* a *Macedonian* getting forces together, took the advantage of this disorder to fall upon them, and having cut off great numbers of them, forced the rest to retreat out of the countrey; whereon *Brennus* and his company came into *Macedonia* in their stead. This *Brennus* (being of the same name with him, that some ages before sacked *Rome*) was the chief author of this expedition, and therefore was one of the prime leaders in it. On his hearing of the first success of *Belgius*, and the great prey which he had got by it, he envied him the plunder of so rich a countrey, and therefore resolved to hasten thither to take a part in it; which resolution, after his hearing of the defeat of *Belgius*, he was much more eagerly excited to out of a desire of being revenged for it. What became of *Belgius* and his company is not said, there being after this no more mention made of either. It's most likely he was slain in the overthrow given him by *Softhenes*, and that his company after that joined themselves to those that followed *Brennus*. But however this matter was, *Brennus* and *Acichorius* leaving *Pannonia*, marched with an hundred and fifty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse into *Illyrium*, in order to pass from thence into *Macedonia* and *Greece*. But there a sedition happening in the army, twenty thousand of their men deserted from them, and under the command of *Leonorius* and *Lutarius*, two prime leaders in this expedition, marched into *Thrace*, and there joining

^g Memnonis excerpta, cap. 18. Livius, lib. 38.

lib. 38. Justin. lib. 25. cap. 2.

ⁱ Lib. 1. p. 6.

^h Memnon. cap. 19, 20, 21. Livius,

lib. 38. Justin. lib. 25. cap. 2. ^k Pausanias in Phocicis. Justin. lib.

24, 25. Memnonis excerpta apud Photium. Eclogæ Diodori Siculi, lib. 22. Livius, lib. 38.

Callimachi hymnus in Delum & scholiastes ad eundem. Suidas in γαλάζῃ. From these authori-

ties is collected all that is said under this, and the two following years, of the inundation of those barbarous people made at this time upon Greece, Macedon, Thrace, and the adjacent countries.

those, whom *Cerethrius* had led there before, seized on *Byzantium*, and the western coasts of the *Propontis*, and there made all the adjacent parts tributary to them.

An. 278.
Ptolemy
Philadelph. 7.

HOWEVER, *Brennus* and *Acichorius* were not discouraged by this desertion from proceeding in their intended expedition, but having by new recruits raised among the *Illyrians*, as well as by others sent them from *Gallia*, made up their army to the number of one hundred fifty two thousand foot, and sixty one thousand two hundred horse, marched directly with them into *Macedonia*, and having there overborn *Softhenes* with their great numbers, and ravaged the whole countrey, passed on to the streights of *Thermopylae*, to enter thorough them into *Greece*. But on their coming thither they were stopped for some time by the forces, which they found the *Grecians* had posted there for the guard and defence of that pass; till they were shewn the same way over the mountains, by which the forces of *Xerxes* had passed before; whereon the guards retiring to avoid being surrounded, *Brennus* marched on with the gross of the army towards *Delphos*, to plunder the temple in that city of the vast riches which were there laid up, ordering *Acichorius* to follow after with the remainder. But he there met with a wonderful defeat. For on his approaching the place there happen'd a terrible storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, which destroyed great numbers of his men, and at the same time there was as terrible an earthquake, which rending the mountains in pieces, threw down whole rocks upon them, which overwhelmed them by hundreds at a time; by which the whole army being much dismayed, they were the following night seized with such a panic fear, that every man supposing him that was next to him to be a *Grecian* enemy, they fell upon each other; so that before there was day-light enough to make them see the mistake, one half of the army had destroyed the other. By all this the *Greeks*, who were now come together from all parts to defend their temple, being much animated, fell furiously on them; and altho' now *Acichorius* was come up with *Brennus*, yet both their forces together could not stand the assault, but great numbers of them were slain, and great numbers were wounded; and among these last was *Brennus* himself, who had received several wounds; and altho' none of them were mortal, yet seeing all now lost, and the whole expedition which he had been the author of, thus ending in a dismal ruine, he was so confounded at the miscarriage, that he resolved not to outlive it. And therefore calling to him as many of the chief leaders as could be got together, amidst that calamitous hurry, he advised them to slay all the wounded, and with the remainder make as good a retreat backward as they could. And then having guzzled down as much wine as he could drink, he run himself thorough and dyed. After his death *Acichorius* taking on him the chief command, made as good a retreat as he could towards *Thermopylae*, in order to repair those streights, and carry back what remained of this broken army into their own countrey; but being to make a long march thither all the way through enemies countries, they were as they passed so distressed for want of provisions, which they were every where to fight for; so incommoded at night by lodging mostly upon the ground in a winter season, and in such manner harrassed and fall'n upon where-ever they came, by the people of those countries through which they passed, that what with famine, cold, and sickness, and what with the sword of their enemies, they were all cut off and destroyed: So that of the numerous company

company which did first set out on this expedition; not as much as one man escaped the calamitous fate of miserably perishing in it. Thus was God pleased in a very extraordinary manner to execute his vengeance upon those sacrilegious wretches for the sake of religion in general, how false and idolatrous soever that particular religion was, for which that temple at *Delphos* was erected. For to believe a religion true, and offer sacrilegious violences to the places consecrated to the devotions of that religion, is absolute impiety, and a sin against all religion; and there are many instances of very signal judgments, with which God hath punished it, even among the worst of Heathens and Infidels; and much more may they expect it, who having the truth of God established among them, shall become guilty hereof.

IN the interim *Leonorius* and *Lutarius* parting from the other *Gauls*, who had settled themselves on the *Propontis*, marched down to the *Hellepont*, and seizing on *Lyfimachia*, made themselves masters of all the *Thracian Chersonesus*; but there another sedition arising among them, the two commanders parted their forces, and separated from each other; *Lutarius* continuing on the *Hellepont*, and *Leonorius* with the greater number returning again to *Byzantium*, from whence he came.

BUT afterwards *Leonorius* passing the *Bosphorus*, and *Lutarius* the *Hellepont* into *Asia*, they both there again united their forces by a new confederacy, and jointly entered into the service of *Nicomedes* King of *Bitthynia*, who having by their assistance the year following conquered *Zipates* his brother, and fixed himself thereby in the thorough possession of all his father's dominions, he assigned them that part of lesser *Asia* to dwell in; which from them was afterwards called by some *Gallo-Græcia*, and by others *Galatia*; which last name afterwards obtaining above the other, those people, instead of *Gauls*, were there called *Galatians*, and from them were descended those *Galatians*, to whom *St. Paul* wrote one of his canonical epistles.

An. 277.
Ptolemy
Philadelphus 8.

THE rest of those *Gauls*, that remained in *Thrace*, afterward making war upon *Antigonus Gonatas*, who on the death of *Sosthenes* reigned in *Macedonia*, they were almost all cut off; and destroyed by him. The few that escaped either passed into *Asia*, and there joined themselves to their countreymen in *Galatia*, or else scattered themselves in other parts, where they were no more heard of. And thus ended this terrible inundation of those barbarous people, which threaten'd *Macedonia* and all *Greece*, with no less than an absolute destruction.

WITHIN the compass of this year ¹ Archbishop *Usher* placeth the making of that *Greek* translation of the *Hebrew* Scriptures, which we call the *Septuagint*. And here all else must place it, who with him believe that history to be genuine, which is written of it under the name of *Aristeas*, and will hold what is consistent with it herein. For according to that author they cannot place it later, because then it would not fall within the time of *Eleazar*, who is therein said to have been the High-priest of the *Jews*, that sent the seventy two elders to *Alexandria* to make this translation; for he dyed about the beginning of the next year after. And they cannot place it sooner, because then it would be before *Ptolemy Philadelphus* married *Arfinoe* his sister, whom *Eleazar* in his epistle, which that

¹ In annalibus sub A. M. 3727.

author makes him to have written to this Prince, calls his Queen and his sister. Without entering into long critical discourses concerning this translation, I shall first historically relate the different accounts which are given of it, and then, as briefly as I can, lay down that which appears to me to be the truth of this whole matter.

THE ancientest account we have hereof, is from a book still extant under the name of *Aristeas*, which is professedly written to give us the whole history of it. He is said therein to have been a prime officer in the guards of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*, at the time when this affair was transacted. What we are told of it by him is as followeth. *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt* being intent on making a great library at *Alexandria*, and being desirous of getting all manner of books into it, committed the care of this matter to *Demetrius Phalereus* a noble *Athenian* then living in his court, directing him to procure from all nations whatsoever books were of note among them. *Demetrius* in the search he made pursuant to these orders, being informed of the book of the law of *Moses* among the *Jews*, acquainted the King hereof, whereon he signified his pleasure, that the book should be sent for from *Jerusalem*, with interpreters from the same place to render it into *Greek*. And ordered him to lay before him in writing what was proper to be done herein, that accordingly he might send to the High-priest about it. *Aristeas* the pretended author of this history of the lxxii interpreters, *Sosibius* of *Tarentum*, and *Andreas*, three nobles of King *Ptolemy's* court, having great favour for the *Jews*, took this opportunity to move the King in the behalf of those of that nation, who had been taken captive by King *Ptolemy Soter* in those invasions made by him upon *Judea*, which are above mentioned, and were then in bondage in *Egypt*, telling him, that it would be in vain to expect from the *Jews* either a true copy of their law, or a faithful translation of it, as long as he kept so many of their countrey men in slavery; and therefore they proposed to him first to release all those *Jews*, before he should send to *Jerusalem* about this matter. Hereon the King asked, what the number of those captive *Jews* might be; *Andreas* answered, that they might be somewhat above an hundred thousand. And do you then think, said the King, that this is a small matter which *Aristeas* asketh? To this *Sosibius* replied, that the greater it was, the more it would become so great a King to do it. Whereon King *Ptolemy* complying with the proposal, published a decree for the release of all the *Jewish* captives in *Egypt*, and ordered twenty drachms an head to be paid out of his treasury, to those that had them in servitude, for the price of their redemption; and this was computed to amount to four hundred talents, which shews the number of the redeemed to have been an hundred and twenty thousand. For four hundred talents, at twenty drachms an head, would redeem just so many. But afterwards the King having ordered the children that were born to those *Jews*, while in their servitude, and the mothers that bore them, to be also redeemed, this made the whole expence to amount to six hundred and sixty talents, which proves the whole number of the redeemed, that is men, women, and children, to have amounted to one hundred ninety eight thousand. For so many six hundred and sixty talents, at the price of twenty drachms an head, would have redeemed. When this was done, *Demetrius*, according as he was ordered, laid before the King, in a memorial, the whole method, which he thought was proper to be followed, for the obtaining

obtaining from the *Jews* the book of the law of *Moses*, which he desired. What he proposed in this memorial was, that a letter should be written to *Eleazar* the High-priest of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, to send from thence a true copy of the *Hebrew* original, and with it six out of each of the twelve tribes of *Israel* to translate it into the *Greek* language. And according to this proposal a letter was written in the King's name to *Eleazar* the High-priest to send the book, and with it for the rendring of it into *Greek* six elders out of every tribe, which he should judge to be best able to perform the work. And *Aristeas* the pretended author of this history, and *Andreas* above-mentioned were sent with this letter to *Jerusalem*; who carried with them also from the King several gifts for the temple in money, for sacrifices there to be offered, and other uses of the sanctuary, an hundred talents; in utensils of silver seventy talents; and in utensils of gold fifty talents; and precious stones in the adornments of the said utensils of five times the value of the gold. On their coming to *Jerusalem*, they were received with great respects by the High-priest, and all the people of the *Jews*, and had all readily granted them, which they went thither for. And therefore having received from the High-priest a true copy of the law of *Moses*, all written in golden letters, and six elders out of every tribe, that is seventy and two in all, to make a version of it into the *Greek* language, they returned with them to *Alexandria*. On their arrival the King calling those elders to his court, made trial of them by seventy two questions proposed to them, to each one in their order; and from the answers which they made, approving of their wisdom, he gave to each of them three talents, and sent them into the island of *Pharus* adjoining to *Alexandria* for the performing of the work, which they came for. Where *Demetrius* having conducted them over the *Heptastadium* (a bank of seven furlongs in length, which joined that island to the continent) into an house there provided for them, they forthwith betook themselves to the business of the interpretation; and as they agreed in the version of each period by common conference together, *Demetrius* wrote it down, and thus in the space of seventy two days they performed the whole work; whereon the whole being read over and approved of in the King's presence, the King gave to each of them three rich garments, two talents in gold, and a cup of gold of a talent weight, and then sent them all home into their own country. Thus far *Aristeas*.

ARISTOBULUS, an *Alexandrian Jew*, and a peripatetic philosopher, is the next that makes mention of this version. He flourished in the 188th year of the æra of contracts (that is in the 125th year before Christ :) For then a letter was written to him by the *Jews* of *Jerusalem* and *Judæa*, as we have it ^m in the second book of the *Maccabees*. This *Aristobulus* ⁿ is said to have written a comment on the five books of *Moses*, and to have dedicated it to King *Ptolemy Philometor*, to whom he had been preceptor, and therein to have spoken of this *Greek* version made under the care and direction of *Demetrius Phalereus* by the command of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*. The book is not now extant. All that remains of it are some few fragments quoted by ^o *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and ^p *Eusebius*;

^m *Chap. i. v. 10.* Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 3. c. 9.

Clemens Alexand. Strom. lib. 1.

Præp. Evang. lib. 7. cap. 13. lib. 8. cap. 9. lib. 13. cap. 12.

ⁿ Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 13. cap. 12.

^o *Strom. lib. 1. & lib. 5.*

^p *Canon. Chron. p. 187.*

in which having asserted that *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and other *Grecians*, had taken most of their philosophy from the *Hebrew* scriptures; to make this seem the more probable he tells us, these scriptures had been for the most part translated into *Greek* before the times of *Alexander* and the *Persian* empire; but that under *Ptolemy Philadelphus* a more perfect translation was made of the whole by the care of *Demetrius Phalereus*.

THE next that makes mention of this version is *Philo*, another *Alexandrian Jew*, who was contemporary with our Saviour. For it was but a little after the time of his crucifixion, that he was sent in an embassy from the *Jews* of *Alexandria* ^a to *Caius Cæsar* the *Roman* Emperor. In this account he ^r tells us the same that *Aristeas* doth, of King *Ptolemy Philadelphus*'s sending to *Jerusalem* for elders to make this version; of the questions proposed to them on their first arrival for the trial of their wisdom; and of their retiring into the island of *Pharus* for the accomplishing of this work, and of their finishing it there in that retirement: And thus far he plainly writes after *Aristeas*. But he farther adds what *Aristeas* gives him no foundation for; that in their interpretations they all so exactly agreed, as not to differ so much as in a word; but to have rendred every thing not only in the same sense, but also in the same phrases, and words of expression, so as not to vary in the least each from other through the whole work. From whence he infers, that they acted not herein as common interpreters, but as men prophetically inspired, and divinely directed, who had every word dictated to them by the Holy Spirit of God through the whole version. And he adds farther, that in commemoration of this work the *Jews* of *Alexandria* kept a solemn anniversary one day in every year, when they went over into the island of *Pharus*, and there spent that day in feasting, and rejoicing, and giving praise to God for his divine assistance in so wonderful manner given by him in the making of this version.

JOSEPHUS, who wrote his antiquities of the *Jews* towards the end of the first century after *Christ*, agreeth with *Aristeas* in his relation of this matter, ^s what he writes of it being no more than an abridgment of that author. And *Eusebius*, who flourished about two hundred and twenty years after him, doth the same, ^r giving us of it no other account but what he found in *Aristeas*, and is now extant in him; only as to *Josephus* it must be acknowledged there is a variation in his account concerning the price paid by *Ptolemy* for the redemption of the captive *Jews*. For whereas *Aristeas* saith it was twenty drachms an head, and that the sum total amounted to six hundred and sixty talents; *Josephus* lays it at an hundred and twenty drachms an head, and the sum total at four hundred and sixty talents; in all other things they exactly agree.

THE next author after *Josephus*, who makes mention of this version and the manner of making it, was *Justin Martyr*, a christian writer, who flourished ^u in the middle of the second century, about an hundred years after *Philo*. He having been at *Alexandria*, and there discoursed with the *Jews* of that place concerning this matter, tells us what he found there related, and was then firmly believed among them concerning it. Whereby

^a Philo de legatione ad Caium Cæsarem. cap. 2.

^r De vitâ Mosis, lib. 2.

^s Antiq. lib. 12.

^r Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 8. cap. 2, 3, 4, 5.

^u He wrote his first apology for the Christians, anno Dom. 140.

it appears, that what *Philo* tells us of the wonderful agreement of the interpreters in the making of that version, was much farther improved by his time. For they had then added to the story distinct cells for the interpreters, and the fiction of their being shut up all in them apart from each other, one in each cell, and of each of them therein making a distinct version by himself, and all agreeing together to a word on the comparing of what each had done; which the good man swallowing with a thorough credulity, writes of it in the words following.

“ * *PTOLEMY* King of *Egypt* having a mind to erect a library at
 “ *Alexandria*, caused books to be brought thither from all parts to fill it;
 “ and being inform’d that the *Jews* kept with great care ancient histories
 “ written in *Hebrew*, and being desirous to know what these writings con-
 “ tained, sent to *Jerusalem* for seventy learned men, who understood the
 “ *Hebrew* and the *Greek* languages, and ordered them to translate those
 “ books; and to the end they might be the more at quiet and free from
 “ noise, and thereby be enabled the sooner to make this translation, he
 “ would not have them stay in the city, but caused to be built for them in
 “ the island of *Pharus*, seven furlongs from *Alexandria*, as many little
 “ houses or cells as there were interpreters, that each might there apart
 “ by himself make his version. And he enjoined those who served them,
 “ to do them all sorts of good offices, but to prevent their conferring to-
 “ gether, that he might know by the conformity of their versions, whe-
 “ ther their translation was true and exact. And finding afterwards, that
 “ these seventy persons did not only agree in the sense, but also in the
 “ same terms, so that there was not one word in any one of their ver-
 “ sions, which was not in all the other, but that they all wrote word for
 “ word the same expressions, he was surpris’d with admiration; and not
 “ doubting but that this version was made by the Spirit of God, he heap-
 “ ed honours upon the interpreters, whom he looked upon as men dear unto
 “ God, and sent them home loaden with presents to their own country.
 “ And as to the books, he received them with that veneration which was
 “ due to them, looking on them as divine books, and placed them in his
 “ library.” And then the holy man adds, for the confirming of this story,
 which he himself thoroughly believed as true: “ These things, which we
 “ now relate unto you, O *Greeks*, are not fables, and feigned stories: For
 “ we our selves having been at *Alexandria*, did there see the ruins of
 “ those little houses or cells in the island of *Pharus* there still remaining;
 “ and what we now tell you of them, we had from the inhabitants of the
 “ place, who had received it from their forefathers by undoubted tradi-
 “ tion.” And * in another place he saith of the same matter — “ When
 “ *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt* was preparing a library, in which he purposed
 “ to gather together the writings of all men, having heard of the writings
 “ of the prophets among the *Jews*, he sent to *Herod* then King of the *Jews*
 “ to desire him to transmit to him those books of the prophets. Whereon
 “ King *Herod* sent them unto him written in the *Hebrew* language. But
 “ whereas those books, as written in this language, were wholly unintelli-
 “ gible to the *Egyptians*, he sent a second time to *Herod* to desire to send
 “ him interpreters to translate them into the *Greek* language; which being
 “ done, these books thus translated are still remaining among the *Egyptians*

* Cohort. ad gentes, p. 14.

* Apologia secunda pro Christianis.

“ even to this day, and copies of them are now in the hands of the *Jews*
 “ in all places wheresoever they are.

¹ *IRENÆUS*, ² *Clemens Alexandrinus*, ³ *Hilary*, ⁴ *Austin*, ⁵ *Cyril of Jerusalem*, ⁶ *Philastrus Brixienfis*; and the generality of the ancient fathers, that lived after *Justin*, follow him in this matter of the cells, and the wonderful agreement of all the versions made in them. And some also of the moderns are zealous contenders for the truth of this story, being fond of a miracle, which would so much conduce to the confirming of the divine authority of the holy scriptures against all gainsayers; and it is much to be wish'd, that it were built upon such authority, as would not admit of any of those objections which are urged against it.

By the time of *Epiphanius* (who was made Bishop of *Salamine* in *Cyprus*, anno Domini 368.) false traditions had farther corrupted this story. For he gives a relation of the matter which differs from that of *Justin*, as well as of *Aristeas*, and yet he quotes *Aristeas* even in those particulars, which he relates otherwise than that author doth; which shews, that there was another *Aristeas* in his time different from that which we now have; though it be plain, that the author which is now extant with us under that name is certainly the same, which *Josephus* and *Eusebius* used. What *Epiphanius* writes hereof would be too long to be all here inserted. The sum of it is, ⁷ that *Ptolemy Philadelphus* designing to make a library at *Alexandria*, sent to all countries to procure copies of their books to put into it, and committed it to the care of *Demetrius Phalereus* to manage this whole matter; by whom being informed of the books of the holy scriptures, which the *Jews* then had at *Jerusalem*, he sent an embassy thither, with a letter to the High-priest, to procure a copy of the said books. That hereon the *Jews* sent twenty two canonical books, and seventy two apocryphal, all written in *Hebrew*. But *Ptolemy* not being able to read them in that language, he sent a second embassy to *Jerusalem* for interpreters to make a version of them into *Greek*; for which purpose a second Letter was written to the High-priest; and that the *Jews* on the receipt of this last letter sent him seventy two interpreters chosen six out of every tribe, who made the version according as was desired. The manner in which he saith this was done, will best appear from his own words; they are as followeth: ⁸ “ The seventy two interpreters were in the island of *Pharus*
 “ (which lyeth over against *Alexandria*, and in respect of it is called the
 “ upper land) shut up in thirty six little houses or cells, by two and two
 “ in a cell, from morning till night, and were every night carried in thirty
 “ six boats to King *Ptolemy's* palace, there to sup with him, and then were
 “ lodged in thirty six bed-chambers, by two and two in a chamber, that
 “ they might not confer together about the said version, but make it faithfully,
 “ fully, according to what appeared to them to be the true meaning of the
 “ text. For *Ptolemy* built in that island over against *Alexandria* those
 “ thirty six cells, which I have mentioned, of that capacity, as that they
 “ were sufficient to contain each of them two of the said interpreters, and
 “ there he did shut them up by two and two, as I have said, and two servants
 “ with them in each cell to provide them with food, and minister un-

¹ *Adversus Hæreses*, lib. 3. c. 15.

² *Strom.* lib. 1.

³ In *Psalms*. 2.

⁴ *De civitate Dei*, lib. 18. c. 43.

de ponderibus & mensuris.

⁵ *Catechism.* 4. p. 37.

⁶ *Hæres.* 90.

⁷ *Epiphanius* in libro

⁸ *Epiphanius* *ibid.* p. 161.

“ to them in all things necessary; and also writers to write down the ver-
 “ sions as they made them. To these cells he made no windows in the
 “ walls, but only opened for them above such lights in the roofs of the said
 “ cells, as we call sky-lights. And thus continuing from morning till night
 “ there closely shut up, they made the version in manner as followeth. To
 “ each pair of interpreters one book was given; as for example, the book
 “ of *Genesis* was given to one pair, the book of *Exodus* to another pair,
 “ the book of *Leviticus* to a third, and so of all the rest a book to each
 “ pair in their order; and in this manner all the twenty seven books above-
 “ mentioned, which are now according to the number of the *Hebrew* let-
 “ ters reduced to twenty two, were translated out of the *Hebrew* into the
 “ *Greek* language.” And then a little after he farther saith — “^s And
 “ therefore these twenty seven books, now numbred to be twenty two,
 “ with the *Psalter*, and what is annexed to *Jeremiab*, that is the *Lamen-*
 “ *tations* and the *epistles* of *Baruch* (tho’ those epistles are not found in
 “ the *Hebrew* canon of the holy scriptures: For in *that* the *Lamentations*
 “ only are annexed to *Jeremiab*) were in this manner distributed among the
 “ thirty six pair of interpreters; and afterwards were sent every one of
 “ them round to them; that is from the first pair to the second; and from
 “ the second to the third; and so on, till each book had been translated
 “ into *Greek* once by each pair, and the whole of it by all of them six and
 “ thirty times, as common tradition reports the matter. And to them were
 “ added twenty two apocryphal books. And when all was finished, the
 “ King sitting on high on his throne, thirty six readers came before him
 “ with the thirty six translations, and another reader stood there also, who
 “ had the original *Hebrew* copy in his hand; and while one of those rea-
 “ ders did read his copy aloud, the rest diligently attended, and went along
 “ with him reading to themselves in their copies, and examining thereby
 “ what was written in them, and no variety or difference was found in any
 “ one of them.

Thus far having given an account of all that is related by the ancients concerning the manner of the making this version, which we call the *Septuagint*, I shall now lay down what appears to me to be the truth of the whole matter in these following positions.

I. THAT there was a translation of the *Hebrew* scriptures into *Greek*, made in the time that the *Ptolemy*’s reigned in *Egypt*, is not to be doubted. For we still have the book, and it is the same which was in use in our Saviour’s time. For most of those passages, which the holy penmen of the New Testament do in the *Greek* original of it quote out of the Old Testament, are now found *verbatim* in this version. And since the *Egyptian* Princes of the *Ptolemean* race were so fond, as the writers of those times tell us, of replenishing their library at *Alexandria* with all sorts of books, there is no reason but to believe, that a copy of this translation, as soon as it was made, was put into it.

II. THE book going under the name of *Aristeas*, which is the groundwork and foundation of all that is said of the manner of making this translation by seventy two elders sent from *Jerusalem* to *Alexandria* for this purpose in the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, is a manifest fiction, made out of design thereby to give the greater authority to this translation. The

Jews after their return from the *Babylonish* Captivity to the time of our Saviour, were much given to religious romances, as appears from their apocryphal books still extant, many of which are of this sort. And that the book, which we now have under the name of *Aristeas*, was such a romance, and written by some hellenistical *Jew*, plainly appears from these following reasons: For,

1. THE author of that book, tho' pretended to be an heathen *Greek*, every where speaks as a *Jew*, and delivers himself in all places, where he makes mention either of God, or the *Jewish* religion, in such terms as none but a *Jew* could; and he brings in *Ptolemy*, *Demetrius*, *Andreas*, *Sosibius*, and others, speaking after the same manner, which clearly proves, that no *Aristeas*, or heathen *Greek*, but some hellenistical *Jew* under his name, was the author of that book.

2. HE makes *Ptolemy* advance an incredible sum of money for the obtaining of this version. For according to him, *Ptolemy* expended in redeeming the captive *Jews* that were in his kingdom six hundred and sixty talents; in vessels of silver sent to the temple seventy talents; in vessels of gold fifty talents, and in precious stones to adorn and imbellish these vessels to the value of five times the gold, that is two hundred and fifty talents; in a gift for sacrifices and other uses of the temple an hundred talents. And then he gave to each of the seventy two interpreters at their first coming three talents apiece in silver, that is two hundred and sixteen talents in the whole; and lastly, to each of them at their parting two talents in gold, and a gold cup of a talent weight; all which put together, make in the sum total one thousand forty six talents of silver, and five hundred and sixteen talents of gold, which being reduced to our sterling money, amounts to ^h one million nine hundred and eighteen thousand five hundred thirty seven pound ten shillings. And if we add hereto the value of other gifts, which according to *Aristeas* were bestowed on these seventy two elders by the bounty of the King, and the charges which it cost him in fetching them to *Alexandria*, maintaining them there, and sending them back again to *Jerusalem*, this may be computed to mount that sum to near two millions sterling, which may well be reckoned to be above twenty times as much as that whole library was ever worth. And who can then believe that this narrative, which makes *Ptolemy* expend so much for one single book in it, and which neither he nor any of his court, as long as they continued Heathens, could have any great value for, can be a true and genuine history?

3. THE questions proposed to the seventy two interpreters, and their answers to them, manifestly carry with them the air of fiction and romance. If it should appear likely to any (as I confess it doth not unto me) that *Ptolemy* should trouble himself to propose to them such questions, he must be a person of great credulity that will believe those answers to have been given *ex tempore* to them; whoever will judge rationally of this matter, must necessarily acknowledge, that they were framed by artifice and premeditation to the questions, and that both were the inventions of him that made the book.

^h That is, computing these talents by Attick talents, and valuing them according to Dr. Bernard. If they be computed by the talents of Alexandria, where the scene of action is laid, they will amount to twice as much.

4. THE making of seventy two elders to be sent to *Alexandria* from *Jerusalem* on this occasion, and these to be chosen by six out of every tribe by the advice of *Demetrius Phalereus*, all looks like a *Jewish* invention framed with respect to the *Jewish* Sanhedrim, and the number of the twelve tribes of *Israel*, it not being likely that *Demetrius*, an heathen *Greek*, should know any thing of their twelve tribes, or of the number of the seventy two elders, of which their Sanhedrim did consist. The names of *Israel*, and the twelve tribes, were then absorbed in that of the *Jews*, and few knew of them in that age by any other appellation. Altho' some of the other tribes joined themselves to the *Jews* on their return from the *Babylonish* captivity, as I have before observed, and thereby the names of those tribes might still be preserved among their descendants, yet it is not to be supposed that all were so; but that some of the names of those other tribes were wholly lost, and no more in being in the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and that therefore no such choice could then be made out of them for the composing of this version. But if it were otherwise, yet that there should be six of every tribe, or indeed seventy two of the whole nation then living in *Judea* fully qualified for this work, seems by no means likely. Till the time of *Alexander the Great*, the *Jews* had no communication with the *Greeks*; and from his having been at *Jerusalem* (from which time only this communication first began) there had now passed only fifty five years. During this time no doubt some of them might have learned the *Greek* tongue, especially after so many of them had been planted by *Ptolemy* at *Alexandria*, and by *Seleucus* at *Antioch*, in both which cities the prevailing number of the inhabitants were of the *Greek* nation. But that six of every tribe should then be found thus skilful in the land of *Judea*, where there was then no reason for them to learn this language, is not to be imagined. But this is not all the difficulty of the matter. Those who were to do this work must have been thoroughly skill'd also in the *Hebrew*, which was the language of the original text, as well as in the *Greek*, into which they were to translate it. But at this time the *Hebrew* was no longer among them their common speech. The *Chaldee* since their return from *Chaldea* was become their mother tongue, and the knowledge of the *Hebrew* was thenceforth confined only to the learned among them; and those learned men being such as taught and governed the people at home, they had no opportunity by converse with the *Greeks* to learn their language, nor indeed had they any occasion for it. So that for the making out of this story we must suppose, 1st, That there were many of every tribe of *Israel* then living in *Judea*; 2^{dly}, That there were several in each of these tribes well learned in the *Hebrew* text; and 3^{dly}, That there were in each of them of this last sort so many thoroughly skill'd in the *Greek* language, as that out of them a choice might be made of six for each tribe fully qualified for this work; each particular hereof at this time seems utterly improbable; but the whole doth much more so when all is put together.

5. NEITHER can any probable reason be given, why seventy two should be sent from *Jerusalem* to *Alexandria* for this purpose, when seven were more than enough for the work. Some of the ancientest of the *Talmudists* say,ⁱ that

ⁱ Tract. Sopherim. cap. 1.

there were only five that were employed in it; and this is by much the more likely of the two.

6. THERE are several particulars in this book which cannot accord with the histories of those times. 1st, In none of them is there any mention of the victory which *Aristeas* makes *Ptolemy Philadelphus* to have obtained against *Antigonus* at sea: If by this *Antigonus* he means *Antigonus* the father of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, he was dead seventeen years before *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was King of *Egypt*; and if he means the son of that *Demetrius*, called *Antigonus Gonatas*, who reigned in *Macedon*, there is no author that speaks of any such victory obtained by *Ptolemy Philadelphus* over him. And 2^{dly}, Whereas *Menedemus* the philosopher is said in this author to have been present, when the seventy two interpreters answered the questions proposed to them by *Ptolemy*, it's manifest by what is written of him by authors of undoubted credit, that he could not have been at this time in *Egypt*, if he were then alive, ^k which it is most likely he was not. But 3^{dly}, What doth evidently convict of falsity this whole story of *Aristeas*, is, that he makes *Demetrius Phalereus* to be the chief actor in it, and a great favourite of the King's at this time; whereas he was so far from being in any favour with him, that none was more out of it, or was less likely to be trusted or employed in any matter by him, and that for good reason. For he had earnestly dissuaded *Ptolemy Soter* his father from settling the crown upon him, for ^l which reason *Philadelphus* looking on him as his greatest enemy, as soon as his father was dead (under whose favour he had till then been protected) he cast him into prison, where he soon after dyed in the manner as hath been already related, and therefore he could bear no part in the transacting of this matter.

MANY other arguments there are which prove the spuriousness of this book. They who would farther examine hereinto, may read what hath been written of it by ^m *Du Pin*, ⁿ *Richard Simon* the Frenchman, and by Dr. *Hoddy* the late worthy professor of the Greek language at Oxford; whose account of this and other matters relating to the holy scriptures, in his learned and accurate book, *De bibliorum textibus originalibus, versionibus Græcis & Latinâ vulgatâ*, is very worthy of any man's reading.

III. As to *Aristobulus*, what he saith of this version's being made by the command of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and under the care and direction of *Demetrius Phalereus* is no more than what is taken out of *Aristeas*; that book it seems having been forged before his time, and then gotten into credit among the Jews of *Alexandria*, when he took this out of it. For the one hundred eighty eighth year of the æra of contracts, the time ^o in which he is said to flourish, being one hundred fifty two years after that in which we place the making of this version; that was long enough for this fiction concerning it to have been formed, and also to have grown into such credit among the Jews, as to be believed by them. For if we allow an hundred years for the former, that is for the framing of this fiction, by that time all persons might have been dead, and all things for-

^k It appears by what is written of him by *Diogenes Laërtius*, lib. 2. that he dyed soon after the end of the Gallic war in Greece, being very aged at the time of his death. ^l *Diogenes Laërtius* in vitâ *Demetrii Phalerei*.

^m *History of the canon and writers of the books of the Old and New Testament*, part 1. cap. 6. § 3.

ⁿ *Critical history of the Old Testament*, book 2. cap. 2.

^o 2 *Maccab.* c. 1. v. 10.

gotten that might contradict it; and fifty two years after might have been sufficient for the latter, that is for its growing into the credit of a true history among the *Jews*. As to other things related of this *Aristobulus*, that is, that he was preceptor to the King of *Egypt*, and that he wrote commentaries on the five books of *Moses*, and dedicated them to *Ptolemy Philometor*, they are all justly called in question by learned men. As to his being King *Ptolemy's* master, this is said of him (2 *Maccab. c. i. v. 10.*) in the one hundred eighty eighth year of the æra of contracts, when it was by no means likely he could have been in that office. For the *Ptolemy* that then reigned in *Egypt*, was *Ptolemy Physcon*, and the 188th year of the æra of contracts, was the twenty first year of his reign, and ^p the fifty sixth after his father's death, and therefore he must then have been about sixty years old, if not more, which is an age past being under the tuition of a master. If it be said he might still retain the title, tho' the office had been over many years before, the reply hereto will be, that he must then have been of a very great age, when mentioned with this title. For men use not to be made tutors to Princes till of eminent note, and of mature age; forty is the least we can suppose him of, when appointed to this office, if he ever were at all in it; and supposing he was first called to it, when *Ptolemy Physcon* was ten years old, he must have been ninety at least at the time when this title was given him in the place above cited. And if he had been preceptor to *Ptolemy Physcon*, how came it to pass that he should dedicate his book of commentaries on the law of *Moses* to *Ptolemy Philometor*, who reigned before *Physcon*? If any such book had been at all made by him, it is most likely he would have dedicated it to that *Ptolemy* who had been his pupil, and not unto the other, whom he had no such especial relation to. And as to what he is said to have written in these commentaries, of there having been a *Greek* version of the law before that of the *Septuagint*, and that the *Greek* philosophers borrowed many things from thence, it looks all like fiction. The light of reason, or else ancient traditions, might have led them to the saying of many things, especially in moral matters, which accord with what is found in the writings of *Moses*; and if not, yet there were other ways of coming at them without such a version. Converse with the *Jews* might suffice for it, and particular instruction might be had from some of their learned men for this purpose, and ^q such *Clearchus* tells us *Aristotle* had from a learned *Jew* in the lower *Asia*. That there ever was such a version, no other writing besides these fragments quoted from *Aristobulus* do make the least mention; neither is it likely that there should ever have been any such. For till the *Jews* settled among the *Greeks* at *Alexandria*, and there learned their language, and forgot their own (which was not done till some time after the death of *Alexander*) there was no use of such a *Greek* version of the law among them. And if it had been thus translated before, what need was there of having it done again in the reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. All these things put together create a suspicion among learned men, that the commentaries of *Aristobulus* came out of the same forge with *Aristeas*, that is, were written under the name of *Aristobulus* by some hellenistical *Jew* long after the date which they bore. And it augments this suspicion, that *Clemens Alexandrinus* is the first that makes mention of them. For had

^p It was so according to *Ptolemy's* canon.

^q See part I. book VII. under the year 348, p. 376. there

there been any such commentaries on the law of *Moses*, and written in the time when said, by so eminent a *Jew*, and so famous a philosopher, as *Aristobulus* is related to be, *Philo Judæus* and *Josephus* could not have escaped making use of them; but neither of these writers make the least mention of any such commentaries, which is a strong argument that there were none such extant in their time; and those who mention them afterwards speak very inconsistently of this *Aristobulus*, whom they make to be the author of them. Sometimes they tell us, that he dedicated his book to *Ptolemy Philometor*, at other times they say it was to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and his father together. Sometimes they will have it that he was the same that is mentioned in the first chapter of the second book of *Maccabees*; and sometimes they make him to have been "one of the seventy two interpreters one hundred fifty two years before; which uncertainty about him makes it most likely that there was never any such person at all. That passage, where he is spoken of in the second book of *Maccabees*, is no proof for him. For the letter which is made mention of in it, being there said to have been sent to him *from the people that were at Jerusalem, and in Judæa, and the council, and Judas*; this plainly proves that whole passage to be of the same nature with most other things written in the two first chapters of that second book of *Maccabees*, that is all fable and fiction. For by the *Judas* there mentioned, the writer of that book can mean no other *Judas* than *Judas Maccabæus*. But ^u he was slain in battel thirty six years before the date of this letter. Whatsoever these commentaries were, they seem not to have been long liv'd; for as *Clemens Alexandrinus* was the first of the ancients, so *Eusebius* was the last that makes mention of them. After that time it's most likely they grew out of reputation, and were no more heard of. Upon the whole, they that hold this book to have been spurious, and all that is said of the author of it to be fable and fiction, seem to say *that*, which in all likelihood is the truth of the matter.

IV. WHAT *Philo* adds to the story of *Aristeas*, was from such traditions as had obtained among the *Jews* of *Alexandria* in his time; which had the same original with all the rest, that is were invented by them to bring the greater honour and credit to themselves, and their religion; and also to gain among the vulgar of their own people the greater authority and veneration to that version of the holy scriptures, which they then used. And when such things had once obtained belief, it was easy to introduce an anniversary commemoration of them, and continue it afterwards from year to year in the manner as *Philo* relates.

V. WHERE *Josephus* differs from *Aristeas* in the price paid by *Ptolemy* for the redemption of the captive *Jews*, there is a manifest error. For the sum total doth not agree with the particulars. The number of the *Jews* redeemed, ^x *Josephus* saith, were one hundred and twenty thousand; the redemption of these at twenty drachms an head, at which *Aristeas* lays it, would come to just four hundred talents, which is the sum also which he reckons it to amount to. But *Josephus* saith the redemption money was

^r Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. lib. 1. Eusebii Chronicon, p. 187. & Præp. Evang. lib. 13. c. 12. ^s Clemens Alexandr. Strom. lib. 5. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 8. c. 9.

^t Clemens Alexandrinus, & Eusebius ibidem.

fiat. lib. 7. c. 32.

^u 1 Maccab. ix. 18.

^v Anatolius apud Eusebium in hist. ecclesiast. lib. 12. cap. 2.

an hundred and twenty drachms an head, which is fix times as much; and yet he makes the sum total to be no more than four hundred and fixty talents. The error is in the numerical letters. For either the particulars must be less, or the sum must be more; but whether it was the author, or the transcribers, that made this error, I cannot say. Those ^y who hold *Josephus* to have put the price at one hundred and twenty drachms an head, which was just thirty *Jewish* shekels, that so it might answer what ^z was paid for an *Hebrew* servant, according to the law of *Moses*, do fix the error on the author. But then they make him guilty of a great blunder in not altering the sum total, as well as the particulars, so as to make them both agree with each other.

VI. As to *Justin Martyr*, and the rest of the christian writers that followed him, it's plain they too greedily followed what they wished might be true. Had the lxxii interpreters, who are said to have made this version of the *Hebrew* scriptures into *Greek*, been all separated into so many different cells, and had all there apart every one by himself made so many versions as there were persons, and all these versions had exactly agreed with each other without any difference or variation in any one of them from all the rest, this would have been a miracle, which must have irrefragably confirmed the truth of those scriptures, as well as the authority of the version, which was then made of them, against all gain-sayers. And for both these the Christians of those times were altogether as much concerned as the *Jews*. For the foundations of our holy christian profession are laid upon the Old Testament, as well as on the New. And this part of the holy scriptures was out of *Judæa* no where else read among Christians, but in this *Greek* version, or in such other versions as were made into other languages from it, excepting only at *Antioch*, and in the *Syrian* Churches depending from that see; where they had a *Syriac* version from the beginning immediately translated from the *Hebrew* original. And therefore *Justin Martyr* finding these traditions among the *Jews* at *Alexandria* on his being in that city, was too easily persuaded to believe them; and made use of them in his writings against the heathens of his time in defence of the religion he professed. And upon this authority it was that *Irenæus* and the other christian writers above mentioned tell us the same thing, being equally fond of the argument, by reason of the purpose it would serve to. But how little the authority of *Justin* was to be depended upon in this matter, may sufficiently appear from the unaccurate account which he gives us of it. For he makes *Ptolemy*, when intent upon having the *Hebrew* scriptures for his library, to send ^a to King *Herod* first for a copy of them, and afterwards for interpreters to turn them into the *Greek* language; whereas not only *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, but all the other *Ptolemys*, who reigned after him in *Egypt*, were all dead before *Herod* was made King of *Judæa*. So great a blunder in this narrative is sufficient to discredit all the rest. And it is farther to be taken notice of, that tho' *Justin* was a learned man and a philosopher, yet he was a very credulous person; and when he became a Christian, was carried on by the great zeal he had for his religion, too lightly to lay hold of any story told him, which he

^y Ufferius in annalibus Veteris Testamenti sub anno J. P. 4437. Hoddus de bibliorum textibus originalibus, lib. 1. c. 17. ^z Exodus c. xxi. v. 32. ^a Justin. in apologia secundâ pro Christianis.

thought would any way make for it. An instance hereof is, ^b that being at *Rome*, and there finding a statue consecrated to ^c *Semon Sancus*, an old semi-god of the *Sabins*, he was easily persuaded to believe it to be the statue of *Simon Magus*; and therefore in his second apology, upon no better foundation than this, he upbraids the people of *Rome* for the making of such a wretch and impostor to be one of their gods: And it was from the like easiness and credulity, that being shewn by the *Jews* of *Alexandria* the ruins of some old houses in the island of *Pharus*, he was by them made believe, that they were the remains of the cells in which they told him the lxxii interpreters made their version of the *Hebrew* scriptures into *Greek* by the command of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*; and hereon he gives us that account of it which I have above related. But *Jerome*, who was a person of much greater learning, and far more judicious, rejects this story of the cells with that scorn and contempt which it seems to deserve. His words are, ^d “ I know not what author he was, “ that by his lying first built the seventy cells at *Alexandria*, in which the “ seventy elders being divided wrote the same things; seeing neither *Aristeas*, who was one of the same *Ptolemy*’s guards, nor *Josephus*, who “ lived long after him, say any such thing, but write, that they conferred “ together in one and the same room, and did not prophesy. For to be “ a prophet is one thing, and to be an interpreter is another.

VII. *EPIPHANIUS*’s account of the making of this version differing from all the rest, seems to have been taken from some other history of it than that which *Josephus* and *Eusebius* wrote from. It’s probable some christian writer, after the time of *Justin Martyr*, might have collected together all that he found written or said of this matter; and grafting the whole upon the old *Aristeas* with such alterations as he thought fit to make in it, composed that book, which under the name of *Aristeas* fell into *Epiphanius*’s hands, and that from thence he took all that he writes of this matter. It’s certain that the *Aristeas*, which *Epiphanius* makes use of, was not written till many years after the pretended author of that book must have been dead. For the second letter, which *Epiphanius* out of him tells us *Ptolemy Philadelphus* sent to *Eleazar*, begins with this sentence. *Of an hidden treasure, and a fountain stopped up, what profit can there be in either of them?* which is taken out of ^e the book of *Ecclesiasticus*, but that book was not published by *Siracides* ^f till the year before *Christ* 132, which was one hundred and fifteen years after the death of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, by whose command, according to that author, this version was made. And it also seems to me as certain, that it could not be written till after the time of *Justin Martyr*; For all that is said of the cells it’s plain had its original from that report, which he brought back from *Alexandria* concerning them on his return from his travels to that city. ^g *Epiphanius* retains this tale of his of the cells, but contracts them to half the number. For he makes them to be but thirty six, and puts two interpreters together

^b Justin. in apologia prima pro Christianis. Euseb. in hist. ecclesiastic. lib. 2. cap. 73.

^c This very statue was lately dug up at Rome with this inscription on it, Semoni Sango Deo Fidio. See Valesius’s notes on the 13th chapter of the second book of Eusebius’s ecclesiastical history.

^d Præfat. ad Pentateuchum, & in apologia secundâ contra Ruffinum.

^e Ecclesiasticus xx.

30. xli. 14.

^f It appears by the preface of *Siracides* to his book of *Ecclesiasticus*, that he came not into *Egypt* (where he published that book) till the 38th year of *Ptolemy Euergetes* the second, which was the year before *Christ* 132.

^g In libro de ponderibus & mensuris.

into each of them. By this means thirty six copies are made to suffice for all that laboured in this work; whereas according to *Justin* they being shut up each one singly by himself in his separate cell, there must have been as many copies as interpreters. But in this they do not so much differ from each other, as both do from *Aristeas*. For he saith, that they brought with them from *Jerusalem* but one copy in all, and that out of this alone they made the version by common consult, sitting together in one common hall, and there carrying on and finishing the whole work. And this one copy *Aristeas* saith was written in letters of gold, which contradicts an ancient constitution of the *Jews*, whereby it is ordained among them, that ^h the law is never to be written otherwise than with ink only. *Epiphanius* moreover saith, that besides the canonical books, there were sent from *Jerusalem* on this occasion seventy two apocryphal books, which none of the rest that write of this matter before him make any mention of. And of these seventy two books he makes twenty two only to have been translated; whereas he seems elsewhere to imply, that all were translated that were sent. These contradictions, uncertainties, and various accounts overthrow the credit of the whole story, and plainly prove all that hath been delivered to us concerning it by *Aristeas*, *Philo*, *Justin Martyr*, *Epiphanius*, and their followers, to be no more than fable, fiction, and romance, without any other foundation for it, save only, that in the reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* such a version of the law of *Moses* was made by the *Alexandrian Jews* into the *Greek* language, as those authors relate: For,

VIII. *ALEXANDER* on his building of *Alexandria* brought a great many *Jews* thither to help plant this his new city, as ⁱ hath been already mentioned; and *Ptolemy Soter* after his death having fixed the seat of his government in that place, and set his heart much upon the augmenting and adorning of it, ^k brought thither many more of this nation for the same purpose; where having granted unto them the same privileges with the *Macedonians*, and other *Greeks*, they soon grew to be a great part of the inhabitants of that city. And their constant intercourse with the other citizens, among whom they were there mingled, having necessitated them to learn and constantly use the *Greek* language, *that* happen'd to them here, as had before at *Babylon* on the like occasion; that is, by accustoming themselves to a foreign language, they forgot their own. And therefore no longer understanding the *Hebrew* language, in which they had been hitherto first read, nor the *Chaldee*, in which they were after that interpreted in every synagogue, they had them translated into *Greek* ^l for their use;

^h Vide Schickardi Mishpat Hammelec, cap. 2.

ⁱ Part I. book VII. under the year 332.

^k Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. & contra Apionem, lib. 2. ^l After the time of Ezra the scriptures were read to the Jews in Hebrew, and interpreted into the Chaldee language, but at Alexandria, after the making of this version, it was interpreted to them in Greek, which was afterwards done also in all other Grecian cities, where the Jews became dispersed. And from hence those Jews were called Hellenists, or Grecizing Jews, because they used the Greek language in their synagogues, and by that name they were distinguished from the Hebrew Jews, who used only the Hebrew and Chaldee languages in their synagogues. And this distinction we find made between them (Acts vi. 1.) For the word, which we translate Grecians, is in the original Ἑλληνιστῶν, i. e. not Grecians, but Hellenists, that is Grecizing Jews, such as used the Grecian language in their synagogues. And because herein they differed from the Hebrew Jews, this created some differences between them, and made a sort of schism among them.

that this version might serve for the same purpose in *Alexandria* and *Egypt*, as the *Chaldee* paraphrases afterwards did in *Jerusalem* and *Judæa*. And this was the original and true cause of the making of that *Greek* version, which hath since from the fable of *Aristeas* been called the Septuagint. For that fable from the first broaching of it having generally obtained first among the *Jews*, and afterwards among the Christians, soon caused that this name was given to that version. At first the law only was translated: For then they had no need of the other books in their publick worship, no other part of the holy scriptures, save the law only, having been in those times read in their synagogues, ^m as hath been before taken notice of. But afterwards, when the reading of the prophets also came into use in the synagogues of *Judæa*, in the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, upon the occasion ^m already mentioned, and the *Jews* of *Alexandria* (who in those times conformed themselves to the usages of *Judæa* and *Jerusalem* in all matters of religion) were induced hereby to do the same, this caused a translation of the prophets also to be there made into the *Greek* language, in like manner as the law had been before. And after this other persons translated the rest for the private use of the same people, and so that whole version was compleated which we now call the Septuagint; and after it was thus made, it became of common use among all the Churches of the *hellenistical Jews*, where-ever they were dispersed among the *Grecian* cities. 1st, That the law only was at first translated into *Greek* in the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, all that first speak of this version, *i. e.* ⁿ *Aristeas*, *Aristobulus*, *Philo*, and *Josephus* directly tell us. 2^{dly}, That it was done at *Alexandria*, the *Alexandrian* dialect, which appears through the whole version, is a manifest proof. 3^{dly}, That it was made at different times, and by different persons; the different styles in which the different books are found written, the different ways in which the same *Hebrew* words, and the same *Hebrew* phrases, are translated in different places, and the greater accuracy with which some of the books are translated above others, are a full demonstration.

IX. *PTOLEMY Philadelphus* having been very intent upon the augmenting of his library, and replenishing it with all manner of books, it is not to be doubted but that as soon as this *Greek* version was made at *Alexandria*, a copy of it was put into that library, and there continued, till that noble repository of learning was accidentally burnt by *Julius Cæsar* in his wars against the *Alexandrians*. However it seems to have lain there in a very obscure manner, none of the *Grecian* authors now extant, nor any of the ancient *Latins*, having ever taken the least notice of it. For all of them, in what they write of the *Jews*, ^o give accounts of them so vastly wide of what is contained in the holy scriptures, as sufficiently shew, that they never perused them, or knew any thing of them. There are indeed out of *Eupolemus*, *Abydenus*, and other ancient writers now lost, some fragments still preserved in *Josephus*, *Eusebius*, and other authors, which speak of the *Jews* more agreeably to the scriptural history, but still with such variations and intermixtures of falsity, that none of those remains,

^m Part I. book V. ⁿ *Aristeas*, *Aristobulus*, and *Philo* say the law only was translated by the *lxx*; and *Josephus* more expressly tells us, in the preface to his antiquities, that they did not translate for *Ptolemy* the whole scriptures, but the law only. ^o *i. e.* *Diodorus Siculus* in eclogis libri 34. & libri 40. *Justinus ex Trogo*, lib. 36. cap. 2. *Strabo*, lib. 16. *Tacitus* hist. lib. 5. cap. 2. aliique.

excepting

excepting only what we find taken out of *Demetrius* in the ninth book of *Eusebius de præparatione evangelicâ*, do give us any ground to believe that the writers of them ever consulted those books, or knew any thing of them. This *Demetrius*^p was an historian that wrote in *Greek*, and an inhabitant of *Alexandria*, where he compiled an history of the *Jews*, and continued it down to the reign of the fourth *Ptolemy*, who was *Ptolemy Philopator* the grandson of *Philadelphus*. How much longer after this it was that he lived, is not any where said: He having written so agreeably to the scripture, this seems to prove him to have been a *Jew*. However if he were otherwise, that is not a *Jew*, but an heathen *Greek*, that no heathen writer, but he only, should make use of those scriptures, after they had been translated into *Greek*, sufficiently shews how much that copy of them, which was laid up in the King's library at *Alexandria*, was there neglected; and also how carefully the *Jews*, who were the first composers of this version, kept and confined all other copies of it to their own use. They had the stated lessons read out of it in their synagogues, and they had copies of it at home for their private use; and thus they seem to have reserved it wholly to themselves till our Saviour's time. But after that time the Gospel having been propagated to all nations, this version of the *Hebrew* scriptures was propagated with it among all that used the *Greek* tongue; and it became no longer locked up among the hellenistical *Jews*, but copies of it were dispersed into all mens hands that desired it; and hence it came to pass, that after our Saviour's time many of the heathen writers, as *Celsus*, *Porphry*, and others, became well acquainted with the Old Testament scriptures, tho' we find scarce any, or rather none of them, were so before.

X. As Christianity grew, so also did the credit and use of the *Greek* version of the Old Testament and scriptures. The Evangelists and Apostles, who were the holy pen-men of the New Testament scriptures, all quoted out of it, and so did all the primitive Fathers after them. ^qAll the *Greek* Churches used it, and the *Latins* had no other copy of those scriptures in their language till *Jerome's* time, but what was translated from it. Whatsoever comments were written on any part of them, this was always the text, and the explications were made according to it. And when other nations were converted to Christianity, and had those scriptures translated for their use into their several languages, these versions were all made from the Septuagint; as the *Illyrian*, the *Gothic*, the *Arabic*, the *Ethiopic*, the *Armenian*, and the *Syriac*. There was indeed an 'old *Syriac* version translated immediately from the *Hebrew* original, which is still in being, and at this time made use of by all the *Syrian* Churches in the east. But besides this there was another *Syriac* version of the same scriptures, which was made from the Septuagint. The former was made, if not in the Apostle's time, yet very soon after for the use of the *Syrian* Churches, and it is still used in them; but this latter was not made till about six hundred years after the other, and is at this time extant in some of those Churches, where they are both used promiscuously together, that is as well the one

^p Clemens Alexandrinus Strom. lib. 1. Hieronymus in catalogo illustrium scriptorum, cap. 38. Vossius de historicis Græcis, lib. 3. sub literâ D. ^q Vide Waltoni prolegomena, cap. 9. § 1. Hoddium, lib. 3. part 1. ^r Vide Waltoni prolegomena, cap. 13. Du Pin. Simonium, aliosque.

as the other. Of the antiquity of the old *Syriac* version, the *Maronites* and other *Syrian* Christians do much brag. For they will have it that it was made, one part of it by the command of *Solomon* for the use of *Hiram* King of *Tyre*; and the other part (that is that part, whereof the original was written after the time of *Solomon*) by the command of *Abgarus* King of *Edessa*, who lived in our Saviour's time. The chief argument which they bring for this is, that St. *Paul* in the 4th chapter of his epistle to the *Ephesians*, v. 8. quoting a passage out of the 68th *Psalms*, v. 18. makes his quotation of it not according to the Septuagint, nor according to the *Hebrew* original, but according to the *Syriac* version; for in that only is it found so as he quotes it; and therefore, say they, this quotation was taken out of it, and consequently this version must have been made before his time. The words of that passage, as quoted by St. *Paul*, are, *he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men*. But the latter part of it is neither according to the Septuagint version of that *Psalms*, nor according to the *Hebrew* original, but according to the *Syriac* version only. For according to both the two former, the quotation must have been, *and received gifts for men*; and according to the latter only is it in that text of the *Psalms*, so as St. *Paul* quotes it. But this rather proves, that the *Syriac* version in that passage of the *Psalms* was formed according to St. *Paul*'s quotation, than that St. *Paul*'s quotation was taken from that version. It's certain this version^s was very ancient. It was in all likelihood made within the first century after *Christ*, and had for its author some Christian of the *Jewish* nation, that was thoroughly skill'd in both languages, that in the *Hebrew*, as well as in the *Syriac*. For it is very accurately done, and expresseth the sense of the original with greater exactness than any other version, which hath been made of those scriptures, (I am speaking of the *Old Testament*) at any time before the revival of learning in these last ages; and therefore as it is (excepting only the Septuagint, and the *Chaldee* paraphrases of *Onkelos* on the law, and *Jonathan* on the prophets) the oldest translation that we have of any part of those scriptures; so is it the best, without any exception at all, that have been made of them by the ancients into any language whatsoever. And this last character belongs to it in respect of the *New Testament* as well as of the *Old*. And therefore of all the ancient versions, which are now consulted by Christians for the better understanding of the holy scriptures, as well of the *New Testament* as of the *Old*, none can better serve this end, than this old *Syriac* version, when carefully consulted, and well understood. And to this purpose the very nature of the language much helpeth; for it having been the mother tongue of those who wrote the *New Testament*, and a dialect of that in which the *Old* was first given unto us, many things of both are more happily expressed in it through this whole version, than can well be done in any other language. But to return to the Septuagint.

XI. As this version grew in use among the Christians, it grew out of credit with the *Jews*. For they being pinched in many particulars urged against them by the Christians out of this version, for the evading hereof they entered into the same design against the Septuagint version, that in the

^s See Dr. Pocock's preface to his commentary on Micah.

last age the *English* papists ^r of *Doway* and *Rheims* did against our *English* version; that is they were for making a new one, that might better serve their purpose. The person who undertook this work, was *Aquila* a proselyte *Jew* of *Sinope*, a city of *Pontus*. "He had been bred up in the heathen religion, and had much addicted himself, while of it, to magic and judicial astrology; but being very much affected with the miracles which he saw the professors of the christian religion did work in his time, he became a convert to it upon the same foot as *Simon Magus* had formerly been; that is, out of an expectation of obtaining power thereby of doing the same works. But not being able to attain thereto, as not having sufficient faith and sincerity for so great a gift, he went on with his magic and judicial astrology, endeavouring thereby to bewitch the people, and make himself thought some great one among them; which evil practices of his coming to the knowledge of the governors of the Church, they admonished him against them, and on his refusal to obey their admonitions excommunicated him; at which being very much exasperated, he apostatised to the *Jews*, was circumcised, and became a proselyte to their religion; and for his better instruction herein ^w got himself admitted into the school of *Rabbi Akiba* the most celebrated doctor of the *Jewish* law in his time; and under him he made such a proficiency in the knowledge of the *Jewish* language, and those holy scriptures that were written in it, that he was thought sufficient for this work, and accordingly undertook it, and ^x made two editions thereof. The first he published in the ^y twelfth year of the reign of *Adrian* the *Roman* Emperor, which was the year of our Lord 128. But afterwards having revised it, and made it more correct, he published the second edition of it. And ^z this the hellenistical *Jews* received, and afterwards used it every where instead of the Septuagint; and therefore this *Greek* translation is often made mention of in the Talmud, but ^a the Septuagint never. And in this use of it they continued till the finishing and publishing of both the Talmuds. After that time the notion grew among them, that the scriptures ought not to be read in any of their synagogues, but in the old form; that is, in the *Hebrew* first, and then, by way of interpretation, in the *Chaldee*, according to the manner as I have already described it, and the decrees of the doctors were urged for this way. But the hellenistical *Jews*, after so long use of a *Greek* version, not easily coming into this, it caused great divisions and disturbances among them; for the quieting of which *Justinian* the Emperor ^b published a decree, which is still extant among his novel constitutions, whereby he ordained, that the *Jews* might read the scriptures in their synagogues, either in the *Greek* version of the lxxii, or in that of *Aquila*, or in any other language, according to the countrey in which they should dwell. But the *Jewish* doctors having determined otherwise, their decrees obtained against the Emperor's;

^r The Rhemish Testament was published an. Dom. 1600. the Doway version of the Old Testament 4^{to}, 1609, both in opposition to the English bible used in Queen Elizabeth's time.

^u Epiphanius de ponderibus & mensuris. Synopsis sacræ scripturæ Athanasio ascripta. Euthymius in præfatione ad comment. in Psalmos; vide etiam de eo Usserii syntagma de versione lxx. interpretum, cap. 5, & 6. Waltoni prolegomena, c. 9. & Hoddium, lib. 4. cap. 1. ^w Hieronymus in comment. ad Esaiæ cap. 8.

^x Hieronymus in comment. ad Ezek. cap. 4. ^y Epiphanius in libro de ponderibus & mensuris. ^z Philastrius hæres. 90. Origenes in epistolâ ad Africanum.

^a Lightfoot in primam epistolam ad Corinthios, cap. 9. ^b Novel. 146. Photii nomocanon XII. 3.

and within a little while after, both the Septuagint and the version of *Aquila* became rejected by them; and ever since the solemn reading of the scriptures among them in their publick assemblies hath been ^c in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* languages.

NOT long after the time of *Aquila* there were two other *Greek* versions made of the same scriptures, ^d the first made by *Theodotion*, who lived in the time of *Commodus* the *Roman* Emperor, and ^d the other by *Symmachus*, who flourished a little after him in the reigns of *Severus* and *Carausius*. The former, according ^c to some, was of *Sinope* in *Pontus*, but according ^e to others of *Ephesus*; they who would reconcile this matter say he was of the former by birth, and of the other by habitation. The latter was ^g a *Samaritan*, and bred up in that sect, but afterwards he became ^h a Christian of the sect of the *Ebionites*; and *Theodotion* having been of the same profession before him, hence it came to pass that they were by some both of them said to have been profelytes to Judaism. For the heresy of the *Ebionites* approached nearer the religion of the *Jews*, than that of the orthodox Christians. They ⁱ professed indeed to believe in *Christ* as the true *Messiah*, but held him to be no more than a mere man, and thought themselves still under the obligation of the law of *Moses*, and therefore were circumcised, and observed all the other rites and ceremonies of the *Jewish* religion; and for this reason they had commonly the name of *Jews* given them by the orthodox Christians; and hence it is that we find both these persons, as having been of that heretical sect, sometimes branded with the name of *Jews* by the ancient writers of the Church. They both of them undertook the making of their versions with the same design as *Aquila* did, altho' not wholly for the same end. For they all three entered on this work for the perverting of the Old Testament scriptures; but *Aquila* did it for the serving of the interest of the *Jewish* religion, the other two for the serving of the interest of that heretical sect which they were of. And all of them wrested those holy writings in their versions of them as much as they could to make them speak for the different ends which they proposed. There is some dispute, which of the two later versions was first made. *Symmachus*'s version is first in the order of columns in the *Hexapla* of *Origen*; and this hath made some think, that it was first also in the order of time. But if this were an argument of any force, it would prove his version, and *Aquila*'s also, to have been made before the Septuagint; for they are both in the order of those columns placed before it. ^k *Irenæus* quotes *Aquila*, and also *Theodotion*, but says nothing of *Symmachus*; which sufficiently proves, that both their versions were extant in his time, but not that of the other.

These three interpreters took three different ways in the making of their versions. *Aquila* ^l stuck closely and servilely to the letter, rendering word for word, as nearly as he could, whether the idioms and proprieties of the language he made his version into, or the true sense of the text,

^c The Chaldee is used in some of their synagogues even to this day, as particularly at Frankford in Germany.

^d Epiphanius in libro de ponderibus & mensuris.

^e Epiphanius ibid.

^f Irenæus Hæres. lib. 3. cap. 24. Synopsis sacrae scripturae Athanasio ascripta.

^g Epiphanius ibid.

^h Eusebius in hist. eccles. lib. 6. cap. 17. & Demonstrat. evang. lib. 7.

cap. 1.

ⁱ Eusebius ibid.

^k Lib. 3. cap. 24.

^l Epiphanius de ponderibus & mensuris.

Origenes in epistolâ ad Africanum. Hieronymus in præfatione ad chronica Eusebiana, & in præfatione ad librum Job, & in tractat. de optimo genere interpretandi.

would bear it or no. Hence his version is said to have been rather a good dictionary to give the meaning of the *Hebrew* words, than a good interpretation to unfold unto us the sense of the text; and therefore *Jerome* commends him much in the former respect, and as often condemns him in the latter. *Symmachus*^m took a contrary course, and running into the other extreme, endeavoured only to express what he thought was the true sense of the text, without having much regard to the words; whereby he made his version rather a paraphrase than an exact translation. *Theodotion*ⁿ went the middle way between both, without keeping himself too servilely to the words, or going too far from them; but endeavoured to express the sense of the text in such *Greek* words as would best answer the *Hebrew*, as far as the different idioms of the two languages would bear. And his taking this middle way between both these extremes is, I reckon, the chief reason why some have thought he lived after both the other two, because he corrected that in which the other two have erred. But this his method might happen to lead him to, without his having any such view in it. *Theodotion's* version had the preference with all, except the *Jews*, who adhered to that of *Aquila*, as long as they used any *Greek* version at all. And therefore when the ancient Christians found the Septuagint version of *Daniel* too faulty to be used in their Churches^o, they took *Theodotion's* version of that book into their *Greek* bibles instead of it; and there it hath continued ever since. And for the same reason^p *Origen* in his *Hexapla*, where he supplies out of the *Hebrew* original, what was defective in the Septuagint, doth it mostly according to the version of *Theodotion*.

ALL these^q four different *Greek* versions *Origen* collected together in one volume, placing them in four distinct columns, one over against the other all in the same page; and from hence this edition was called the *Tetrapla*, *i. e.* the fourfold edition. In the first column of this edition was plac'd the version of *Aquila*; in the second that of *Symmachus*; in the third the version of the Septuagint, and in the last that of *Theodotion*. Sometime after he published another edition, wherein he added two other columns in the beginning, and two others also in the end of the same page, and this was called the *Hexapla*, *i. e.* the sixfold edition, and sometimes the *Octapla*, that is the eightfold. In^r the first column of this edition was placed the *Hebrew* text in *Hebrew* letters; in the second the same *Hebrew* text in *Greek* letters; in the third the *Greek* version of *Aquila*; in the fourth that of *Symmachus*; in the fifth that of the Septuagint; in the sixth that of *Theodotion*; in the seventh that which was called the fifth *Greek* version, and in the eighth the sixth *Greek* version. And after all these columns, in some parts of this edition, was added a ninth, in which was placed that, which they called the seventh version. The fifth and sixth were not of the whole Old Testament, but only of some parts of it. The law, and several other of the books of these

^m Hieronymus in præfatione ad chronica Eusebiana, & in comment. ad Amos c. 3.

ⁿ Hieronymus in præfatione ad chronica Eusebiana & in præfatione ad librum Job, & alibi sæpiùs.

^o Hieronymus in præfatione ad versionem Danielis, & in præfatione ad comment. in Daniele & alibi.

^p Hieronymus in præfatione ad Pentateuchum, & in præfatione ad libros Paralipom. & in epistolâ ad Augustinum, & alibi in operibus suis.

^q Epiphanius de ponderibus & mensuris. Hieronymus in præfatione ad libros Paralipom. Eusebius hist. Eccles. lib. 6. cap. 16.

^r Eusebius & Epiphanius ibid. Hieronymus in comment. in epistolam Pauli ad Titum, & in epistolâ ad Vincentium & Gallienum, & alibi. Videas etiam de hac re Waltonum, Hoddium, & Simonium.

scriptures were wanting in both these versions. And therefore this edition began only with six columns, and the other columns were added there only where these other versions began. And hence it is that this edition is called sometimes the *Hexapla*, in respect of that part of it where there were only six columns, and sometimes the *Octapla*, in respect of that part of it where there were eight columns. For the *Hexapla* and the *Octapla* were one and the same work, which in some parts of it had only six columns, and in others eight, and in some nine. In respect of the two former it was called *Hexapla* and *Octapla*, but never *Enneapla*, (*i. e.* the ninefold) in respect of the last. For that last containing only a small part, and as some say no more than the Psalms, no regard was had to it in the name given to the whole work. In this edition *Origen* altered the Order of several parts of the Septuagint, where it differ'd from the *Hebrew* original. For whereas several passages in that version, especially in *Jeremiah*, were inverted, transpos'd, and put into a different order from what they are in the *Hebrew*, it was necessary for him to reduce them again to the same order with it for the making of this edition answer the end he propos'd. For his end herein being that the differences between all the versions and the original might be the more easily seen, in order to the making of that version the more correct and perfect, which was in use through the whole *Greek* Church, he found it necessary to make the whole answer line for line in every column, that all might appear the more readily to the view of the reader, which could not be done without reducing all to the same uniform order. And that of the original, in which all was first written, was the properest to be followed.

THE "fifth and sixth edition above mention'd were found, the one of them at *Nicopolis*, a city near *Aetium* in *Epirus*, in the reign of *Caracalla*, and the other at *Jericho* in *Judaea*, in the reign of *Alexander Severus*. Where the seventh was found, or who was the author of this, or of the other two, is no where said. The first of these three contained the minor prophets, the *Psalms*, the *Canticles*, and the book of *Job*; the second, the "minor prophets and the *Canticles*; and the third, according to some, only the *Psalms*. But very uncertain, and in some particulars very contradictory accounts being given of these three last versions, and the matter being of no moment, since they are now all lost, it will be of no use to make any farther enquiry concerning them. How the whole was disposed in this edition of *Origen's*, will be best understood by the following scheme.

| 1 st Col. | 2 ^d Col. | 3 ^d Col. | 4 th Col. | 5 th Col. | 6 th Col. | 7 th Col. | 8 th Col. | 9 th Col. |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| The Hebrew text in Hebrew letters | The Hebrew text in Greek letters. | The Greek version of <i>Aquila</i> . | The Greek version of <i>Symmachus</i> . | The Greek version of the <i>lxx</i> . | The Greek version of <i>Theodotion</i> . | The fifth Greek version. | The sixth Greek version. | The seventh Greek version. |

All the last three versions, as well as the other three of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*, *Origen* publish'd in this edition as he found them.

* Vide de hac re Usserii syntagma de Græcâ lxx interpretum versione cap. 9. Morini exercitationes biblicas part. I. & Hoddium de textibus bibliorum originalibus, lib. 4. cap. 2. § 15.

† Origenes in epistolâ ad Africanum. Hieronymus in præfatione ad Jeremiam.

‡ Euseb. hist. eccles. lib. 6. cap. 16. Epiphanius de ponderibus & mensuris. Hieronymus. Author synopsis sacre scripturæ, aliique. § Hieronymus citat eam versionem in his libris, nemo in aliis.

But the Septuagint, which was in the fifth column, being that for the sake of which he publish'd all the rest, he bestow'd much more pains upon it to make it as correct and perfect as he could. For * the copies of it, which in his time went about for common use among the *hellenistical Jews*, and Christians, and were then read by both in their publick assemblies, as well as in private at home, were then very much corrupted through the mistakes and negligence of transcribers, whose hands; by often transcription, it had now long gone through; and therefore to remedy this evil, he apply'd himself with great care by examining and collating of many copies to correct all the errors that had this way crept into this version, and restore it again to its primitive perfection. And that copy, which he had thus restor'd, he placed in his *Hexapla* in the fifth column; which being generally reputed to be the true and perfect copy of the Septuagint, the other, that went about in common use, was in contradistinction to it call'd the common or vulgar edition. And his labour rested not here; for he not only endeavoured, by comparing many different copies and editions of it, to clear it from the errors of transcribers, but also by comparing it with the *Hebrew* original, to clear it from the mistakes of the first composers also. For many such he found in it, not only by omissions and additions, but also by wrong interpretations made in it by the first authors of this version. The law, which was the most exactly translated of all, had many of these, but the other parts a great many more. All which he endeavoured to correct in such manner as to leave the original text of the Septuagint still entire, as it came out of the hands of the first translators, without any alterations, additions, or defalcations in it; in order whereto ² he made use of four marks called obelisks, asterisks, lemnisks, and hypolemnisks, which were then in use among the grammarians of those times, and put them into that edition of his corrected version of the Septuagint, which he plac'd in his *Hexapla*. The obelisk was a strait stroke of the pen resembling the form of a small spit, or the blade of a rapier (as thus —) and thence it had the name of *ὀβελίσκος* in *Greek*, which signifieth, in that language, a small spit, and also the blade of a sword. The asterisk was a small star (as thus *) and was so call'd, because in *Greek* that word thus signifieth. The lemnisk was a strait line drawn between two points (as thus ÷) And the hypolemnisk a strait line with one point under it (as thus ⇄). By the obelisk he pointed out what was in the text of the Septuagint to be expunged, as that which was redundant over and above what was in the text of the *Hebrew* original. By the asterisk he shew'd what was to be added to it to supply those places where he found it deficient of what was in the original. And these supplements he made to it mostly according ³ to the version of *Theodotion*, and only where that could not serve to this purpose, did he make use of the other versions. The lemnisks and hypolemnisks he seemeth to have used to mark out unto us where the original interpreters were mistaken in the sense and meaning of the words. But how these marks served to this end, the accounts which we have of

* Origenes in Matthæum editionis Huetianæ. Tom. 1. p. 381. ad Suniam & Fretelam.

² Epiphanius de ponderibus & mensuris. Hieronymus in prologo ad Genesin, & in præfatione ad librum Psalmorum, & in præfatione ad libros Paralipom. & in præfatione ad libros Solomonis, & in libro secundo adversus Ruffinum.

³ Hieronymus in prologo ad Genesin, & in præfatione ad librum Job, & in libro secundo adversus Ruffinum, & in epistolâ 74 ad Augustinum.

them are not sufficient to give us a clear notion. To shew how far the redundancies went that were mark'd with obelisks, and how far the additions that were mark'd with the asterisks, another mark was made use of by him in this edition, ^b which in some copies were two points (as thus :) or else in others ^c the head of a dart inverted (as thus †) and by these marks was pointed out where the said redundancies and additions ended, in the same manner as by the obelisks and asterisks was, where they begun (as thus * $\kappa\epsilon\iota$ αὐτὸς: or thus — $\kappa\epsilon\iota$ αὐτὸς †) But all this he did without making any alteration in the original version of the Septuagint. For ^d taking out all these marks with those supplements which were added under the asterisks, there remained the true and perfect edition of the Septuagint, as publish'd by the first translators; and this was that which was call'd *Origen's* edition, as being corrected and reformed by him in the manner as I have said. This was a work of infinite labour, which gain'd him the name of ^e *Adamantius*, and was also of as great benefit to the Church. It is not certainly said when he finish'd it, but it seems to have been in the year of our Lord 250, which was four years before his death. The original copy, when compleated, was laid up in the library of the Church of *Cæsarea in Palestine*, where ^f *Jerome* many years after consulted it, and wrote out a transcript from it. But the troubles and persecutions which the Church fell under in those times, seem to have been the cause that after it was placed in that library it lay there in obscurity about fifty years without being taken notice of; till at length being found there by *Pamphilus* and *Eusebius*, they wrote out copies of it; and from that time the use and excellency of it being made known, it became dispersed to other Churches, and ^g was received every where with great applause and approbation by them. But the voluminousness of the work, and the trouble and charges it would cost to have it intirely transcribed, became the cause that it was not long liv'd. For it being very troublesome and expensive to have so bulky a book wrote out, which consisted of several volumes, and also very difficult to find scribes among Christians in those times sufficiently skill'd to write out the *Hebrew* text, many contented themselves with copying out the fifth column only, that is the Septuagint with those marks of asterisks, obelisks, lemnisks, and hypolemnisks, with which *Origen* placed it in that column, that part thus marked seeming to comprehend an abridgement of the whole; whereby it came to pass that few transcripts of this great work were made, but many of the other. In the transcribing of which the asterisks being often left out, through want of due care in the writers, this occasion'd that in many copies of the Septuagint, which were afterwards made, several particulars were taken into the text of the Septuagint, as original parts of it, which had only under this mark been inserted there, by way of supplement out of other translations. However, several copies of the whole work, both of the *Tetrapla* and *Hexapla*, still remained in libraries, and were consulted there on all occasions; till at length about

^b Hieronymus in præfatione ad librum Psalmorum.

^c Vide Græcam versionem libri Jo-

hannæ à Masio editam.

^d Hieronymus in epistolâ 74 ad Augustinum.

^e Hieronymus

in epistolâ ad Marcellam. For Adamantius, as apply'd to him, signify'd, the indefatigable; who was not to be overcome with labour; and indeed it was not without indefatigable labour that he compleated this and the other works which he publish'd.

^f Hieronymus in Psalmum secundum, &

in comment. in epistolâ ad Titum, cap. 3.

^g Hieronymus in præmio ad comment. in

Danielem, & in epistolâ 74 ad Augustinum.

the middle of the seventh century, the inundation of the *Saracens* upon the eastern parts having destroyed all libraries where-ever they came, it was after this no more heard of: For there hath never since been any more remaining of it, than some fragments that have been gathered together by *Flaminius Nobilius*, *Drusius*, and *Bernard de Montfaucon*. The latter in a book lately publish'd almost as bulky as the *Hexapla*, and a very pompous edition of it, hath made us expect concerning this matter much more than is perform'd.

PAMPHILUS and *Eusebius* having about the conclusion of the third century found the *Hexapla* of *Origen* in the library of *Cæsarea*, (or according as some relate, brought it from *Tyre*, and plac'd it there) ^h corrected out of it the Septuagint version then in common use; and having caus'd to be written out several copies of it thus corrected according to the fifth column in *Origen's Hexapla*, communicated them to the neighbouring Churches; and from hence this edition became of general use in them from *Antioch* to the borders of *Egypt*, and was called the *Palestine* edition, because it was there first published and used. And sometimes it is also called the edition of *Origen*, because it was made according to his corrections.

ABOUT the same time two other editions of the same Septuagint bible were made, the first ⁱ by *Lucian* a presbyter of the Church of *Antioch*; which being ^k found after his death at *Nicomedia* in *Bitbynia*, where he suffered martyrdom in the tenth persecution, it became afterwards used through all the Churches from *Constantinople* to *Antioch*. The other was made by *Hesychius* a Bishop of *Egypt*; which being ^l received by the Church of *Alexandria*, was from that time brought into use in that and all the other Churches of *Egypt*. Both these two latter correctors understood the *Hebrew* text, and in many places corrected their editions from it.

ALL the authors of these three editions suffered martyrdom in the tenth persecution, which gave their editions that reputation, that the whole *Greek Church* used either the one or the other of them. The Churches of *Antioch* and *Constantinople*, and all of the intermediate countries lying between them, made use of the edition of *Lucian*. All from *Antioch* to *Egypt* that of *Pamphilus*. And all the Churches of *Egypt* that of *Hesychius*. So that *Jerome* saith, ^m the whole world was divided between them in a threefold variety, because in his time no *Greek Church* through the whole world made use of any other edition of those scriptures than one of these three; but every one of them received either the one or the other of them for the authentic copy which they went by. But if we may judge by the manuscript copies which still remain, these three different editions, bating the errors of scribes, did not, by variations that were of any great moment, differ the one from the other.

As thus the ancients had three principal editions of the Septuagint, from whence all the rest were copied, so hath it happen'd also among the moderns.

^h Hieronymus in præfatione ad Paralipomena. & in catalogo scriptorum ecclesiasticorum, & in epistolâ ad Suniam & Fretelam. Suidas ex Simone Metaphrastâ in voce λικτιανός, & in voce νοβόλης.

ⁱ Hieronymus in præfatione ad Paralipomena.

^k Author synopsis sacrae scripturæ.

^l Hieronymus in apologiâ adversus Rufinum, lib. 2. & in præfatione ad Paralipomena.

^m In præfatione ad Paralipomena sic scribit — Alexandria & Ægyptus in lxx suis Hesychium laudat authorem. Constantinopolis usque ad Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat. Mediæ inter has provinciæ Palæstinos codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius & Pamphilus vulgaverunt. Totusque orbis hæc inter se trifariâ varietate compugnat.

For since the inventing of printing there have been also three principal editions of this Septuagint version, from which all the rest have been printed, that are now extant among us; the first that of Cardinal *Ximenes* printed at *Complutum* or *Alcala* in *Spain*; the second that of *Aldus* at *Venice*; and the third that of Pope *Sixtus* the fifth at *Rome*.

THAT ^a of Cardinal *Ximenes* was printed *anno Domini* 1515, in his polyglot bible of *Complutum*, which contained first the *Hebrew* text; secondly the *Chaldee* paraphrase of *Onkelos* on the Pentateuch; thirdly the *Greek* Septuagint version of the Old Testament, and the *Greek* original of the New, and fourthly the *Latin* version of both. It was prepared for the press by the study and care of the divines of the University of ^o *Alcala*, and others called thither to assist in this work. But the whole being carried on under the direction, and at the cost and charges of Cardinal *Ximenes*, it hath the name of his edition. The method proposed herein, as to the Septuagint, having been, out of all the copies they could meet with, to chuse out that reading which was nearest the *Hebrew* original, they seem rather thereby to have given us a new *Greek* translation of their own compofure, than that ancient *Greek* version, which under the name of the Septuagint was in so great use among the primitive Fathers of the christian Church. From this edition hath been printed the Septuagint, which we have in both the polyglots of *Antwerp* and *Paris*; the former of which was published *anno Domini* 1572, and the other *anno* 1645; and also the Septuagint of *Commelin* printed at *Heidelbergh* with *Vatablus's* commentary, *anno* 1599.

2^{dly}, *Aldus's* ^p edition was published at *Venice*, *anno Dom.* 1518. It was by the collation of many ancient manuscripts prepared for the press by *Andreas Asulanus*, father-in-law of the printer. And from this copy have been printed all the *German* editions, excepting that of *Heidelbergh* by *Commelin* already mentioned.

3^{dly}, But the *Roman* edition hath obtained the preference above the other two in the opinion of most learned men, tho' *Isaac Vossius* condemns it as the worst of all. ^q The printing of this edition was first set on foot by Cardinal *Montalto*; and he having been afterwards Pope by the name of *Sixtus Quintus* at the time when it was published, *anno Dom.* 1587, it therefore came out under his name. He first recommended the work to Pope *Gregory the thirteenth*, as being that which had been directed to be done ^r by a decree of the council of *Trent*; and by his advice the work was committed to the care of *Antony Caraffa*, a learned man of a noble family in *Italy*, who was afterwards made a Cardinal and library-keeper to the Pope. He by the assistance of several other learned men employed under him in eight years time finished this edition. It was for the most part according to an old manuscript in the *Vatican* library, which was written all in capital letters without the marks of accents or points, and also without any distinction either of chapters or verses, and is supposed to be as ancient as the time of *Jerome*,

^a Waltoni prolegomena ad biblia polyglotta, cap. 9. § 28. Hoddus de bibliorum textibus originalibus, lib. 4. cap. 3. Usserii syntagma de Græcâ lxx interpretum versione, cap. 8. Grabii prolegomena ad Ostateuchum, cap. 3. ^o *Alcala is the Spanish name of the same town, which in Latin is called Complutum.* ^p Usserii syntagma de Græcâ lxx interpretum versione, cap. 8. Waltoni prolegomena ad biblia polyglotta anglicana, cap. 9. § 29. Hoddus ibidem, Grabius ibidem. ^q Usserius, Waltonus, Hoddus, & Grabius ibidem. Antonius Caraffa in præfatione ad editionem Romanam. Morinus in præfatione ad editionem suam Parisianam Græcæ versionis ^r lxx. ^r Antonius Caraffa ibidem.

only where this was defective (for some leaves of it are lost) they supplied the chafms out of other manuscripts; the principal of which were one that they had from *Venice* out of the library of Cardinal *Bessarion*, and another that was brought them out of *Magna Græcia* now called *Calabria*; which last so agreed with the *Vatican* manuscript, that they supposed them to have been written either the one from the other, or else both from the same copy. The next year after was published at *Rome* a *Latin* version of this edition with the annotations of *Flaminius Nobilius*. *Morinus* reprinted both together at *Paris* an. Dom. 1628; and according to that edition have been published all those Septuagints that have been printed in *England*, that is, that of *London* in 8^{vo}, an. 1653, that in *Walton's* polyglot published 1657, and that of *Cambridge*, an. 1665, which last hath the learned preface of Bishop *Peirson* before it, and doth much more exactly give us the *Roman* edition than that of 1653, tho' both in some particulars differ from it.

BUT the ancientest and the best manuscript of the Septuagint version now extant, according to the judgment of those who have thoroughly examined it, is the *Alexandrian* copy, which is in the King's library at St. *James's*. It is written all in capital letters, without the distinctions of chapters, verses, or words. It was sent for a present to King *Charles the first*, by *Cyrillus Lucaris* then Patriarch of *Constantinople*. He had been before Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and being translated from thence to the Patriarchate of *Constantinople*, he brought thither this manuscript with him, and from thence sent it hither by Sir *Thomas Roe* then ambassador from *England* to the *Grand Seignior*; and with it he sent this following account of the book in a schedule annexed to it written with his own hand.

Liber iste scripturæ sacræ Novi & Veteris Testamenti, prout ex traditione habemus, est scriptus manu Theclæ nobilis fæminæ Ægyptiæ ante mille & trecentos annos circiter, paulò post concilium Nicænum. Nomen Theclæ in fine libri erat exaratum; sed extincto Christianismo in Ægypto à Mahometanis, & libri unà Christianorum in similem sunt redacti conditionem; extinctum enim est Theclæ nomen & laceratum, sed memoria & traditio recens observat.

CYRILLUS Patriarcha Constantinopolitanus.

Which being rendred into *English* is as followeth,

This book of the holy scriptures of the Old and New Testament, as we have it by tradition, was written by the hand of Thecla, a noble Egyptian lady, about thirteen hundred years since, a little after the council of Nice. The name of Thecla was formerly written at the end of the book; but the christian religion being by the Mahometans suppressed in Egypt, the books of Christians were reduced to the like condition. And therefore the name of Thecla is extinguished, and torn out of the book; but memory and tradition doth still observe it to have been hers.

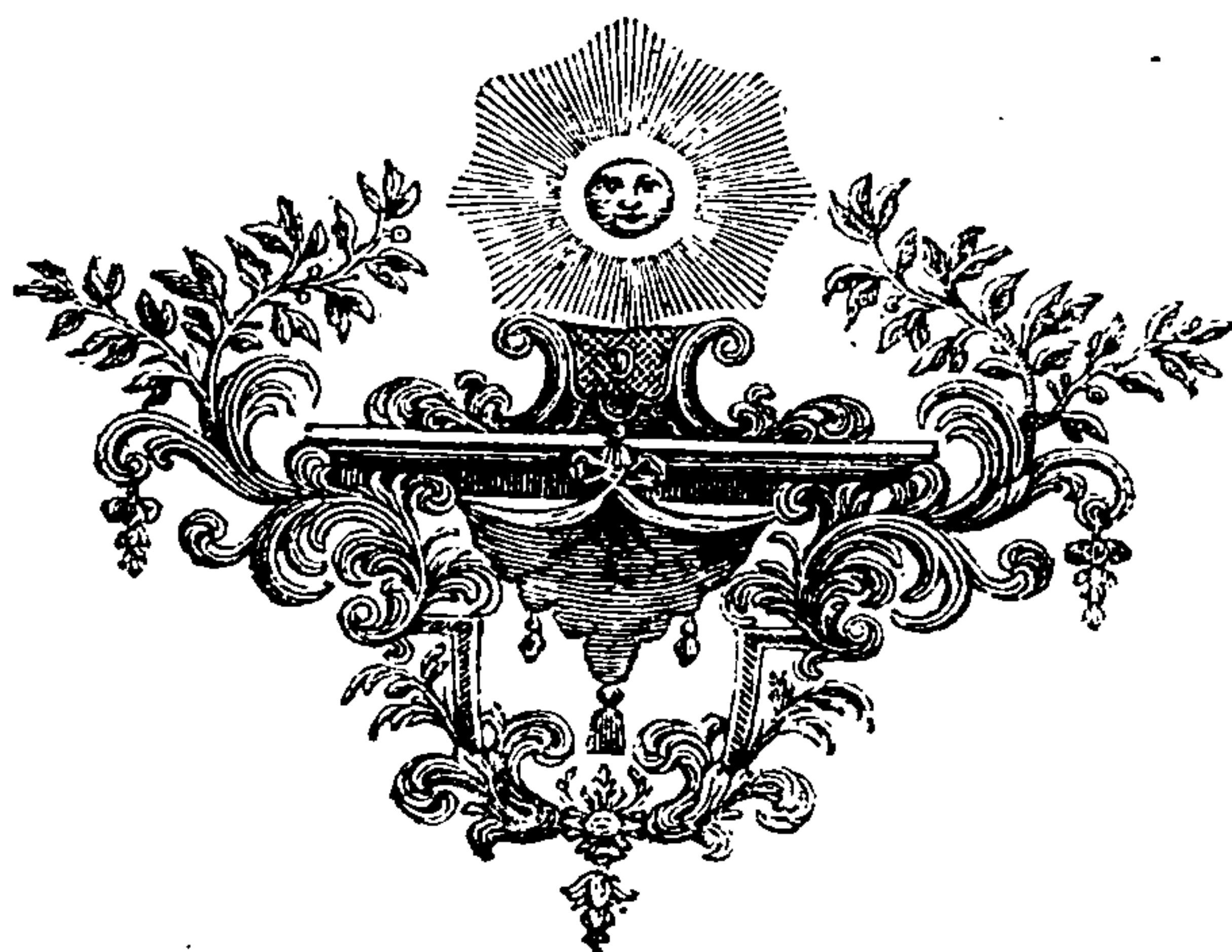
CYRIL Patriarch of Constantinople.

Dr. *Ernestus Grabe*, a learned *Prussian*, who had lived many years in *England*, did lately under the encouragement of her late Majesty Queen

^s Vide prolegomena Lamberti Bos ad editionem suam 7 lxxii Franequeræ publicatam an. Dom. 1709. ^t Græbius in prolegomenis ad Octateuchum.

Anne, who gave him a pension for this purpose, undertaké to publish an edition of the Septuagint according to this copy; and he hath accordingly given us two parts of it, and would have published the rest in two parts more, but that his death prevented him from proceeding any farther. Would some other able hand with the like accuracy and care finish what he hath left undone, this might then be justly reckoned among us a fourth edition of the Septuagint, and it's not doubted but that, when so compleated, it will be approved as the perfectest and best of them all.

AND thus far I have given an account of this ancient translation of the holy scriptures of the Old Testament, and all the editions it hath gone through both ancient and modern, so far as it belongs to an historian to relate. If any are desirous to know all the critical disputes and observations which have been made about it, and what learned men have written of this nature concerning it, they may consult Archbishop *Usher's syntagma de Græcâ lxx interpretum versione*; *Morinus's exercitationes biblicæ part. I.* and his preface before his *Paris* edition of the Septuagint; *Wouver de Græcâ & Latinâ biblicorum interpretatione*; *Walton's Prolegomena ad biblia polyglotta cap. IX.* *Vossius de lxx interpretibus*; *Simon's critical history of the Old Testament*; *Du Pin's history of the canon of the Old Testament*; *Grabe's Prolegomena* before those two parts of the Septuagint which were published by him, and especially Dr. *Hoddy's* learned book above cited, where he hath written the fullest and the best of all that have handled this argument. And here having concluded this long historical account of it, I shall with it conclude this book.





THE
Old and New TESTAMENT
Connected in the
HISTORY
OF THE
Jews and Neighbouring Nations,
FROM THE
Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
to the time of CHRIST.

PART II. BOOK II.

SOSTHENES (who on his defeating the *Gauls* had for An: 276. Ptolemy Philadelphus 9. some time reigned in *Macedon*) being dead, *Antiochus* the son of *Seleucus Nicator*, and *Antigonus Gonatus* the son of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*,^a each claimed to succeed there as in their father's kingdom, *Demetrius* first, and afterwards *Seleucus* having been Kings of that countrey. But *Antigonus*, who had now from the time of his father's last expedition into *Asia* reigned in *Greece* ten years, being nearest first took possession; whereon

^a Memnon cap. 19.

Antiochus resolving to march against him, and the other to keep what he had gotten, each raised great armies, and made strong alliances for the war. On this occasion *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia* having confederated with *Antigonus*, *Antiochus* in his march towards *Macedonia*, not thinking it fit to leave such an enemy behind him in *Asia*, instead of passing over the *Hellespont* to attack *Antigonus*, led his army against *Nicomedes*, and carried the war into *Bithynia*. But there both armies having for some time lain against each other, and neither of them having courage enough to assault the other, it at length ^b came to a treaty, and terms of agreement between them; by virtue of which ^c *Antigonus* having married *Phila* the daughter of *Stratonice* by *Seleucus*, *Antiochus* quitted to him his claim to *Macedonia*, and *Antigonus* became quietly settled in that kingdom, where ^d his posterity reigned for several descents, till at length *Perseus* the last of that race being conquered by *Paulus Æmilius*, that kingdom became a province of the *Roman* empire.

An. 275. *ANTIOCHUS* being thus freed from this war marched against the Ptolemy Gauls; (who having gotten a settlement in *Asia* by the favour of *Nicomedes*, in the manner as hath been above related, over-ran and harassed all that countrey) ^e and having after a sharp conflict overthrown them in battle, he thereby delivered those provinces from their oppressions, ^e from whence he had the name of *Soter* or *the Saviour* given unto him.

An. 274. THE *Romans* having ^f forced *Pyrrhus* after a six years war to leave *Italy*, and return again into *Epirus* with baffle and disappointment, their name Ptolemy began to grow of great note and fame among foreign nations; whereon Philadelphus 11. *Ptolemy Philadelphus* ^g sent ambassadors to them to desire their friendship, with which the *Romans* were well pleased, thinking it no small reputation to them that their friendship was sought for by so great a King.

An. 273. AND therefore to make a return of the like respects, the next year after Ptolemy they sent a solemn embassy into *Egypt* unto that King. The ambassadors Philadelphus 12. were *Q. Fabius Gurges*, *Cn. Fabius Pictor*, and *Q. Ogulinus*, whose conduct in this Employment was very remarkable. For with a mind as great as self-denying they put off every thing from themselves that might tend to their own proper interest. For when King *Ptolemy* having invited them to supper with him presented them, in the conclusion of the entertainment, with crowns of gold, they accepted of the crowns for the sake of the honour that was done them thereby; but the next morning after crowned with them the statues of the King, which stood in the publick places of the city: And being presented on their taking their leave with very valuable gifts from the King, they accepted of them, that they might not disgust him by the refusal; but as soon as they were returned to *Rome*, they delivered them all into the publick treasury, before they appeared in the senate to give an account of their embassy; declaring thereby that they desired no other advantage from the service of the publick, than the honour of discharging it well. And this was the general temper and inclination of the *Romans* in those times, which made them prosper in all their undertakings. But afterwards, when the service of the publick was only

^b Justin. lib. 25. cap. 1.

^c In vitâ Arati Astronomi operibus ejus præfixâ.

^d Plutarchus in Demetrio.

^e Appian. in Syriacis.

^f Plutarchus in Pyrrho.

^g Livius, lib. 14. Eutrop. lib. 2.

^h Livius, lib. 14.

Eutropius, lib. 2. Valerius Maximus, lib. 4. cap. 3. Dio in excerptis ab Ursino editis.

desired in order to plunder it, and men entered on the employments of the state with no other view or intent than to enrich themselves, and advance their own private fortunes, no wonder then that every thing began to go backward with them. And so it must happen with all other states and kingdoms, when the publick interest is sacrificed to that of private men, and the offices and employments of the state are desired only to gratify the ambition, and glut the avarice of them that can get into them. But the *Romans*, altho' they received into their treasury what their ambassadors thus generously delivered into it; yet were not wanting in what was proper for them to do for the encouraging so good an example, and the rewarding of them that gave it. For they ordered to be given to them for their service done the state in this embassy such sums out of their treasury, as equall'd the value of what they thus deliver'd into it. So that the liberality of *Ptolemy*, the abstinence and self-denial of the ambassadors, and the justice of the *Romans*, were all signally made appear in the transaction of this matter.

AFTER the death of *Pyrrhus*,ⁱ who was slain at *Argus* in an attempt made upon that city, *Antigonus Gonatus* King of *Macedon* having much enlarged his power, and made himself thereby very formidable to the *Grecian* states,^k the *Lacedemonians* and the *Athenians* entered into a confederacy against him, and gained *Ptolemy Philadelphus* to join with them herein. Whereon *Antigonus* besieged *Athens*; for the relief of which *Ptolemy*^l sent a fleet under the command of *Patroclus*, one of his chief officers, and *Areus* King of the *Lacedemonians* led thither an army by land for the same purpose. *Patroclus*, on his arrival with his fleet, sent to *Areus* to persuade him forthwith to engage the enemy; promising him at the same time to land the forces which he had on board the fleet, and fall on them in the rear. But the provisions of the *Lacedemonians* being all spent, *Areus* thought it better to retreat, and march home; whereon *Patroclus* was forced to do the same, and sail back with his fleet again into *Egypt*, without accomplishing any thing of the design for which he was sent; and *Athens* being thus deserted by its allies, fell into the hands of *Antigonus*, and he placed a garrison in it.

An. 268.
Ptolemy
Philadelphus 17.

PATROCLUS, in his return into *Egypt*, having found *Sotades* at *Caunus*, a maritim city of *Caria*, there^m seized on him, and wrapping him in a sheet of lead, cast him into the sea. He was a lewd poet, who having written some satyrical verses against King *Ptolemy*, and in them bitterly reflected on him for his marriage with *Arsinoe* his sister, was fled from *Alexandria* to avoid the indignation of that Prince. But *Patroclus* having thus met him in his flight, thought he could not better recommend himself to the favour of his Prince, than by taking this vengeance on the person who had thus abused him. And it was a punishment which he well deserved; for he was a very vile and flagitious wretch, and was commonly called *Sotades Cinædus*, i. e. *Sotades the Sodomite*; which name was given him by way of eminence, not only for his notorious guilt in that monstrous and abominable vice, but especially for thatⁿ he had written in iambic verses a very remarkable poem in commendation of it, which was in great

An. 267.
Ptolemy
Philadelphus 18.

ⁱ Plutarchus in *Pyrrho*.

^k Justin. lib. 26. cap. 2. Pausanias in *Laconicis*.

^l Pausanias *ibid*.

^m Athenæus, lib. 14. p. 620.

ibid. Suidas in voce Σωτάνης.

ⁿ Strabo, lib. 14. p. 648. Athenæus

repute among those who were given to that unnatural and vile lust. Hence *Sodomites* were called from him *Sotadici Cinædi*, i. e. *Sotadic Sodomites*, as in *Juvenal*,

° *Inter Sotadicos notissima fossa Cinædos.*

For so it ought to be read, and not *Socraticos*, as in our printed books. For this latter was an alteration made in the text of that author by such as were wickedly addicted to this beastly vice; thinking they might acquire some credit, or at least some excuse to this worst of uncleanness, if they could make it believ'd that *Socrates*, who was one of the best of men, had been also addicted to it.

An. 265.
Ptolemy
Philadel-
phus 20.

MAGAS, governor of *Cyrene* and *Libya* for King *Ptolemy*^p, rebelled against him, and made himself King of those provinces. He was half brother to him, being son of *Berenice* by *Philip* a *Macedonian*, who had been her husband before she marry'd King *Ptolemy Soter*; and therefore, by her intercession, she prevailed with that Prince to make him his lieutenant to govern those provinces, on his again recovering them after the death of *Ophellas*, an. 307. where having strengthen'd himself by a long continuance in that government, and also by the marriage of *Apame*, the daughter of *Antiochus Soter* King of *Asia*, he, in confidence hereof, rebelled against his brother; and not being contented to deprive him of the provinces of *Libya* and *Cyrene*, where he now reigned, sought to dispossess him also of *Egypt*; and therefore having gotten together a great army, march'd towards *Alexandria* for this purpose, and seiz'd *Parætonium*, a city of *Marmarica*, in his way thither. But as he was proceeding farther, a message being brought him that the *Marmarides*, a people of *Libya*, had revolted from him, he was forced to march back again for the suppressing of this defection. *Ptolemy* being then with a great army on the borders of *Egypt* to defend his countrey against this invader, had a good opportunity, by falling on him in his retreat, utterly to have broken him; but he was hindered by a like defection at home, as *Magas* had been: For having for his defence in this war hired several mercenaries, and among them four thousand *Gauls*, he found they had enter'd into a conspiracy against him to take possession of *Egypt*, and drive him thence; for the preventing of which he march'd back into *Egypt*, and having led the conspirators into an island in the *Nile*, he there pent them up, till they all perished of famine, or to avoid it had slain each other with their own swords.

An. 264.
Ptolemy
Philadel-
phus 21.

MAGAS, as soon as he had removed the difficulties at home which recalled him thither, was for renewing his designs again upon *Egypt*; and for the carrying of them on with the better success, engag'd *Antiochus Soter*, his father-in-law, to engage with him herein; and the project concerted between them was, that *Antiochus* should attack the territories of *Ptolemy* on one side, and *Magas* on the other. But while *Antiochus* was providing an army for this purpose, *Ptolemy* having full notice of what was intended, sent forces into all the maritime provinces, which were under the dominion of *Antiochus*; whereby having caused great ravages and devastations to be made in them, by this means he necessitated that Prince to keep at home for the defence of his own territories, and *Magas*, without his assistance in the war, thought not fit to move any farther in it.

° *Satyra* 2. v. 10.

^p *Pausanias* in *Atticis*.

^q *Pausanias* in *Atticis*.

THE next year after dy'd *Philetærus*, the first founder of the kingdom of *Pergamus*,^r being eighty years old: ^s He was an eunuch, and serv'd *Docimus*, who was one of the captains of *Antigonus*, and, on his revolt from that Prince to *Lyfimachus*, pass'd with him into the same service; and *Lyfimachus* finding him to have had a liberal education, and to be a person of great capacity, made him his treasurer, and thereon put the city of *Pergamus* into his hands, where, in a strong castle, his treasure was kept. And here he serv'd *Lyfimachus* many years with great fidelity; but being particularly attached to the interest of *Agathocles*, the eldest son of *Lyfimachus*; and therefore having expressed great grief at his death, which was brought about by the contrivance of *Arsinoe* the daughter of King *Ptolemy Soter* (whom *Lyfimachus* had marry'd in his old age, as hath been already related) he grew suspected to that lady; and finding thereon, that designs were laid for his life also, he revolted from *Lyfimachus*, and under the protection of *Seleucus* set up for himself. And having converted the treasure of *Lyfimachus* to his own use, among the distractions that after follow'd, first on the death of *Lyfimachus*, and then on that of *Seleucus* within seven months after, and the unsettled state of them that succeeded them; he manag'd his affairs with that craft and subtilty, that he secur'd himself in the possession of his castle, and all the countrey adjacent, for the term of twenty years, and there founded a kingdom, which lasted for several descents in his family after him, and was one of the potentest sovereignties of all *Asia*. He had indeed no children of his own, as being an eunuch, but he had two brothers, *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, the elder of which, *Eumenes*, had a son of the same name, who succeeded his uncle in his new acquired kingdom, and reigned in it twenty two years. This same year began the first *Punic* war between the *Romans* and *Carthaginians*, which lasted twenty four years.

TOWARDS the end of the same year ^t dy'd *Antigonus* of *Socho*, who was president of the *Sanhedrim* at *Jerusalem*, and the great master and teacher of the *Jewish* law in their prime divinity-school in that city; and had been in both these offices, say the *Jews*, from the death of *Simon the Just*, who was of the last of those that were call'd the men of the great synagogue. These taught the scriptures only to the people. They who after succeeded added the traditions of the elders to the holy scriptures, and taught them both to their scholars, obliging them to observance of the one, as well as the other, as if both had equally proceeded from mount *Sinai*. These were call'd the *Tanaim* or the *Mishnical doctors* for the reason ^u already mention'd, and the first of them was this *Antigonus* of *Socho*; who being now dead, was succeeded by *Joseph* the son of *Joazer*, and *Joseph* the son of *John*. The first of these was *Nasi*, or the president of the *Sanhedrim*, and the other *Ab-Beth-Din*, or vice-president, and both jointly taught together in the chief divinity-school at *Jerusalem*.

In the time of this *Antigonus* began the sect of the *Sadducees*, to the rise of which he gave the occasion. For ^w having, in his lectures, often incul-

^r Lucianus in Macrobiis. ^s Pausanias in Atticis. Strabo, lib. 12. p. 543. & lib. 13. p. 623, 624. Appian. in Syriacis. ^t Juchasin. Zemach David. Shalsheth Haccabala. ^u Part I. book V. ^w Pirke Avoth Juchasin. Zemach David. Shalsheth Haccabala. R. Abraham Levita in Cabbalâ historicâ. See Lightfoot's works in English, vol. 1. p. 457, 655, 656. and vol. 2. p. 125, 126, and 127.

cated to his scholars, that they ought not to serve God in a servile manner with respect to the reward, but out of the filial love and fear only, which they owed unto him; *Sadoc*, and *Baithus*, two of his scholars, hearing this from him, inferr'd from hence, that there were no rewards at all after this life; and therefore separating from the school of their master, they taught, that there was no resurrection nor future state; but that all the rewards which God gave to those that served him were in this life only. And many being perverted by them to this opinion, they began that sect among the *Jews*, which, from the name of *Sadoc*, the first founder of it, were called *Sadducees*; who differed from *Epicurus* only in this, that altho' they deny'd a future state, yet they allow'd the power of God to create the world, and his providence to govern it, whereas the *Epicureans* deny both the one and the other. A fuller account of them and their tenets shall be hereafter given in the place where I shall treat of all those sects of the *Jews* together, which arose among them between this time and that of our Saviour.

An. 262.
Ptolemy
Philadel-
phus 23.

NICOMEDES, King of *Bitbunia*, * having built a new city in the place where *Astacus* before stood (which had been destroyed by *Lysimachus*) or very near it; † as others say, caus'd it, from his own name, to be call'd *Nicomedia*, of which place frequent mention is made in the histories of the latter *Roman* Emperors, several of them having made it the seat of their residence in the east.

ANTIOCHUS Soter, on his hearing of the death of *Philetærus*, thought to possess himself of his territories; whereon *Eumenes* marched with an army against him for his defence, and ‡ having encounter'd him near *Sardis*, overthrew him in battel; and thereby not only secured himself in the possession of what his uncle had left him, but also augmented it by several new acquisitions.

An. 261.
Ptolemy
Philadel-
phus 24.

ANTIOCHUS, after this defeat, returning to *Antioch*, there § put to death one of his sons, who had raised some disturbances in his absence, and made the other, who was named also *Antiochus*, King; and a little after dying, left him in the sole possession of all his dominions. He was born to him by *Stratonice*, the daughter of *Demetrius*, who had been first his mother-in-law, and afterwards his wife, as hath been already related.

An. 260.
Ptolemy
Philadel-
phus 25.

THIS *Antiochus*, on his first coming to the crown, had for his wife ^b *Laodice*, his sister by the same father: He afterwards took the title of *Theus*, or the divine; and by this he is usually distinguished from the other Kings of that name, who reigned in *Syria*. It was ^c first given him by the *Milesians*, on his delivering them from the tyranny of *Timarchus*. For ^d this *Timarchus* being governor of *Caria* for *Ptolemy Philadelphus* (who at this time had, besides *Egypt*, *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, ^e the provinces of *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, and *Caria* in lesser *Asia*) rebelled against him, and setting up for himself, fixed the chief seat of his tyranny at *Miletus*.

* Pausanias in *Eliacorum* libro primo. Euseb. Chron. Trebellius Pollio in Gallienis. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 22. † Memnon, cap. 21. ‡ Strabo, lib. 13. p. 624. For the *Antiochus* who was beaten at *Sardis*, could be none other than *Antiochus* the son of *Seleucus*, according to this author; for he here calls him *ὁ Σελεύκῃς*, i. e. the son of *Seleucus*, that Greek phrase in that place not bearing any other interpretation. § Trogius in prolog. libri 26.

^b Polyænus Stratagem. lib. 8. cap. 50. Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. 1. 27. cap. 1.

^c Appianus in Syriacis.

^d Trogius in prologo 26.

^e Theocritus Idyll. 17.

The *Milesians*, to be freed from him, call'd in *Antiochus*, who having vanquished and slain *Timarchus*, was, for this reason, honour'd by them as a god, and had the title of *Theus* there given unto him, which was an impious flattery the people of those times were frequently guilty of towards the Princes then reigning. For the *Lemnians* ^f had a little before consecrated his father and grandfather to be gods, and built temples to them; and ^g the *Smyrnians* did the same for *Stratonice* his mother.

In the beginning of this King's reign lived *Berosus*, the famous *Babylonian* historian; for he dedicated his history to him; so saith *Tatian*; his words are, *Berosus the Babylonian, who was a priest of Belus at Babylon, and liv'd in the time of Alexander, dedicated to Antiochus, who was the third after him, his history, which he wrote in three books, of the affairs of the Chaldeans, and the actions of their Kings.* The third after *Alexander* was certainly *Antiochus Theus*. For *Seleucus Nicator* was the first, *Antiochus Soter* the second, and *Antiochus Theus* the third. And therefore, according to *Tatian*, it must be to him that this dedication was made. But it being said also by *Tatian*, that he liv'd in the time of *Alexander*, who dy'd sixty four years before the first year of *Antiochus Theus*, the age of the historian makes it necessary to place this dedication to *Antiochus* as early as possible, that is in the first year of his reign. For, supposing *Berosus* to have been twenty at the death of *Alexander*, in whose time he is said to have lived, he must have been eighty four in the first year of *Antiochus Theus*, and so great an age makes it probable he could not have liv'd long beyond it; and therefore below this year we cannot well place this dedication. And the account which ^h *Pliny* gives us of this history brings down the ending of it to have been hereabout: For he saith, that it contain'd astronomical observations for 480 years. Learned men, with good reason, ⁱ begin the computation of these 480 years from the beginning of the *era* of *Nabonassar*; and the 480th year of that *era* ended about six years before *Antiochus Theus* began his reign. And that he should end his history at a term six years before he published it, is not hard to conceive; tho' perchance it might be deduced down to the death of *Antiochus Soter*, and the odd number be left out in the computation, it being usual in the reckoning of such long sums to end them at a full number. After the *Macedonians* had made themselves masters of *Babylon*, he learned from them the *Greek* language; and passing from *Babylon* into *Greece*, first settled ^k at *Cos*, a place famous for the birth of *Hippocrates*, the father of physicians, and did there set up a school for the teaching of astronomy and astrology; and afterwards from *Cos* he went to *Athens*, where he grew so famous for his astrological predictions, that they there ^l erected to him in their Gymnasium, the publick place of their exercises, a statue with a golden tongue. Many noble fragments of his history are preserved by *Josephus* and *Eusebius*, which give great light to many passages in the scriptures in the Old Testament, and without which the series of the *Babylonian* Kings could not have been well made out. Of the counterfeit *Berosus* publish'd by *Annius of Viterbo* ^m I have already spoken, and therefore need not here again repeat it.

^f Athenæus, lib. 6. cap. 16.

^g Marmora Oxoniensia, p. 5, 6, & 14.

^h Lib. 7. cap. 56.

ⁱ Vide Usserii annales Veteris Testamenti sub anno I. P. 4453. & Vossium de historicis Græcis. lib. 1. cap. 13.

^k Vitruvius, lib. 9. cap. 7.

^l Plinius, lib. 7. cap. 37.

^m Part I. book VIII. under the year 298.

An. 259.
Ptolemy
Philadel-
phus 26.

PTOLEMY being intent to advance the riches of his kingdom, contrived to bring all the trade of the east that was by sea into it. It had hitherto been managed by the *Tyrians*, and they carry'd it on by sea to *Elatb*, and from thence by the way of *Rhinocorura* to *Tyre*. These were both sea-port towns, *Elatb* on the east-side of the red sea, and *Rhinocorura* at the bottom of the Mediterranean, between *Egypt* and *Palestine*, near the mouth of that river, which the scriptures call the river of *Egypt*. Of both which places, and the trade carry'd on through them by the *Tyrians*, I haveⁿ already spoken in the first part of this history. To draw this trade into *Egypt*, *Ptolemy* contriv'd to build a city on the western side of the red sea, from whence he might set out his shipping for the carrying of it on. But observing that the red sea towards the bottom of the gulph was of very difficult and dangerous navigation, by reason of its rocks and shelves, he built his city at as great distance from that part of this sea as he could, placing it almost as far down as the confines of *Ethiopia*, and called it *Berenice* from the name of his mother. But that not having a good harbour, *Myos Hormus*, in the neighbourhood, was afterwards found to be a more convenient port; and therefore all the wares of *Arabia*, *India*, *Persia*, and *Ethiopia* being brought thither by sea, they were carry'd from thence on camels backs to *Coptus* on the *Nile*, and from thence down that river to *Alexandria*, from whence they were dispers'd all over the west; and the wares of the west were carry'd back the same way into the east; by which means the *Tyrians* being deprived of this profitable traffick, it became thenceforth fix'd at *Alexandria*; and this city from that time continued to be the prime mart of all the trade that was carry'd on between the east and the west for above seventeen hundred years after, till a little above two centuries since another passage from the west in those countries was found out by the way of the cape of *Good Hope*. But the road from *Coptus* to the red sea being through deserts, where no water was to be had, nor any convenience of towns or houses for the lodging of passengers, *Ptolemy*, for the remedying of both these inconveniencies, drew a ditch from *Coptus*, which carry'd the water of *Nile* all along by that road, and built on it several inns at such proper distances, as to afford every night lodgings and convenient refreshments both for man and beast to all that should pass that way. And as he thus projected to draw all the trade of the east and west into his kingdom, so he provided^a a very great fleet for the protecting of it, part of which he kept in the red sea, and part in the Mediterranean. That in the Mediterranean alone was very great, and some of the ships of it of a very unusual bigness: For^r he had in it two ships of thirty oars on a side, one of twenty oars, four of fourteen, two of twelve, fourteen of eleven, thirty of nine, thirty seven of seven, five of six, seventeen of five; and of four oars and three oars of a side, he had double the number of all these already mention'd; and he had over and above of the smaller sort of vessels a vast number. And by the strength of this fleet, he not only maintained and advanced the trade of his country, but also^s kept most of the maritim provinces of lesser *Asia*, that is,

ⁿ Part I. book I. under the year 740.

^a Strabo, lib. 17. p. 815.

^p Strabo, ibidem.

^q Theocritus in Idyllio 17. Appianus in præfatione.

^r Athenæus, lib. 5. p. 203.

^s Theocritus in Idyllio 17.

Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, and also the Cyclades, in thorough subjection to him as long as he lived.

MAGAS King of *Cyrene* and *Lybia* growing old and infirm, expressed a desire of composing all differences with King *Ptolemy* his brother; and in order hereto [†]proposed to marry his only daughter *Berenice* to King *Ptolemy's* eldest son, and with her to give the inheritance of his kingdoms after him; which being accepted of by *Ptolemy*, peace was made between them on these terms.

BUT *Magas* in the year following [‡]died, before the treaty was executed, after he had reigned [¶]fifty years over *Lybia* and *Cyrene*, from the time that these provinces were first committed to his government on the death of *Ophellus*. In the latter end of his life he gave himself much to ease and luxury, eating and drinking beyond all temperance and measure, whereon [‡]he grew so corpulent, that at length he weighed himself down into the grave by the load of his own fat. After his death [¶]*Apame* his wife (whom *Justin* calls *Arsinoe*) setting her self very violently to break the match contracted for her daughter with the son of King *Ptolemy*, as being agreed without her consent, sent into *Macedon* for *Demetrius* the half brother of King *Antigonus Gonatus* (for he was the son [‡]of *Demetrius Poliorcetes* by his last wife *Ptolemaida* the daughter of *Ptolemy Soter*) promising him her daughter in marriage, and the kingdoms of *Lybia* and *Cyrene* with her. This invitation soon brought *Demetrius* thither. But *Apame* on his arrival finding him a very beautiful young man, fell in love with him her self; which *Demetrius* complying with, neglected the young Princess, and gave himself wholly up to this scandalous amour with the mother; and being hereon thoroughly possessed of her favour, in confidence of it began to carry himself with great pride and insolence, not only towards the Princess, but also towards the ministers and soldiers that served her father; whereon they all conspired against him. And *Berenice* her self having led the conspirators to the door of her mother's bedchamber, when he was there accompanying with her, they fell upon him and slew him in her bed, notwithstanding she did all she could by interposing her body between him and the swords of the conspirators, to save him from this assassination. After this *Berenice* went into *Egypt*, and there consummated the marriage with the son of King *Ptolemy*, which her father had contracted for her, and *Apame* was sent into *Syria* to King *Antiochus Theus* her brother.

BUT on her arrival at his court she so exasperated him against King *Ptolemy*, as to engage him to enter into a war with him, which [‡]lasted long, and was carried on with great violence, to the very great damage of King *Antiochus*; and at last administered the occasion for a cruel tragedy in his family, in which he himself perished, as will be hereafter related.

FOR the carrying on of this war, *Ptolemy* employed his lieutenants, without appearing in it himself, by reason of the tender state of his health, [‡]which would not permit him to bear the hardships of a camp, or the fatigues of a campaign. But *Antiochus* being in the vigour of his youth,

[†] Justin. lib. 26. cap. 3. ubi pro *Magas* ex errore scribarum legitur *Agas*. [‡] Justin. lib. 26. cap. 3. [¶] Athenæus ex Agatharclide, lib. 12. p. 550. [‡] Athenæus ibidem.

[¶] Justin. ibidem. [‡] Plutarchus in *Demetrio*. Here it is to be observed, that *Apame* was the grand-daughter of the same *Demetrius* by *Stratonice* his daughter, for she was the daughter of *Antiochus Soter* by that lady. [‡] Hieronymus in *Danielem*, cap. xi. v. 5.

[‡] Strabo, lib. 17. p. 789.

headed his armies himself, and drew after him all the strength of *Babylon* and the east, for the more vigorous prosecuting of the war. But what were the successes of it on either side we have no account, through want of their being recorded in history; only we may presume there were no great advantages gotten, nor any signal events brought to pass on either side, because if there had they could not have escaped being told us in an age, when there lived so many able historians and learned men to commit them to writing.

An. 254.
Ptolemy
Philadelphus 31.

BUT amidst this war *Ptolemy* did not omit his search for books for his library; and also for pictures and drawings, which were the works of eminent artists. And for this *Aratus* the famous *Sicyonian*,^d being one of his agents in *Greece*, he so far gained his favour by his service to him herein, that on his applying to him for his help towards the restoring of his city to liberty and peace, he gave him for this purpose an hundred and fifty talents. The case was thus, ^d*Aratus* having expelled *Nicocles* the tyrant of *Sicyon*, and brought back the exuls again to their city, great disturbances did there arise hereon about the restoration of their lands, which had like to have put all into confusion among them, by reason most of those lands had been transferred to other proprietors, and by purchase and sale for valuable considerations gone through several hands before the exuls were restored, who thought it hard to be depriv'd of what they had paid for; and there being no other way to satisfy them, but by refunding their money again, for this reason *Aratus* applied to King *Ptolemy*, and with the money he gave him, satisfied every body, and restored peace to *Sicyon*.

An. 250.
Ptolemy
Philadelphus 35.

WHILE *Antiochus* was carrying on the war, in which he was engaged against King *Ptolemy*, there happen'd a great defection from him in the eastern provinces of his empire; and by reason of his embarrassments in this war, he not being at leisure immediately to suppress it, the revolt at length grew to an head too hard for him to master; and this gave beginning to the *Parthian* empire. The occasion of it was thus. ^e*Agathocles*, who was governor of *Parthia* for King *Antiochus*, being sodomitically given, fell in love with a beautiful young man called *Teridates*, and attempted a force upon him for the gratifying of his unnatural lust. Whereupon *Arfaces* the brother of the youth, to rescue him from this violence, with some other of his friends joining with him, fell upon the governor and slew him; and after that drawing a company together after him for the vindication of the fact, he in a little time, while neglected by *Antiochus*, grew strong enough to expel the *Macedonians* out of the province, and there set up for himself. And about the same time *Theodotus*^f revolted in *Bactria*, and from being governor of that province declared himself King of it. And that countrey having a thousand cities in it, he got them all under his obedience; and while *Antiochus* delayed to look that way by reason of his wars with *Egypt*, made himself too strong in them to be afterwards reduced; which example being followed by other nations in those parts, they all there generally revolted at the same time, and *Antiochus* lost almost all those eastern provinces of his empire, that lay beyond the *Tigris*. This happen'd ^g*Justin* tells us, while *L. Manlius Vulso*, and *M. Attilius Regulus* were consuls at *Rome*.

^c Hieronymus in *Danielem* xi. 5.

^d Plutarchus in *Arato*.

^e Arrianus in *Parthicis*

apud Photium cod. 58. Syncellus, p. 284. Justin. lib. 41. c. 4. Strabo, lib. 11. p. 515.

^f Strabo, & Justin. ibidem.

^g Lib. 41. cap. 4.

THIS same year on the death of *Manasseh*, High-priest of the *Jews*,^h *Onias*, the second of that name, succeeded him in his office. He was the son of *Simon the Just*, but having been left an infant at his father's death, *Eleazar*, the brother of *Simon*, was then made High-priest in his stead. And he also dying before *Onias* was of an age capable for the executing of the office, *Manasseh* the son of *Jaddua*, and uncle of *Simon the Just*, was called to it; and now he being dead *Onias* came into the office. But being a man of an heavy temper, and a very fordid spirit, he behaved himself very meanly in that station, to the endangering of the whole *Jewish* state by the illness of his conduct, as will hereafter be related in its proper place.

THE commotions and revolts which happen'd in the east making *Antiochus* weary of his war with King *Ptolemy*,ⁱ peace was made between them on the terms; that *Antiochus* divorcing *Laodice*, his former wife, should marry *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and make her his Queen instead of the other, and entail his crown upon the male issue of that marriage. And this agreement being ratified on both sides, for the full performance of it *Antiochus* put away *Laodice*, tho' she were^k his sister by the same father, and he had two sons born to him by her: And *Ptolemy* carrying his daughter to *Pelusium*, there put her on board his fleet, and sailed with her to *Seleucia*, a sea-port town near the mouth of the river *Orontes* in *Syria*; where having met *Antiochus*, he delivered his daughter to him, and the marriage was celebrated with great solemnity. And thus the King's daughter of the South came and was married to the King of the North, and by virtue of that marriage an agreement was made between those two Kings, according to the prophecy of the prophet *Daniel* (chap. xi. v. 5, 6.) For in that place by the King of the South is meant the King of *Egypt*, and by the King of the North the King of *Syria*; and both are there so called in respect of *Judæa*, which lying between these two countries hath *Egypt* on the South, and *Syria* on the North. For the fuller understanding of this prophecy it is to be observed, that the holy prophet after having spoken of *Alexander the Great* (v. 3.) and of the four Kings, among whom his empire was divided, (v. 4.) confines the rest of his prophecy in that chapter to two of them only, that is to the King of *Egypt*, and the King of *Syria*; and first he begins with that King of *Egypt* who first reigned in that countrey after *Alexander*, that is *Ptolemy Soter*, whom he calls King of the South, and saith of him that he should be strong; and that he was so, all that write of him do sufficiently testify. For he had under him *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Cyrene*, *Arabia*, *Palestine*, *Cæle-Syria*, most of the maritime provinces of lesser *Asia*, the island of *Cyprus*, several of the isles of the *Egean* sea, now called the *Archipelago*, and some cities also in *Greece*, as *Sicyon*, *Corinth*, and others. And then the prophet proceedeth to speak of another of the four successors (or *Princes* as he calls them) of *Alexander*, and he was *Seleucus Nicator* King of the North, of whom he saith, that he should be strong above the King of the South, and have great dominion also above him; that is greater than the King of the South. And that

^h Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3.ⁱ Hieronymus in Daniele cap. xi. Polyænus Strata-

gem. lib. 8. cap. 50. Athenæus, lib. 2. cap. 6.

^k Polyænus, lib. 8. cap. 50. dicit eam fuisse*Antiochi ὁμοπάτριον ἀδελφίαν, i. e. sororem ex patre, quia scilicet Antiochus soter erat utriusque pater.*

he had so appears from the large territories he was possessed of. For he had under him all the countries of the east from mount *Taurus* to the river *Indus*, and several of the provinces of lesser *Asia*; also from mount *Taurus* to the *Egean* sea; and he had moreover added to them before his death *Thrace* and *Macedon*. And then in the next place (v. 6.) he tells us of *the coming of the King's daughter of the South after the end of several years to the King of the North, and the agreement, or treaty of peace, which should thereon be made between those two Kings*; which plainly points out unto us this marriage of *Berenice* daughter to *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt* with *Antiochus Theus* King of *Syria*, and the peace which was thereon made between them. For all this was exactly transacted according to what was predicted by the holy prophet in this prophecy. After this the holy prophet proceeds thorough the rest of the chapter, to foreshew all the other most remarkable events that were brought to pass in the transactions of the succeeding times of these two races of Kings till the death of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the great persecuter of the *Jewish* nation; all which I shall take notice of in the following series of this history, and apply them to the prophecy for the explication of it, as they come in my way.

An. 248.
Ptolemy
Philadelphus 37.

PTOLEMY being a curious collector of statues, drawings and pictures, that were the works of eminent artists, as well as of books, while he was in *Syria* the last year, saw there a statue of *Diana* in one of her temples, which he was much taken with; and therefore desiring it of *Antiochus*¹, carried it with him into *Egypt*. But he had not been long returned thither, e'er *Arsinoe* falling sick, dreamt that *Diana* appeared to her, and told her, that the cause of her sickness was, that *Ptolemy* had taken away her statue from the temple, where it had been consecrated to her. Whereon the statue was sent back again into *Syria*, and there replaced in the temple, from whence it had been taken, and many gifts and oblations were added to appease the wrath of the goddess; but this did not at all help the sick Queen, for she soon after died of the sickness she had languished under, and left *Ptolemy* in great grief for her loss. For tho' she were much older than he, and past child-bearing when he married her, yet he doted on her to the last; and after her death did all that he could for her honour, calling several cities which he had built by her name, and erecting obelisks to her memory, and doing many other unusual things to express the great affection and regard which he had for her. The most remarkable of which was his attempting to erect a temple to her at *Alexandria*, in which it^m was projected to build a dome, whose vault being all arched with loadstone, should cause an image of hers made of steel there to hang in the air in the middle of the dome, by virtue of the attractive quality of the loadstones. This design was the contrivance of *Dinocrates* a famous architect of those times; and when it was laid before King *Ptolemy*, he was so pleased with it, that the work was forthwith begun under the direction of him that projected it. But whether it would take or no never came to the trial: For both *Ptolemy* and the architect soon after dying, this did put an end to the design; so that no experiment was made of what the loadstones could do in this case. It hath long gone current among many, that the body of *Mahomet* after his death being laid in an

¹ Libanius orat. xi.

^m Plinius, lib. 34 cap. 14.

iron coffin, was thus hung in the air by virtue of loadstones in the roof of the room where it was repositèd; but how fabulous this story is, I have already shewn in the life of that impostor.

PTOLEMY after the death of *Arsinoë* did not long survive her. For ^{An. 247.} being originally of a tender constitution, and having farther weaken'd it ^{Ptolemy Philadelphus 38.} by a luxurious indulgence, he could not bear the approach of age, nor the grief of mind, which he fell under on the loss of his beloved wife, but sinking away under these burthens, dyed in his great climacteric, the sixty third year of his life, after having reigned over *Egypt* thirty eight years. He left behind him two sons and a daughter, which he had by *Arsinoë* the daughter of *Lysimachus* his first wife. The eldest of the two sons was *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who reigned after him; the other was called *Lysimachus*, which was the name of his maternal grandfather. He was put to death by his brother for some insurrection which he had made against him. The daughter was *Berenice*, who was lately married to *Antiochus Theus* King of *Syria*.

PTOLEMY Philadelphus having been ^p a very learned Prince, and a great patron of learning, as well as a great collector of books; many of those who were eminent for any part of literature, resorted to him from all parts, and partook of his favour and bounty. ^q Seven celebrated poets of that age are especially said to have lived in his court, four of which, *Theocritus*, *Callimachus*, *Lycophron*, and *Aratus*, have of their works still remaining; and among these the first of them hath an idyllium, and the second an hymn written in his praise. *Manetho* the *Egyptian* historian dedicated his history to him, ^r of which we have already spoken. And *Zoilius* the snarling critic ^s came also to his court. He had ^t written against *Homer*, whom all besides highly valued and admired. And he had also criticised upon the works of other eminent writers in a very biting and detracting style; and from hence his name grew so infamous, that it was afterwards given by way of reproach to all detractors; and *carping Zoilus* became a proverbial expression of infamy upon all such. Altho' his eminency this way was so remarkable, that he excelled all men in it, yet this could not recommend him to King *Ptolemy*. How great soever his wit were, he hated him for the bitterness and ill nature of it, and therefore would give him nothing; and for the same reason having drawn on him the odium and aversion of all men, he at length dyed miserably; some say he was stoned, others that he was burnt to death, and others that he was crucified by King *Ptolemy* for a crime he had committed deserving of that punishment.

This King had also been a great builder of new cities, and many old ones he repaired, and gave new names to them; and particularly two of this last sort were in *Palestine*. For there he rebuilt on the west-side of that countrey *Ace*, ^u a famous port on that coast; and on the eastern-side that ancient city which is so often mentioned in scripture by the name of *Rabbah* of the children of *Ammon*. *Ace* he called from one of his names *Ptolemais*, and *Rabbah* from the other of his names ^v *Philadelphia*. The

ⁿ Athenæus, lib. 12. cap. 10. ^o Canon Ptolemæi astronomi. ^p Athenæus, lib. 12. cap. 10. Strabo, lib. 17. p. 789. ^q Vide Vossium de historicis Græcis, lib. 1. cap. 12.

^r Part I. book VII. under the year 350. ^s Vitruvius in præfatione ad librum 7. architecturæ suæ. ^t De eo vide Vossium de historicis Græcis, lib. 1. c. 15. ^u Vide Relandi Palæstinam illustratam.

former of these is still in being, and having recovered its old name, is called *Acon*, by which it is often mentioned, and is of very famous note in the histories of the holy war. The *Turks* at present name it ^w *Acre*. And he left so many other monuments of his magnificence behind him in cities, in temples, and in other publick edifices built by him, that it afterwards grew into a proverb, when any work was erected with more than ordinary sumptuousness, to call it *Philadelphian*.

BUT notwithstanding the great expence he must have been at in all this, he died possess'd of vast riches. For altho' ^x he had two great fleets, one in the Mediterranean, and the other in the Red sea, and maintained constantly in pay an army of two hundred thousand foot, and forty thousand horse, and had also three hundred elephants and two thousand armed chariots, besides arms in his magazines for three hundred thousand men more, and all other necessary implements and engines for war; yet he left in his treasury seven hundred and forty thousand *Egyptian* talents in ready money, which being reduced to our money make a prodigious sum. For ^y every *Egyptian* talent contained 7500 *Attic* drachms, which is 1500 drachms more than an *Attic* talent. This shews how vast his revenues must have been, which he had the art to make the most of. For it is ^z *Appian's* character of him, that as he was the most splendid and magnificent of all the Kings of his time in the laying out of his money, so was he of all the most intent and skilful in the gathering of it in.

An. 246.
Ptolemy
Euergetes 1.

ANTIOCHUS Theus, as soon as he heard of the death of King *Ptolemy Philadelphus* his father-in-law, removed ^a *Berenice* from his bed, and again ^a recalled unto him *Laodice* and her children. But she knowing the unsteady and fickle humour of *Antiochus*, and therefore fearing that he might upon as light change of mind again recal *Berenice*, as he had her; resolved to make use of the present opportunity to secure the succession to her son. For by the late treaty with *Ptolemy* her children were to be disinherited, and the crown to be settled on the children which *Berenice* should bear unto him, and she already had one son by him. For the effecting of this design ^b she procured *Antiochus* to be poisoned by his servants; and then on his death did put one *Artemon* that was very much like him into his bed, to personate him as sick, till she should have brought her matters to bear; who acting his part well, the death of the King was not known till, by orders forged in his name, her eldest son by him, *Seleucus Callinicus*, was secured of the succession; and then the death of the King being publicly declared, *Seleucus* ascended the throne without any opposition, and sat in it twenty years. But *Laodice* not thinking him safe in the possession which he had thus taken of it, as long as *Berenice* and her son lived, ^c designs were laid to cut them both off; which *Berenice* being informed of, she fled with her son to *Daphne*, and there shut her self up in the *Asylum*, which was built in that place by *Seleucus Nicator*. But she being circumvented by the fraud of those, who by the appointment of

^w See Sandys, Thevenot, and other travellers.

in comment. in Danielelem, cap. xi. Athenæus, lib. 5. p. 203.

^y Vide Bernardum de mensuris & ponderibus antiquorum, p. 186.

^z In præfatione ad opera historica.

^a Hieronymi comment. in Danielelem cap. xi.

^b Hieronymus ibid. Plinius, lib. 7. cap. 12.

Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. cap. 14. Solinus, cap. 1.

^c Hieronymus ibidem. Appianus in

Syriacis. Justin. lib. 27. cap. 1. Polyænus Stratagem. lib. 8. cap. 50.

Laodice did there besiege her, first her son, and afterward she her self, were villainously slain, with all the *Egyptian* attendants that came with her. And hereby was exactly fulfilled what was foretold by the prophet *Daniel* concerning this marriage; (chap. xi. v. 6.) that is, that *neither he* (that is *Antiochus* King of the North) *nor she* (that is *Berenice* daughter of *Ptolemy* King of the South) *should continue in their power; but that he* (that is King *Antiochus*) *should fall, and that she* (that is *Berenice*) being deprived of *him that strengthen'd her*, (that is of her father, who died a little before) *should be given up with those that brought her*, (that is that came with her out of *Egypt*) and her son, ^d *whom she brought forth*, to be cut off and destroyed; and so it happen'd to them all in the manner as I have related.

WHILE *Berenice* continued shut up and besieged in *Daphne*, ^e the cities of *lesser Asia* hearing of her distress commiserated her case, and immediately by a joint association sent an army towards *Antioch* for her relief; and ^f *Ptolemy Euergetes* her brother hasten'd thither with a greater force out of *Egypt* for the same purpose. But both *Berenice* and her son were cut off before either of them could arrive for their help. Whereon both armies turning their desire of saving the Queen and her son into a rage for the revenging of their death, the *Asian* forces joined the *Egyptian* for the effecting of it, and *Ptolemy* at the head of both carried all before him; for he not only ^g flew *Laodice*, but also ^h made himself master of all *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and then passing the *Euphrates*, brought all under him as far as *Babylon* and the river *Tygris*; and would have subjugated to him all the other provinces of the *Syrian* empire, but that a sedition arising in *Egypt* during his absence ⁱ called him back to suppress it. And therefore ^j having appointed *Antiochus* and *Xantippus*, two of his generals, the former of them to command the provinces he had taken on the west-side of mount *Taurus*, and the other to command the provinces he had taken on the east-side of it, he marched back into *Egypt*, carrying with him vast treasures, which he had gotten together in the plunder of the conquered provinces. For ^k he brought from thence with him forty thousand talents of silver, a vast number of precious vessels of silver and gold, and images also to the number of two thousand five hundred, among which were many of the *Egyptian* idols, which *Cambyfes* on his conquering *Egypt* carried thence into *Persia*. These *Ptolemy* having restored to their former temples on his return from this expedition, he thereby much endeared himself to his people. For the *Egyptians* being then of all nations the most bigotted to their idolatrous worship, they highly valued this action of their King in thus bringing back their gods again to them. And in acknowledgment hereof it was that he had the name of *Euergetes* (i. e. *The Benefactor*) given unto him by them. And all this happen'd exactly as it was foretold by the prophet *Daniel* (chap. xi. v. 7, 8, 9.) For in that prophecy he tells us, that after the King's daughter of the South should with her son and her attendants be cut off, and he that strengthen'd her in those times (that is

^d So it is in the margin in our English bible, and this is the truer version. ^e Justin. lib. 27. c. 1.
^f Justin. ibidem. Appianus in Syriacis. Hieronymus in Daniele cap. xi. Polyænus lib. 8. cap. 50.
^g Justin. Appian. & Hieronymus ibid. Polybius, lib. 5. Polyænus, lib. 8. c. 50.
^h Justin. lib. 27. c. 1. ⁱ Hieronymus in Dan. xi. ^j Hieronymus in Daniele cap. xi.
^k Monumentum Arduletanum.

her father, who was her chief support) should be dead, *there should one arise out of a branch of her roots in his estate*; that is, *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who springing from the same root with her, as being her brother, did stand up in the estate of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* his father, whom he succeeded in his kingdom. And that he should come with an army, and enter into the fortress of the King of the North, and prevail against him, and should carry captive into Egypt the gods of the Syrians, with their Princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and gold, and so should come, and return again into his own kingdom. And how exactly all this was fulfilled, what is above related doth sufficiently shew. It is said also in the same prophecy (v. 8.) *That the King of the South, on his return into his kingdom, should continue more years than the King of the North*, and so it happen'd. For *Ptolemy Euergetes* out-liv'd *Seleucus Callinicus* four years, as will be hereafter shewn.

WHEN *Ptolemy Euergetes* went on this expedition into Syria, ¹ *Berenice* his Queen, out of the tender love she had for him, being much concerned, because of the danger which she feared he might be exposed to in this war, made a vow of consecrating her hair (in the fineness of which it seems the chief of her beauty consisted) in case he returned again safe and unhurt. And therefore on his coming back again with safety and full success, for the fulfilling of her vow she cut off her hair, and offered it up in the temple which *Ptolemy Philadelphus* had built to his beloved wife *Arsinoe*, on the promontory of *Zephyrium* in *Cyprus*, by the name of the *Zephyrian Venus*. But there a little after the consecrated hair being lost, or perchance contemptuously flung away by the priests, and *Ptolemy* being much offended at it, *Conon* of *Samos*, a flattering mathematician then at *Alexandria*, to salve up the matter, and also to ingratiate himself with the King, gave out, that this hair was catched up into heaven; and he there shewed seven stars near the tail of the lion, not till then taken within any constellation, which he said were the Queen's consecrated hair; which conceit of his, other flattering astronomers following with the same view, or perchance not daring to say otherwise, hence *Coma Berenices* (i. e. *the hair of Berenice*) became one of the constellations, and is so to this day. *Callimachus* the poet, who as I have afore shewn lived in these times, made an hymn upon this hair of Queen *Berenice*, a translation of which being made by *Catullus*, is still extant among his poetical works.

ON King *Ptolemy Euergetes*'s return from this expedition, ^m he took *Jerusalem* in his way, and there by many sacrifices to the God of *Israel* paid his acknowledgments for the victories he had obtained over the King of *Syria*; chusing rather to offer up his thanks to him than to the gods of *Egypt* for them; the reason of which very probably might be, that being shewn the prophecies of *Daniel* concerning them, he inferred from thence, that he owed them only to that God whose prophet had so fully predicted them.

An. 245.
Ptolemy
Euergetes 2.

As soon as *Ptolemy* was returned into *Egypt*, ⁿ *Seleucus* prepared a great fleet on the coasts of *Syria* for the reducing of the revolted cities of *Asia*; but he was no sooner put to sea, but meeting with a very violent storm, he lost all his ships in it, scarce any thing remaining of so great a preparation,

¹Hygini poetica astronomica. Nonnus in historiâ synagogâ.
nem libro secundo.

ⁿJustinus, lib. 27. cap. 2. Trogii prologus 27. Polybius, lib. 5.

^mJosephus contra Apionem
besides

besides himself, and some few of his followers, that escaped naked with him to land from this calamitous wreck. But this blow, how terrible soever it might at first appear, by a strange turn of affairs did all in the result prove to his advantage. For the revolted cities of *Asia*, (who, out of the abhorrence they had of him for the murder of *Berenice* and her son, had gone over to *Ptolemy*) on their hearing of this great loss, thinking that murder to be sufficiently revenged by it, took compassion of him, and returned again to him.

By which fortunate revolution being again restored to the best part of his dominions, ° he prepared a great army against *Ptolemy* for the recovering of the rest. But in this attempt he had no better success than in the former. For being overthrown in battle by *Ptolemy*, he lost the greatest part of his army, and escaped to *Antioch* from this misadventure with as few of his followers as from the former; whereon for the restoration of his broken affairs he invited *Antiochus* his brother to join him with his forces, promising him all the provinces in the *lesser Asia*, that belonged to the *Syrian* empire, on this condition. He was then at the head of an army in those provinces, and altho' then he were but fourteen years old, yet being of a forward and very aspiring spirit, or else (as is most probable) being conducted by others who were of this temper, he readily accepted of the proposal, and accordingly prepared for the accomplishing of it; but not so much out of a design of saving any part of the empire to his brother, as to gain it all to himself. For he was of a very rapacious and greedy disposition, laying his hands on all that he could get, right or wrong; whereon they called him *Hierax*, that is *the hawk*, because that bird flies at all that comes in his way; and takes every thing for good prey that it can lay its talons upon.

AFTER this second blow received by *Seleucus*, ¢ the cities of *Smyrna* and *Magnesia* in *lesser Asia*, out of the affection which they bore unto him, enter'd into a league to join all their power and strength for the support of his interest and royal Majesty; which they caused to be engraven on a large column of marble. This very marble column is now standing in the theater yard at *Oxford*, with the said league engraven on it in *Greek* capital letters still very legible; from whence it was published by me among the *Marmora Oxoniensia* about forty years since. It was brought out of *Asia* by *Thomas* Earl of *Arundel* in the beginning of the reign of King *Charles the first*, and was given with other marbles to the university of *Oxford* by *Henry* Duke of *Norfolk* his grandson in the reign of King *Charles the second*.

PTOLEMY, on his hearing that *Antiochus* was preparing to join *Seleucus* against him, that he might not have to do with both at the same time, ¤ came to agreement with *Seleucus*, and a peace was concluded between them for ten years.

HOWEVER *Antiochus* desisted not from his preparations, which *Seleucus* now understanding to be made against himself; † marched over mount *Taurus* to suppress him. The pretence for the war on *Antiochus's* part, was the promise that *Seleucus* had made him of all his provinces in *lesser Asia* for his assistance against *Ptolemy*. But *Seleucus* being delivered from that

° Justin. lib. 27. cap. 2. ¢ Marmora Oxoniensia, p. 5, 6, &c.

† Trogus in prologo 27. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 750. Justin. lib. 27. cap. 2.

war without his assistance, thought himself not obliged to any thing by that promise. But *Antiochus* persisting in his demand, and the other in his refusal, this brought the controversy to the decision of a battel between them. It was fought ^s near *Ancyra* in *lesser Asia*, in which *Seleucus* being overthrown, hardly escaped with his life; and it fared very little better with *Antiochus*: For having won this victory chiefly by the assistance of the *Galatians*, or *Gauls* of *Asia*, whom he had hired into his service, these barbarians, on a rumour spread that *Seleucus* was slain in the battel, plotted the death of the other brother also; reckoning, that in case both were cut off, all *Asia* would be theirs; whereon *Antiochus*, having no other way to save himself, redeemed his life by giving them all the treasure he had for the ransom of it.

EUMENES, ^t King of *Pergamus*, making his advantage of these divisions, marched against *Antiochus* and the *Gauls* with all his forces, purposing to suppress them both at once. This forced *Antiochus* to a new treaty with the *Gauls*, wherein he was content, instead of being their master, to become their confederate, for the mutual defence of both; but *Eumenes* falling on them before they could recruit themselves, after the losses sustained in the late battel at *Ancyra*, had an easy victory over both, and thereon over-ran all the *lesser Asia*.

An. 241.
Ptolemy
Euerge-
tes 6.

EUMENES, after this victory, giving himself up to much drinking, ^u dy'd of the excess of it, after he had reigned twenty two years. He having no children of his own, was succeeded in his kingdom by his cousin german, *Attalus*, the son of *Attalus*, his father's younger brother; who being a wise and valiant Prince, ^w maintained himself in the acquisitions of his family; and having wholly subdued the *Gauls*, he found himself so firmly established in his dominions by it, that he thenceforth openly assumed the title of King: For his predecessors, though they had the thing, yet abstained from the name. *Attalus* was the first of that family that took it, upon the occasion that I have mention'd; and it was enjoy'd by his posterity with the dominions belonging to it to the third generation after him.

WHILE *Eumenes* and *Attalus* after him thus curtailed the *Syrian* empire on the west side, ^x *Theodotes* and *Arfaces* did the same on the east. For it being reported that *Seleucus* had been slain in the battel of *Ancyra*, *Arfaces* thinking this an opportunity for him to enlarge himself, seized on *Hyrkania*, and adding that to *Parthia*, established his kingdom over both; and a little after *Theodotus* dying, he made a league with his son of the same name, who succeeded him in *Bactria*, for their mutual defence, and thereby they both strengthen'd themselves in the possession of what they had gotten. But notwithstanding all this, ^y the two brothers still went on with their wars against each other, without regarding, that while they were thus contending between themselves for their father's empire, they lost it by piecemeals to others, who were enemies to both.

^s Polyænus, lib. 8. cap. 61. Justin. lib. 27. cap. 2. Athenæus, lib. 13. Plutarchus *ἐν φιλαδέλφειᾳ*. ^t Justin. lib. 27. cap. 3. He there calls him King of Bithynia by mistake: For there was no King of Bithynia of that name at this time, as appears from Memnon in the excerpts of Photius, Cod. 234. ^u Athenæus, lib. 10. cap. 16. ^w Livius, lib. 33. Strabo, lib. 13. p. 624. Valesii excerpta ex Polybii libro 18. Suidas in voce *Ἀττάλῳ*. Polyænus, lib. 4. cap. 19. ^x Justin. lib. 41. cap. 4. ^y Justin. lib. 27. cap. 3.

THIS war in the course of it was at length carry'd ^z into *Mesopotamia*, and then most likely happen'd the battel in *Babylonia*, which *Judas Maccabæus* makes mention of in his speech to his army (2 *Maccab.* viii. 20.) in which, he saith, eight thousand of the *Babylonish Jews*, join'd with four thousand *Macedonians*, vanquished the *Galatians*, and slew of their army an hundred and twenty thousand men. For *Babylonia*, or the province of *Babylon*, was a part of *Mesopotamia*. And *Antiochus Hierax* had the *Galatians* in confederacy with him; and at this time ^a they are said to have come in such great swarms into the east, as to fill all *Asia* with their numbers; and that they did usually let themselves to hire in all wars, which in those times the eastern Kings had one with another, these Princes thinking themselves best strengthen'd for victory, when they had the most of them in their armies; and that this *Antiochus* was assisted by them in this war hath been already said.

BUT whether it were by this, or some other victory, *Seleucus* had at length the advantage in this war: So that *Antiochus* being vanquish'd and broken ^b, was forced to shift from place to place with the few remains of his baffled party, till at last being driven out of *Mesopotamia*, and finding no other place where he could be safe within the *Syrian* empire, he fled to *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*, whose daughter he had marry'd. But that King, notwithstanding the alliance and affinity he had contracted with him, soon growing weary of maintaining an exul, who could bring no advantage to him, order'd him to be cut off. But while measures were taking for the executing hereof, *Antiochus* getting notice of the design, escaped from thence into *Egypt*, chusing rather to put himself into the hands of *Ptolemy* the professed enemy of his family, than trust himself upon any terms with his brother, whom he was conscious he had so much offended, and he fared not at all the better for it: For as soon as he arrived at *Egypt*, *Ptolemy* caus'd him to be clapp'd up in safe custody, in which he kept him confin'd several years; till at length having broken out of prison by the assistance of a curtezan, whom he was familiar with, as he was making his escape out of *Egypt*, he fell among thieves, and was slain by them.

IN the interim King *Ptolemy Euergetes* enjoying full peace, apply'd himself to the cultivating of learning in his kingdom, and the enlarging of his father's library at *Alexandria* with all manner of books for the service of this design. The method which he took for the collecting of them, ^c hath been already mention'd; and the care of an able library-keeper being very necessary, both for the making of a good choice of books in the collection, and also for the preserving of them for the use intended, on the death of *Zenodotus*, who ^d from the time of *Ptolemy Soter*, the grandfather of the present King, had the keeping of the royal library at *Alexandria*, *Euergetes* ^e invited *Eratosthenes* from *Athens* (where he was in great reputation for his learning) to take this charge upon him. He was by his birth a

^z Trogus in prologo 27. Polyænus Stratagem. lib. 4. cap. 17.

^a Justin. *speaking of the Gauls or Galatians, hath these words*; Gallorum eâ tempestate tantæ fœcunditatis juvenus fuit, ut Asiam omnem velut examine aliquo implerent. Denique neque reges orientis sine mercenario Gallorum exercitu ulla bella gesserunt, lib. 25. cap. 2.

^b Justin. lib. 27. cap. 3. Polyænus ibidem.

^c Part II. book I. under the year 284.

^d Suidas in Ζηνόδοτος.

^e Suidas in

Cyrenian, and had been scholar to *Callimachus* his countreyman, and was a person of universal knowledge, and is often quoted as such by *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and others. And therefore they are mistaken, who finding him called *Beta* (*i. e.* the second) think he had that name to denote him a second-rate man among the learned. By that appellation was meant no more than that he was ^f the second library-keeper of the royal library at *Alexandria* after the first founding of it. As to his skill in all manner of learning, he was second to none of his time, ^g as the many books he wrote did then sufficiently make appear, tho' now not extant. That which at present we are most beholden to him for, is a catalogue which he hath given us of all the Kings that reigned at *Thebes* in *Egypt*, with the years of their reigns from *Menes*, or *Misraim*, who first planted *Egypt* after the flood, down to the time of the *Trojan* war. It contains a series of thirty eight Kings reigning in a direct line of succession one after the other, and it is still extant ^h in *Syncellus*. Our learned countreyman, Sir *John Marsham*ⁱ, hath made good use of it in settling the *Egyptian* chronology. It is one of the noblest and most venerable monuments of antiquity that is now extant; for it was ^k extracted out of the ancientest records of that countrey at the command of *Ptolemy Euergetes*; and there is nothing in profane history that begins higher. It's probable this extract was made to supply the defect of *Manetho*, whose catalogue of the *Thebean* Kings in *Egypt* doth not begin but where this of *Eratosthenes* ends.

An. 236.
Ptolemy
Euergetes 11.

SELEUCUS being delivered from the troubles created him by his brother, and having repaired the disorders at home, which that war had occasion'd, ^l marched eastward to reduce those that had revolted from him in those parts; but he had very lame success in this undertaking; for *Arfaces* having now had a long time allowed him to settle himself in his usurpations, had made himself too strong in them to be again easily dispossessed; and therefore *Seleucus* having in vain attempted it in this expedition, was forced to return with baffle and disappointment. Perchance a longer stay in those parts might have opened him a way to better success; but some commotions ^m arising at home during his absence, he was forced to return to suppress them. In the interim *Arfaces* made use of the farther respite hereby given him, so to strengthen and establish himself in his usurped dominions, that he became superior to all attempts that were afterwards made to disturb him.

An. 230.
Ptolemy
Euergetes 17.

HOWEVER, *Seleucus*, as soon as he had leisure from his other affairs, made a second expedition against him, but with much worse success than he had in the former: For his usual ill fortune here pursuing him, he was not only overthrown by *Arfaces* in a great battle, but was also himself ⁿ taken prisoner in it. The day on which *Arfaces* gained this victory, was long after ^o annually observed by the *Parthians* with great solemnity, as being, in their

^f Marcianus Heraclites, who tells us of this name given to Eratosthenes, saith, he was called so by the president of the Musæum at Alexandria, which is a manifest argument, that he was called so only in respect of the office which he bore in that Musæum, in being the second library-keeper of the library belonging to it in succession after Zenodotus, who was the first. ^g De libris ab eo scriptis vide Vossium de historicis Græcis, lib. 1. c. 17. ^h A paginâ 91 ad paginam 147.

ⁱ In canone chronico.

^k Syncellus, p. 91. & p. 147.

^l Justin. lib. 41. cap. 4.

^m Justin. lib. 41. cap. 5. ⁿ Athenæus, lib. 4. cap. 13. That it was in a second expedition that Seleucus was taken prisoner by Arfaces, appears from this, that Justin tells us he returned from the first expedition to quell insurrections at home, raised there against him in his absence, lib. 41. cap. 5.

^o Justin. lib. 41. c. 4.

opinion, the first day of their freedom; whereas in truth it was the first of their slavery. For there was never any greater tyranny in the world than that of the *Parthian* Kings, under which they thenceforth fell. The *Macedonian* yoke would have been much easier to them, had they still continued under it. From this time *Arfaces* took on him the title of King, and founded that empire in the east, which afterwards grew up to be so great and powerful as to become a terror even to the *Romans*, who were a terror to all else. From him all that reigned after him in that empire, ^p in honour of him, took the name of *Arfaces*, in the same manner as all the Kings of *Egypt* after *Ptolemy Soter* took the name of *Ptolemy*, as long as those of his race continued to reign in that countrey.

^q *ONIAS* the High-priest of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem* growing very old, and increasing in covetousness with his age, and being also a very weak and inconsiderate man, neglected to pay to King *Ptolemy Euergetes* the usual tribute of twenty talents, which had constantly been paid by the former High-priests his predecessors, as the stated tribute annually due to the Kings of *Egypt* from them. And the arrears now growing high, the King sent *Athenion*, one of his court, to *Jerusalem*, to demand of the *Jews* the money, and to require full payment of it forthwith to be made, threatening, that in case this were not immediately complied with, he would send his soldiers to dispossess them of their countrey, and divide it among them. On the arrival of *Athenion* at *Jerusalem* with this message, the whole city was put into a great fright, as not knowing what course to take for the appeasing of the King's wrath, and the delivering of themselves from the danger that was threaten'd. At this time ^r there was a young man of great reputation among the *Jews* for his prudence, and justice, and sanctity of life, called *Joseph*, who was nearly related to *Onias*; for he was the son of *Tobias*, a prime man of that nation, by a sister of his. *Joseph* being absent at his seat in the countrey, when this messenger came to *Jerusalem*, his mother took care to send him an account of what had happen'd; whereon coming immediately to *Jerusalem*, he very severely upbraided his uncle with his ill management of the publick interest of the people, as thus, for the saving of his money to expose them to such danger: (For in those times the High-priest was the chief governor in all the temporal affairs, as well as the ecclesiastical of that nation.) And he farther told him, that things being brought to this pass by his ill conduct, there was no other way to be taken for the remedy, but for him to go to the *Egyptian* court, and there endeavour by his application to the King to make up the matter. But *Onias*, by the dulness of his temper, as well as by his age, wanting vigour for such an undertaking, utterly declined it, telling his nephew, that he would quit his station both in church and state, rather than put himself upon that journey; whereon *Joseph* desired that the matter might be committed to him, and he would go to the King in his stead; which *Onias* readily consenting to, *Joseph* went up unto the temple, and there call'd together the people (for the outer court of the temple was the usual place for the assembling of the people on all occasions) and acquainted them of his having undertaken, by the appointment of *Onias*, to go ambassador from them to the King on their behalf; and if they thought fit to approve

An. 226.
Ptolemy
Euergetes 21.

^p Justin. lib. 41. c. 5.
cap. 4.

^q Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3.

^r Josephus antiq. lib. 12.

hereof, he desired them no longer to disturb themselves with fears; for he doubted not, but that, on his access to the King, he should be able to set all right again with him. At which the people much rejoicing, gave him great thanks for what he had proposed to do for them, and earnestly desired him to proceed in it. Hereon he immediately went to find out *Athenion*, and having gotten him to his house, and there entertained him as long as he tarried at *Jerusalem* with a very kind and splendid hospitality; and having also at his departure presented him with several very valuable gifts, he sent him away fully engaged to make as fair a representation to the King as the case would bear; and at the same time assured him, that he would forthwith follow after him to the *Egyptian* court, there to give the King full satisfaction as to the matter which he had sent him about. *Athenion* returned to *Alexandria* exceedingly well pleased with the kind and obliging entertainment which he had from *Joseph*, and so much taken with the prudent behaviour, and noble deportment, which he observed in him, that on his making his report to the King of his embassy, and his telling him of the intentions of *Joseph* the High-priest's nephew speedily to attend him for the giving of him full satisfaction, he took occasion to set forth his character with so great advantage, as made the King very desirous of seeing him, and fully prepared to receive him with all manner of favour and respects. As soon as the ambassador was gone from *Jerusalem*, *Joseph* having taken up of the bankers of *Samaria* twenty thousand drachms, which amounted to about seven hundred pound of our money, and thereby provided himself with an equipage to appear at the *Egyptian* court, he set out for *Alexandria*, and having, on the way thither, chanced on the road to fall in with several of the chief nobility of *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, who were travelling to the same place, he joined company with them in the remaining part of the journey. Their business thither was to farm of the King his revenues of those provinces; and having provided themselves with very splendid equipages to make the better appearance at *Ptolemy's* court, they laughed at *Joseph* for the meanness of his, and made it the subject of their sport for the most part of the way as they went. *Joseph* bore all this with patience, but in the mean time accurately observing the discourse which they had with each other about their business, he got thereby such an insight into it, as put him in a condition to laugh at them ever after. On their arrival at *Alexandria* they found the King was gone to *Memphis*; *Joseph* alone hasten'd thither after him, and had the good fortune to meet him on the road returning to *Alexandria*, while *Athenion* was with him and his Queen in the same chariot. As soon as *Athenion* had espy'd him, he pointed him out to the King, telling him, that this was the young man, *Onias's* nephew, of whom he had spoken so much to him. Whereon the King called him to him, and took him into his chariot; and having talked to him of the ill usage of *Onias* towards him in not paying him his tribute, *Joseph* excused his uncle by reason of his age and weakness in so handsome a manner, as not only satisfy'd the King, but also raised in him so good an opinion of the advocate, that he took him into his particular favour; and on his arrival at *Alexandria* ordered him to be lodged in the palace, and to be there maintained at his own table. And *Joseph* afterwards did him that service, as made him sufficient recompence for it: For when the day was come, whereon the King used annually to let to farm the revenues of the several provinces of his empire, and they were set up in their order

by way of auction for the highest bidder; and the highest which the *Syrian* and *Phœnicians*, who had been *Joseph's* fellow-travellers into *Egypt*, would bid for the provinces of *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Judæa*, and *Samaria*, amounted to no more than eight thousand talents: *Joseph* knowing from the discourse which they had with each other on the road, while he travelled with them, that they were worth more than twice as much, blamed them for beating down the King's revenues to so low a price, and offered upon them double as much, bidding sixteen thousand talents for those provinces over and above the forfeitures: For he proposed to give so much for the ordinary revenues only, and to return all the forfeitures besides into the King's treasury, which used before to belong to the farmers. *Ptolemy* liked very well the advancing of his revenues by so large an augmentation, but doubting the ability of the bidder to make good his proposal, asked him what security he would give him for it; *Joseph* very facetiously reply'd, that he would give him the security of persons beyond all exception; and when bid to name them, he named the King and the Queen to be bound to each other for the faithful performance of what he undertook; the King laughed at the pleasantness of the answer, was so taken with it, that he trusted him upon his own word, without any other securities. Whereon *Joseph* having borrowed five hundred talents at *Alexandria*, and satisfy'd the King as to his uncle's arrears, was admitted to the trust of being the King's receiver-general of all his revenues in the provinces above-mentioned; and having received a guard of two thousand men, at his desire, for the supporting of him in the execution of his office, he immediately left *Alexandria* to enter on it. On his arrival at *Askelon*, and there demanding the King's duties, they not only refused payment, but also affronted him with rude and opprobrious language; whereon having commanded his soldiers to take up twenty of the ringleaders, he executed exemplary justice upon them, and sent their forfeited estates to the King, amounting to a thousand talents: And he having done the like at *Scythopolis*, another city in *Palestine*, where he was resisted in the same manner, the example which he made of these two places so terrified all the rest, that after this every where else the gates were opened to him, and all paid him the King's dues without any more refusal or opposition: Of which he having given the King a full account, the prudence and steadiness of his conduct met with such thorough approbation, that he continued in this office under *Ptolemy Euergetes*, and *Ptolemy Philopator* his son, two and twenty years, till *Ptolemy Epiphanes* the son of *Philopator* lost those provinces to *Antiochus the Great*, King of *Syria*, in the first year of his reign. For there I place the end of the two and twenty years, which *Josephus* assigns him for his continuance in this office, and not in the end of his life, as most others do. For the same *Josephus* tells us, that he was a young man when he first undertook it; and in another place, that he was very old when he sent *Hyrcaus* his son into *Egypt*, which was some time before his death. But two and twenty years was too short a time from being young to grow very old: For supposing him to have been thirty when he first became tax-gatherer for the King of *Egypt* in *Syria* and *Palestine*,

* *Josephus's words are, that he then was* νέος ὡς ἔτι τῆς ἡλικίας, *Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 4.*

* *Being hinder'd, saith Josephus, from going himself into Egypt on that occasion, ὡς γέροντος, i. e. by reason of his old age, Antiq. ibidem.*

two and twenty more would make him but fifty two, and he could not be said to be old at that age, and much less at any time before it. *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine* had been again restored to *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, on his marrying *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Antiochus the Great*; and after that it was, that *Joseph* having been again restored to his office of tax-gatherer in those provinces, sent *Hyrchanus* into *Egypt* to congratulate the King on the birth of his eldest son, he being then too old, as ^u *Josephus* tells us, to go himself. Allowing the twenty two years of *Joseph's* office of tax-gatherer in *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine* for the King of *Egypt*, to end on *Antiochus's* taking those provinces from *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and that on their being again restored to him, *Joseph* was again restored to his office, and dy'd in it about the beginning of the reign of *Seleucus Philopator* in *Syria*, this will salve all difficulties in the history which *Josephus* gives us of this matter. That his life could not end with these two and twenty years hath been already shewn, for he was an old man before he dy'd; and where then can the end of these two and twenty years of his office be better placed, than where ended in those provinces the authority of the King of *Egypt*, under which he held it? And this ending of these two and twenty years tell us where they did begin; and that they could not begin sooner than where I have said, the age of *Onias* sufficiently proves. For the history ^w of *Josephus* tells us, it was when he was grown very old, which must determine us to the latter end of his life, and it was but eight years before his death where I place it. They who put the beginning of these twenty two years higher up, or end them with the end of *Joseph's* life (as most chronologers do both) can never make *Josephus* consistent with himself, in that relation which he hath given us of this whole matter.

SELEUCUS having continued a prisoner in *Parthia* till this time, ^x there dy'd of a fall from his horse, as he was riding abroad. *Athenæus* ^y tells us, that *Arfaces* maintained him royally during his captivity; but that he released him (as some will have it) doth not any where appear. *Justin* tells us, that he dy'd in the manner as I have related, being ^z then in banishment, and having lost his kingdom, which can be understood no otherwise, than of the banishment and loss of reigning, which he sustained by being held in captivity by this *Parthian* King, till he dy'd in it. His wife was *Laodice* the sister of *Andromachus*, one of the generals of his armies; by her he had two sons and a daughter; the sons were *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*, the daughter he marry'd to *Mitridates* King of *Pontus*, with whom he gave *Phrygia* to him in dower.

An. 225.
Ptolemy
Euerge-
tes 22.

SELEUCUS being the eldest of the two sons, ^a succeeded him in the throne, and took the name of *Ceraunus*, i. e. *the Thunderer*, a title which very little became him: For he was a very weak Prince in body, mind and purse, and never did any thing worthy of that name: His reign was very short, and his authority low, both in the army and the provinces, and that he was supported in either, was owing to his kinsman *Achæus*, the son of *Andromachus* ^b his mother's brother; who being a wise and valiant man, regulated and guided his affairs, as well as the shatter'd state his

^u Antiq. ibidem.

^w Antiq. ibidem.

^x Justin. lib. 27. cap. 3.

^y Lib. 4. cap. 13.

^z Seleucus amisso regno, equo præcipitatus finitur. Sic fratres quasi germanis casibus exules ambo post regna scelerum suorum poenas luerunt, Justin. lib. 27. cap. 3. ^a Polybius, lib. 4. p. 315. & lib. 5. p. 386. Appian. in Syriacis.

^b Polybius, lib. 4. p. 317.

father left them in, would admit. As to *Andromachus*, he having been taken prisoner by *Ptolemy* in the wars which he had with *Callinicus*, was detained a prisoner at *Alexandria* during all this reign, and some part of the next, till at length the *Rhodians*, to gain favour with *Achæus*, got him released, and sent him to him, while he reigned in *lesser Asia*.

ATTALUS, King of *Pergamus*, ^c having possessed himself of all *lesser Asia* from mount *Taurus* to the *Hellespont*, *Seleucus* marched with an army against him, leaving *Hermias*, a *Carian*, his lieutenant in *Syria* during his absence. *Achæus* his kinsman accompanied him in this expedition, and served him in it, as well as the circumstances of his affairs would admit.

BUT money being wanting to pay the army, and the weakness of the King rendring him contemptible to the soldiers, ^d *Nicanor* and *Apaturius*, two of his chief commanders, conspired against him, while he lay in *Phrygia*, and by poison put an end to his life. But *Achæus* being then in the army, revenged his death by cutting off the traiterous authors of it, with all that were concerned with them in the treason. And afterward managed the army with that prudence and resolution, that he not only kept all there in order, but also prevented *Attalus* from reaping any advantage from this accident, which otherwise might have ruin'd the whole interest of the *Syrian* empire in those parts. *Seleucus* dying without children, the ^e army offered *Achæus* the crown, and several of the provinces concurred with them herein. But he then generously refused it, though he was afterwards in a less favourable juncture forced to assume it in his own defence, having then no other way left to secure himself against the designs which the ministers at court had there contrived for his ruin. At present, instead of taking it to himself, he carefully preserved it for the next lawful successor, *Antiochus*, the brother of the late deceased King, who was then a minor not exceeding the fifteenth year of his age. When *Seleucus* marched into the *lesser Asia*, he sent him to *Babylonia* to be ^f there educated; and there he was at the time of *Seleucus*'s death. From whence being ^g sent for to *Antioch*, he there ascended the throne after his brother, and sat on it thirty six years. By reason of the many great actions done by him, he had the surname of *Magnus* (i. e. *the Great*.) *Achæus*, the better to secure him in the succession, sent part of the army, which followed *Seleucus*, to him into *Syria* under the command of *Epigenes*, one of the most experienced commanders of the late King; the rest he retained with him in the *lesser Asia* for the support of the *Syrian* interest in those parts.

ANTIOCHUS, ^h on the first settling of his kingdom, sent *Molon* and *Alexander*, two brothers, into the east, making the former governor of *Media*, and the other governor of *Persia*. All the provinces of *lesser Asia* he committed to the charge of *Achæus*. *Epigenes* he made general of the forces which he kept about him, and retained *Hermias* the *Carian* to be his chief minister of state in the same station which he held under his bro-

^c Polybius, lib. 4. p. 315.

Hieronimus in cap. xi. Danielis.

^d Polybius, ibid. Appianus in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 29. cap. 1.

^e Polyb. ibidem. ^f i. e. at Seleucia, which stood in the province of Babylonia, and was then the metropolis of all the eastern parts instead of Babylon, which was now desolated.

^g Polybius, ibid. & lib. 5. p. 386. Hieronimus in cap. xi. Danielis. Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 29. cap. 1.

^h Polybius, lib. 5. p. 386.

ther. *Achaus* soon recovered ⁱ all that *Attalus* had wrested from the *Syrian* empire, and reduced him within the narrow limits of his own kingdom of *Pergamus*. But ^k *Alexander* and *Molon* despising the youth of the King, as soon as they were settled in the provinces which they were sent to govern, rebelled against him, and set up for themselves, each declaring himself Sovereign of the countrey he had taken possession of.

WHILE these things were a doing there happen'd a very violent earthquake in the east, which made great devastations in those parts, especially in *Caria*, and the island of *Rhodes*. In the latter, ^l it threw down not only the walls of the city of *Rhodes*, and their houses, but also the great *Colossus* there erected in the mouth of their harbour, which was one of the seven wonders of the world. It was ^m a prodigious statue of brass there erected to the sun of seventy cubits, or one hundred and five foot in height, and every thing else of it was in proportion hereto. *Demetrius Poliorcetes* having for a whole year besieged the city of *Rhodes*, without being able to take it, at length being wearied out with so long lying there, was content to make peace with them, as I have already related in the 8th book of the first part of this history. On his departure thence, he left the *Rhodians* all his engines and other preparations of war, which he had there provided for the carrying on of that siege. These the *Rhodians* afterwards sold for three hundred talents; with which money, adding other sums thereto, they erected this *Colossus*. The artificer that made it ⁿ was *Chares* of *Lindus*, who was twelve years in compleating the work; and sixty six years after it was thrown down by this earthquake. It was begun therefore to be made in the year before *Christ* 300, it was finished in the year 288, and overthrown in the year 222. On this accident the *Rhodians* ^o sent abroad ambassadors a begging to all the princes and states of the *Grecian* name or original, who exaggerating their losses, procured vast sums for the repairing of them, especially from the Kings of *Egypt*, *Macedon*, *Syria*, *Pontus*, and *Bitthynia*, which above five times exceeded the value of their damages. And when they had got the money, instead of setting up the *Colossus* again (for which most of it was given) ^p they pretended an oracle from *Delphos* that forbid it, and put the whole sum into their own pockets; whereby they very much enriched themselves. So this *Colossus* lay where it fell without being any more erected, and there was let lye 894 years; till at length, in the year of our Lord 672, ^q *Moawias*, the sixth Caliph or Emperor of the *Saracens*, having taken *Rhodes*, sold the brass to a *Jewish* merchant, who loaded with it nine hundred camels; and therefore allowing eight hundred pound weight to every camel's burthen, the brass of this *Colossus*, after the waste of so many years by the rust and wear of the brass it self, and the purloinings and imbezzlements of men, amounted to seven hundred and twenty thousand pound weight.

TOWARD the end of this year ^r died *Ptolemy Energetes*, King of *Egypt*, after he had reigned over that kingdom twenty five years: He was the last

ⁱ Polybius, lib. 4. p. 315.

^k Polybius, lib. 5. p. 386.

^l Eusebii chronicon. Orosius,

lib. 4. cap. 13. Polybius, lib. 5. p. 428, 429.

^m Plinius, lib. 34. cap. 7. Strabo, lib. 14.

p. 652. Vide etiam Scaligeri animadversiones in Eusebii chronicon. No. 1794. p. 137.

ⁿ Plinius, ibidem.

^o Polybius, lib. 5. p. 428, 429.

^p Polybius, ibidem. Strabo,

lib. 14. p. 652.

^q Zonaras sub regno Constantis Imperatoris Heraclii nepotis, & Cedrenus.

Vide etiam Scaligerum loco modò citato.

^r Polybius, lib. 2. p. 155. Justin. lib. 29. cap. 1.

Plutarch. in Cleomene. Ptolemæus astronomus in canone.

King of that race that ^s govern'd himself with any temper or virtue, all that after succeeded being monsters of luxury and vice. After having made peace with *Syria*, he mostly apply'd himself to the enlarging of his dominions southward; and he ^t extended them a great way down the Red sea, making himself master of all the coasts of it both on the *Arabian*, as well as the *Ethiopian* side, even down to the streights, through which it dischargeth it self into the southern ocean.

ON his death he was succeeded ^u by *Ptolemy Philopator* his son, ^w a most ^{An. 221.} profligate and vicious young Prince. He was supposed to have ^x made ^{Ptolemy Philopator I.} away his father by poison, and he had not been long on the throne, e're he added to that parricide the murder ^y of his mother, and of *Magas* his brother; and a little after followed the death of *Cleomenes* King of *Sparta*, occasion'd by the same measures of wickedness and barbarity. ^z He having been vanquished and driven out of *Greece* by *Antigonus*, King of *Macedon*, fled to *Ptolemy Euergetes*, and was kindly received by him; but that King a little after dying, he had not that favour from his successor; however, being looked upon as a person of great wisdom and sagacity, *Sofibius*, who was *Philopator's* chief minister of state, thought fit to communicate to him his master's design of cutting off *Magas* his brother, and to ask his advice about it; which *Cleomenes* having dissuaded him from, and given some reasons for it, which much displeased *Sofibius*, occasion was taken from another matter to cast him into prison; from whence having gotten loose, and gathered his friends and followers together, who came with him from *Sparta*, he took the advantage of *Ptolemy's* being absent from *Alexandria*, to call and excite the people to assume their liberty, and free themselves from the tyranny which they were then under; but not succeeding in this attempt, he flew himself in the streets of the city, as did also all the rest that were with him. *Plutarch*, in his life of *Cleomenes*, hath given us a full narrative of this matter, and so also hath *Polybius* in the fifth book of his history.

ANTIOCHUS ^a taking the advantage of *Euergetes's* death, and the succession of so voluptuous and profligate a Prince after him, thought it a proper time for him to attempt the recovery of *Syria*; and *Hermias* his prime minister pressed hard for his going in person to this war, contrary to the opinion of *Epigenes* his general, who thought it chiefly concerned him to suppress the rebellion of *Alexander* and *Molon* in the east; and therefore advised him to march immediately in person with the main of his army for the subduing of those rebels, before they should gather greater strength in the revolted provinces against him. But the opinion of *Hermias* taking place, *Antiochus* marched towards *Cæle-Syria* with one part of his army, and sent *Zeno* and *Theodotus Hermiolius*, two of his generals, with the other to suppress the rebels. While he was on his march towards *Cæle-Syria*, being arrived at *Seleucia* near *Zeugma*, there ^b was brought thither to him *Laodice* the daughter of *Mithridates* King of *Pontus* to be his wife, which caused his stay for some time in that place to celebrate the

^s Strabo, lib. 17. p. 796.

^t Monumentum Adulitanum.

^u Ptolemæus astronomus

in canone. Eusebius in chronico.

^w Plutarchus in Cleomene.

Strabo, ibidem. Polybius,

lib. 5. p. 380, 381.

^x Justin. lib. 29. cap. 1.

^y Plutarchus in Cleomene. Polybius,

lib. 5. p. 380, 382.

^z Plutarchus in Cleomene. Polybius, lib. 5.

^a Polybius, lib. 5.

p. 387. Justin. lib. 30. cap. 1.

^b Polybius, lib. 5. p. 388.

nuptials: But the joy of his marriage was soon interrupted by ill news from the east. For ^c his generals there being over-power'd by the joint forces of *Alexander* and *Molon*, were forced to retire, and leave them masters of the field. Hereon *Antiochus* inclining to the advice given by *Epigenes*, resolved to desist from his expedition into *Cæle-Syria*, and march directly with all his forces into the east for the suppressing of this rebellion, before it should grow to any greater head. But ^d *Hermias* persisting in his former opinion for the sake of some private views of his own, which he had therein, overbore all opposition to it, and prevailed with the King to send another general with more forces into the east, and proceed himself in his former intended expedition into *Cæle-Syria*. The general sent into the east was *Xinatas* an *Achean*, whose commission was to join the forces which were there before under the two former generals, and take upon him the chief-command of the whole army. But he came off with worse success than those whom he succeeded: For ^e passing the *Tigris*, he was there drawn into a snare, and circumvented by a stratagem of the enemies, and he, and all the forces that passed with him, were cut off and destroyed; whereon the rebels made themselves masters of the province of *Babylonia*, and almost all *Mesopotamia*, without any opposition. In the interim ^f *Antiochus* proceeding in his expedition into *Cæle-Syria*; penetrated as far as the valley which lieth between the two ridges of mountains called *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*; but there he found the passes of those mountains so well fortify'd, and such resistance made in them by *Theodotus* an *Ætolian*, who was there governor for *Ptolemy*, that he was forced to retreat without making any farther progress that way. And the ill news, which he had by this time received, of the loss of *Xinatas* and his army in the east, hasten'd his return. For now ^g being fully convinced, that he had nothing else to do, but to follow the advice which *Epigenes* had at first given him, and march in person against the rebels: And all else about him being of the same opinion, he fully resolved on it, and *Hermias* durst not say any more against it. But to be revenged on *Epigenes* for thwarting his designs herein, he did by forged letters fix a plot of treason upon him, and caused him to be cut off for it: In the interim *Antiochus*, tho' the year was now far spent, pass'd the *Euphrates*; and having there join'd his other forces, that he might be the nearer at hand for action the next spring, he put his army into winter-quarters in those parts, and there waited the proper season for the beginning of the war.

An. 220.
Ptolemy
Philopator 2.

AND as soon as that approached, ^h he marched directly to the *Tigris*, and having pass'd that river, forced *Molon* to a battel; wherein he got such an entire victory over him, that the rebel finding his cause absolutely lost, out of despair slew himself. *Alexander* was then absent in *Persia*, but *Nicolas*, another brother, escaping from the battel, brought him the ill news thither; whereon they slew first their mother, then their wives and children, and lastly themselves; that so they might avoid falling into the hands of the conqueror. And thus ended the rebellion (as it is to be wish'd all rebellions might end) in a most calamitous destruction of all that were concerned in it.

^c Polybius lib. 5. p. 389.

^f Polybius, lib. 5. p. 390.

p. 395, 396, &c.

^d Idem, p. 390.

^g Polybius, lib. 5. p. 393, 394.

^e Idem, p. 391, 392, 393.

^h Polybius, lib. 5.

AFTER this victory ⁱ the remains of the conquered army submitted to the King, who after a severe reprimand upon them for their rebellion, received them to pardon, and ordered them into *Media*, under the command of those whom he sent to regulate the affairs of that province; and then returning to *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, there continued for some time, to give his orders for the resettling of his authority in the revolted provinces, and reducing of all things again in them to their former order; which having effected by such proper instruments as he thought fit to employ herein, he marched against the *Atropatians*, a people inhabiting on the west of *Media*, in the countrey now called *Georgia*; ^k *Artabazes* their King being then a very old man, and grown decrepit with age, was so terrified on the approach of *Antiochus* with his victorious army, that he sent ambassadors to make his submission, and agreed to peace with him on his own terms.

By this time *Hermias*, through his insolence and haughty conduct, ^l growing intolerable to his master, as well as to all else, *Apollophanes* the King's physician, who had at all times his ear on the occasions of his health, took the advantage of it to represent unto him the danger he was in from this Minister; telling him, that it was time for him to look to himself, and take care that he did not meet with the same fate as his brother did in *Phrygia*, and be cut off by those he most confided in: That it was manifest, *Hermias* was laying designs for himself; and that no time was any longer to be lost for the preventing of them. *Antiochus*, who had the same sentiments with his physician, but had hitherto suppressed them out of diffidence to whom to communicate them, very gladly received the proposal, and immediately enter'd on measures for the ridding himself of this odious and dangerous minister; and accordingly as it had been concerted, having drawn him off from the army to accompany him on a walking abroad to take the air, as was pretended, for his health, as soon as he had thus decoyed him at a convenient distance from all that might give him any assistance, he ordered him to be cut off by those that attended him; which was much to the satisfaction of all the provinces of the *Syrian* empire. For he being a man of great cruelty, pride and insolence, managed all things with severity and violence, bearing no contradiction to his sentiments, or opposition to any thing he would have done, or suffering any person or thing to stand in his way to what he intended, which drew on him a general odium every where. But no where was there a more signal instance of it than at *Apamea* in *Syria*. For there they no sooner heard of his death, but they fell on his wife and children, whom he had left in that city, and stoned them all to death.

AFTER this, *Antiochus* having thus successfully managed his affairs in the east, and settled all the provinces there under such governors as he thought he might best confide in, ^m he marched back into *Syria*, and there put his army into winter-quarters; and at *Antioch* spent the remaining part of the year in consulting with his ministers, and the officers of his army, about the operations of the next year's war.

ⁱ Polybius, p. 398, 399.

^k Idem, p. 400.

^l Idem, lib. 5. p. 400, & 401.

^m Polybius, ibidem.

FOR he had still two dangerous enterprizes to undertake for the restoring of the *Syrian* empire; the first against *Ptolemy* for the recovery of *Syria*, and the other against *Achæus*, who had made himself master of all the *lesser Asia*. For *Ptolemy Euergetes* having in the beginning of the reign of *Seleucus Callinicus* seized all *Syria*, as hath been above related, a great part of it was still held by his successor the present *Egyptian* King; and *Antiochus* had reason to be very uneasy in having him so near a neighbour. And as to *Achæus*, it hath been already related how he refused the crown, when offered him on the death of *Seleucus Ceraunus*; and instead of putting it on his own head, faithfully preserved it for *Antiochus* the next rightful heir. Hereon *Antiochus* committed to him the government of all his provinces in *lesser Asia*, which charge he having managed with that valour and wisdom of conduct, as to recover them all out of the hands of *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, who had in a manner made himself absolute master of them; this success made him envied by the chief minister, and others, who had the King's ear at court; and therefore resolutions being taken to suppress him, forged letters were produced to prove him to have entertained traiterous designs for the usurping of the crown, and to hold correspondence with *Ptolemy*, and to be in league with him for this purpose; which ⁿ *Achæus* having notice of, found he had no other way to secure himself against the mischievous machinations of those men, than by doing what he was charged with. And therefore being necessitated for his own defence to set up for himself, he assumed the crown, which he had before refused, and declared himself King of *Asia*. So that *Antiochus* having these two dangerous wars upon his hands, which of these two he should first undertake, either that against *Ptolemy* for the recovery of *Syria*, or that against *Achæus* for the recovery of *lesser Asia*, was the matter which was under debate in the King's council.

An. 219.
Ptolemy
Philopator 3.

BUT at length, upon full consideration, ° it being resolved first to reduce all that belonged to the *Syrian* empire on that side mount *Taurus*, before they marched over it against *Achæus*, the operations of the ensuing campaign were concerted and ordered accordingly. For the garrisons which the *Egyptians* had in *Syria* being the deepest thorn in their side, and which they were most sensible of, it was thought the best course to remove this first: And therefore at present only threatening letters were sent to *Achæus*, and the whole army rendezvoused at *Apamea* to carry the war into *Cæle-Syria*. But in a council there held before the march of the army from thence, *Apollophanes*, the King's physician, having represented, how preposterous a thing it was for him to pass into *Cæle-Syria*, and leave *Seleucia*, a place so near his capital, in the enemies hands behind him, he drew all over to him by the reason of the thing. For this city stood upon the same river with *Antioch*, at the distance only of fifteen miles below it, near the mouth of that river. On *Ptolemy Euergetes's* having invaded *Syria* in the cause of *Berenice* his sister, which hath been above related, he seized this city; and a garrison of *Egyptians* having been then placed in it, they had held the place ever since now full twenty seven years; which was not only a constant annoyance to the *Antiochians*, but also intercepted their communication with the sea, and spoiled all their trade that way. For *Seleucia* lying near the mouth of the river *Orontes*, was the sea-port

ⁿ Polybius, lib. 5. p. 491.

^o Polybius, lib. 5. p. 402.

to *Antioch*, and they suffered much by being deprived of it. All which being set forth by *Apollophanes* in his representation of this matter; it fully determined the King, and all his council, to follow the measures he proposed, and begin the campaign with the siege of *Seleucia*; and ^p accordingly the whole army marched thither, and invested that place, and having carried it by a general assault, drove the *Egyptians* thence.

AFTER this *Antiochus* hasten'd into *Cæle-Syria*, ^a being called thither by *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, *Ptolemy's* governor of that province, with offer of putting the whole countrey into his hands. It hath been already related how valiantly he repulsed *Antiochus* in his last irruption into that countrey. But this was not enough to please those who governed at court; they expected more from him, which they imagin'd was in his power to have done, and therefore called him to *Alexandria* to answer for it at the peril of his head. And altho' he were acquitted on the hearing of his cause, and sent back to his government; yet he did not acquit them of the wrong they did him by this injurious accusation, but returned into *Cæle-Syria* with such resentment and indignation for this ill usage and affront, that he resolved to be revenged for it. And while he attended his cause at court, having observed in how vile and dissolute a manner all lived there, this augmented his indignation, he not being able to bear with any patience his being made obnoxious to so despicable a set of men. For nothing could be more lewd and abominable than the conduct of *Philopator*, during all the time of his reign; and his whole court was formed after his example. He is said to have poisoned his father, and he made this the more believed, that after his decease he openly and avowedly put to death *Berenice* his mother, and *Magas* his only brother. And then thinking himself free from all controul, and fear of danger, he gave himself up to the vilest entertainments of lust, luxury, and bestiality, minding little else than the glutting of himself in all the pleasures which these most detestable vices could afford him. His chief minister was ^r *Sofibius*, a man bad enough to suit the service of such a master, and crafty enough to know and use all the means whereby best to secure his interest under him. But those that most governed him were ^s *Agathocles*, *Agathoclea* his sister, and *Oenanthe* their mother. The first was his pathic, the second his concubine, and the last his bawd, to serve him in providing for the worst of his lusts. *Agathoclea* was at first a publick woman, and a common strumpet, but having engaged *Philopator's* affection, she had an absolute ascendant over him all his life after; and his love to her was the foundation on which was built his favour to the other two. *Theodotus*, on his being at *Alexandria* having observed all this, could not but abhor so vile a conduct, and being a gallant man, scorned to be any longer under it; and this, with his resentments for his ill usage, put him upon a resolution of seeking for a new master, that might be more worthy of his service. And therefore, on his return to his province, having seized *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*, he declared for King *Antiochus*, and sent him the message I have mentioned to call him into those parts, and on his arrival delivered to him these two cities, whereby he put him in a fair way of becoming master of all the rest of that

^p Idem, p. 404, & 405.
excerpta ex Polybio, p. 64.
50. cap. 1, & 2.

^a Idem, p. 405, & 406.

^r Plutarchus in Cleomene. Valefii
^s Plutarchus, ibidem. Athenæus, lib. 13. p. 577. Justin. lib.

countray. *Nicolas*, one of *Ptolemy*'s generals in those parts, made some opposition to him in this invasion, altho' not sufficient to obstruct his progress. For altho' he were a countray-man of *Theodotus*'s, as being an *Ætolian*, yet he would not join with him in this defection, but still adhered to the interest of King *Ptolemy*, according to his first engagements to him; and therefore as soon as *Theodotus* had seized *Ptolemais*, he besieged him in it. And on *Antiochus*'s marching thither to raise the siege, he seized the passes of mount *Libanus* against him, and defended them to the utmost; but being over-born by the superior power of *Antiochus*, he was forced to recede, and *Antiochus* had thereon *Tyre* and *Ptolemais* put into his hands by *Theodotus*; where having found great magazines of war, which *Ptolemy* had in these two places prepared and laid up for his army, and also a fleet of forty sail of ships, he seized both for his service. The ships he delivered to *Diognetus* his admiral, with orders to sail to *Pelusium*, purposing at the same time to march thither by land with all his army, and invade *Egypt*. But being informed, that at that time of the year the banks of *Nile* used to be cut, and all the countray laid under water, and that therefore the invading of that realm was then impracticable, he altered his purpose, and turned all his force for the reducing of the rest of *Cæle-Syria*; and having taken some places in it by surrender, and others by force, he at length made himself master of *Damascus*, the chief city of the province, having taken it by 'a stratagem, with which he over-reached *Dion*, who had the command of it for King *Ptolemy*. His last attempt in this campaign " was upon *Dora*, a maritim town near mount *Carmel*, called *Dor* " in the holy scriptures; but the place being strongly situated, and well fortify'd, and provided for, by the care of *Nicolas*, he could make no impression upon it; and therefore was glad to accept of a proposal, which was there offered him, of making a truce with *Ptolemy* for four months; and thereon drawing off under the credit of it, he marched back to *Seleucia* on the *Orontes*, and there put his army into winter-quarters, leaving those places which he had taken in this year's war under the care and government of *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*.

DURING this truce * a treaty was set on foot between the two contending Princes, but without any other design on either side than to gain time. *Ptolemy* lacked it to make preparation for the ensuing war, and *Antiochus* to look after *Achæus*. For he having now manifest designs of usurping *Syria* from him, as well as *lesser Asia*, he wanted to be at home to provide against them. In this treaty the chief point in debate was, to whom *Cæle-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Samaria*, and *Judea* did belong, by virtue of the partition that was made of *Alexander*'s empire between *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Cassander*, and *Lysimachus*, after the death of *Antigonus*, slain in the battle of *Ipsus*. *Ptolemy* claimed these provinces, as having been by that treaty assigned, as he said, to *Ptolemy Soter* his great-grandfather. On the other side, *Antiochus* alledged, that they had in that partition been assigned to *Seleucus Nicator*, and therefore he claimed them to belong to him, as the heir and successor of that King in the *Syrian* empire.

* Polyænus' lib. 4. cap. 15.

" Polybius, lib. 5. p. 409.

^ Joshua xi. 2. xvii. 11.

Judges i. 27. 1 Kings iv. 11. 1 Chron. vii. 29.

* Polybius, lib. 5. p. 409, 410, 411.

WHILE these pretences were alledged on both sides, and neither yielded to the other, the time of the truce wore out; and nothing being effected by the treaty^y, both parties again provided for the war. *Nicolas* the *Ætolian* having given sufficient proof of his valour and fidelity in his last year's service for King *Ptolemy*, was this year made his generalissimo for this war, and had the whole care of his interest in the contested provinces committed to his charge; and *Perigenes* his admiral was sent with a fleet to carry on the war by sea. *Nicolas* having rendezvoused his forces at *Gaza*, and being there furnished from *Egypt* with all necessary accoutrements and provisions for the war, marched directly from thence for mount *Libanus*, and seized the streights, which lay between that ridge of mountains and the sea, through which it was necessary for *Antiochus* to pass; resolving to expect him there, and by the advantage of the place obstruct his farther progress that way. In the interim *Antiochus* was not idle, but having made all due preparations for the war both by sea and land, committed his fleet to the command of *Diognetus* his admiral, and then marched himself with his army by land. The fleets on both sides coasting the armies, as they marched by land, they all met at those streights where *Nicolas* had posted himself. And while *Antiochus* there assaulted *Nicolas* by land, the fleets encounter'd at sea; and the battel was begun on both sides both by sea and land at the same time, and in sight of each other. At sea the fight ended upon equal terms on both sides, neither party getting the better of the other. But at land *Antiochus* having gotten the advantage, *Nicolas* was forced to retire to *Sidon* with the loss of four thousand of his men slain and taken, and thither also *Perigenes* followed him with the *Egyptian* fleet. *Antiochus* pursued them thither both by sea and land, with intention to besiege the place; but finding it too strongly provided with men, and all other necessities, to be easily taken, he thought not fit to sit down before it; but having sent his fleet to *Tyre*, he marched with his army into *Galilee*, and having taken *Philoteria*, on the north end of the sea of *Tiberias*, and *Scythopolis* (or *Bethsan*) on the south end, he marched to *Attabyrium*, a city situated on mount *Tabor*, the mountain afterwards made famous by the transfiguration of our Saviour on it, and by a stratagem soon made himself master of the place; and by taking these cities having brought all *Galilee* under him, he marched over the river *Jordan* into the land of *Gilead*, and took possession of all that countrey, which formerly had been the inheritance of the tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manasseh* on that side of the river. After that he took *Rabbah* of the children of *Ammon*. *Polybius* calls it *Rabbatamana* (i. e. ^z *Rabbath-Ammon*.) I have shewn before, how *Ptolemy Philadelphus* having rebuilt this city, called it *Philadelphia*. It being strong and populous; it made a vigorous resistance against *Antiochus*, and all his army; but at length he brought them to a surrender, by stopping their water course. On his making himself master of this place, he forced all the neighbouring *Arabs* to submit to him. But by this time the year being far spent, he repassed the river *Jordan*; and having placed *Hippolochus* and *Keraas* (who lately revolted to him from King *Ptolemy*) in the government of *Samaria*, with five thousand men to keep that part of the countrey

An. 218.
Ptolemy
Philopator 4.

^y *Polybius*, lib. 5. p. 411, 412, &c.

^z *So Rabbah of Ammon is written in the Hebrew language, see the Hebrew text, Deuteron. iii. 11. 2 Sam. xii. 26. Jeremiah xlix. 2.*

in quiet, he led back all the rest of his forces to *Ptolemais*, and there put them into winter quarters.

An. 217.
Ptolemy
Philopator 5.

As soon as the spring begun, ^a both parties again took the field. *Ptolemy* having gotten together an army of seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and seventy three elephants, ordered them to rendezvous at *Pelusium*, where putting himself at the head of them, as soon as all was got ready for the march, he led them over the deserts, that parted *Egypt* and *Palestine*, and encamped at *Raphia*, a town lying between *Rhinocorura* and *Gaza*; and there *Antiochus* met him with an army little inferior to him. For he had sixty two thousand foot, six thousand horse, and an hundred and two elephants. And there he encamped, first within ten furlongs, and afterwards within five of the enemy. While they lay thus near to each other, many bickerings happen'd between parties, as they went out on each side, either for watering or forage; and many bold adventures were made by particular persons from both armies. But that of *Theodotus* the *Ætolian* was the most remarkable. For ^b being well acquainted with the *Egyptian* usages, as having long served *Ptolemy*, till he revolted from him to *Antiochus*, he took the advantage of a dusky evening, when his face could not be well discerned, to enter into the enemies camp with two companions; and being there taken for one of them, went into *Ptolemy's* tent with design to have killed him, and with that one stroke to have put an end to the war. But not finding him there, he slew his chief physician instead of him, wounded two others, and then, amidst the hurry and tumult raised hereon, escaped safe back again into his own camp. At length both Kings ^c drew out all their forces for a decisive battel, and both rid before the front of their respective armies, to excite and encourage their men for the fight. *Arsinoe*, who was sister and wife to King *Ptolemy*, accompanied him in this action, and not only exerted herself in the encouraging of the soldiers before the fight, but also continued with her husband in the battel, throughout all the heat and dangers of it. The event of the battel was, *Antiochus* commanding the right wing, routed the opposite wing of the enemy; but pursuing them too far, in the interim, the other wing of the enemy having beaten his left wing, fell upon the main body then left naked, and utterly broke them before he could return to their assistance. An old officer of *Antiochus's* army observing which way the cloud of dust went, concluded from thence that the main body was routed, and shewed it to the King. But altho' he immediately returned, he came too late to recover this fault, finding all the rest of his army put to flight on his coming back to them. Hereon he was forced to retreat, first to *Raphia*, and next to *Gaza*, with the loss of ten thousand of his men slain, and four thousand taken prisoners; after which, being no more able to make head against *Ptolemy* in those parts, he quitted them to the conqueror; and having gathered together the remains of his broken forces, he returned with them to *Antioch*. This battel at *Raphia* was fought at the same time that *Hannibal* vanquished *Flaminius* the Roman consul at the lake of *Thrasimenus* in *Hetruria*.

^a Polybius, lib. 5. p. 421, 422, &c. Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis. ^b Polybius, lib. 5. p. 423. ^c 3 Maccab. cap. i. ^c Polybius, lib. 5. p. 423 — 427. 3 Maccab. cap. i. Hieronymus, ibid. Justin. lib. 30. cap. 1.

ON the retreat of *Antiochus*^d the cities of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine* were at a strife, which of them should first yield themselves again to *Ptolemy*. For having been long under the government of the *Egyptians*, they were in their affections inclined rather to their old masters, than to *Antiochus*. It was only by force that they had submitted to the latter, and therefore that force being now removed, they returned again to their former bent, and *Ptolemy's* court was throng'd with ambassadors from them to make their submissions, and offer presents unto him. Among whom were ambassadors from the *Jews*, who were all kindly received. *Ptolemy* having thus regained these provinces, made a progress thorough them; and among other cities, which he visited in this perambulation, *Jerusalem* was one that had this favour from him. On his arrival thither, he took a view of the temple, and there offered up many sacrifices to the God of *Israel*, and made many oblations to the temple, and gave several very valuable donatives to it. But not being content to view it only from the outer court, beyond which it was not lawful for any *Gentile* to pass, he would have pressed into the sanctuary it self, and into the holy of holies in the temple, where none but the High-priest only, once a year on the great day of expiation, was to enter. This made a great uproar all over the city. The High-priest informed him of the sacredness of the place, and the law of God, which forbad his entrance thither. And the Priests and Levites gathered together to hinder it, and all the people to deprecate it, and great lamentation was made every where among them on the apprehension of the great profanation which would hereby be offered to their holy temple; and all hands were lifted up unto God in prayer to avert it. But the King, the more he was opposed, growing the more intent to have his will in this matter, pressed into the inner court; but as he was passing farther to go into the temple it self, he was smitten from God with such a terror and confusion of mind, that he was carried out of the place in a manner half dead; on this he departed from *Jerusalem* filled with great wrath against the whole nation of the *Jews*, for that which happen'd to him in that place, and venting many threatnings against them for it.

THE High-priest, who withstood *Ptolemy* in this attempt upon the temple, was ^e *Simon* the son of *Onias*, the second of that name. For his father dying towards the end of the former year, he succeeded him in his office, and this was the first year of his pontificate; and it was well that a wiser man was then in that office, when this difficulty happen'd. For during the whole time of *Onias's* ministration, all the affairs of the *Jews* were both in Church and State very negligently and supinely managed. For he being a very weak man, and withal exceedingly covetous, minded little else but how to heap up money. ^f The *Samaritans* observing this, took the advantage of it to be very vexatious to the *Jews*; and out of their old enmity to them, did them many and great damages, plundering and ravaging their countrey, and carrying many of the inhabitants into captivity, and selling them for slaves; and this they had in some measure practised ever since the contention arose between *Antiochus* and *Ptolemy Philopator*, about the provinces of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*; skreening themselves sometimes

^d Polybius, lib. 5. p. 427, 428.

^e 3 Maccab. cap. i.

^f 3 Maccab. cap. ii. Josephus

antiq. lib. xii. cap. 4. Eusebius in chronico. Chronicon Alexandrinum.

^g Josephus antiq. lib. xii. cap. 3.

under the one side, and sometimes under the other, according as they found they might be most vexatious to the *Jews*. And during all the time that this war lasted, the *Jews* suffered very much by it from both parties, as did all the rest of the inhabitants of *Palestine*. For *Palestine*, of which *Judea* was a part, being one of the countries in contest, while these two potent Princes thus strove for it, it happen'd to those that dwelt in it (as usually it doth to all others in this case) that they were ground between both. For as sometimes the one side, and sometimes the other were masters of the countrey, they were sure to be harrassed by each in their turns. And this continued to be their case as long as that contest lasted, and they suffered exceedingly by it.

ANTIOCHUS, as soon as he was returned to *Antioch*,^h sent ambassadors to *Ptolemy* to move for peace. That which induced him to this was, he mistrusted the fidelity of his own people, finding on his return both his interest and his authority much sunk by his late misfortune at *Raphia*; and another reason for it was, it was time for him to look after *Achaens*. For he having by his victories over *Attalus* made himself absolute master of all the *lesser Asia*, should he be let alone to settle his authority there, *Antiochus* well saw it would not be long e'er he must expect him in *Syria*, there to push for the whole empire; to prevent this, he thought it his best course to make peace with *Ptolemy*, lest having two such powerful enemies, one on each hand of him, to deal with at the same time, he should be crush'd between them. And therefore he empower'd his ambassadors to yield to *Ptolemy* all those provinces which were in contest between them, that is all *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*. I have afore shewn, that *Cæle-Syria* contained that part of *Syria* that lay between the mountains *Libanus* and *Anti-Libanus*; and *Palestine*, all that countrey which was formerly the inheritance of the children of *Israel*; and that the maritime parts of both were what the *Greeks* called *Phœnicia*. All this *Antiochus* was willing to part with to the King of *Egypt*, for the obtaining of peace with him in the present juncture, chusing rather to quit his claim to all these countries, than for the sake of them to run the risk of losing all the rest. And accordingly a truce being agreed on for a year, before that was expired a peace was made upon the terms proposed; and hereby *Antiochus* was left wholly at leisure to attend the recovery of *lesser Asia*, and the suppressing of *Achaens*, which was a matter of much greater moment unto him at this time; and *Ptolemy*, that he might be again fully at liberty to follow his voluptuous enjoyments, was as fond of being rid of this war as the other. And therefore as soon as the truce was concluded, after having tarried three months in those provinces, to settle his affairs in them, he committed the chief command over them to *Andromachus* of *Aspendus*, and returned again to *Alexandria*; and on his arrival thither, immers'd himself again deeper than ever in all the beastly pleasures of his former life; and that he might not be interrupted in his enjoyment of them, he sent *Sosibius* his chief minister to *Antioch*, to turn the truce into a peace, which was accordingly done on the terms I have mentioned. And thus *Ptolemy*, for the sake of his lusts, contenting himself with the recovery of the provinces of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, made no other advantage of his victory at *Raphia*; but this did not content his people, who expected much more from it.

^h Polybius, lib. 5. p. 428. Justin. lib. 30. c. 1. Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis.

It's certain, had he pursued that blow, he might have deprived *Antiochus* not only of *Palestine* and *Cæle-Syria*, but of all the rest of his empire; and this was what the *Egyptians* would have had done, and were very angry, when they found themselves disappointed of it by so disadvantageous a peace. The discontent which followed herefrom, gave rise to those disorders in *Egypt*, which the next year after broke out into a rebellion; and thus *Ptolemy*, by avoiding a war abroad, caused one at home in his own kingdom.

PTOLEMY, on his return to *Alexandria*, carrying thither with him his anger against the *Jews*, for their obstructing his entrance into their temple at *Jerusalem*, resolved to be revenged for it on all of that nation who were then at *Alexandria*. And thereforeⁱ he published a decree, and caused it to be engraven on a pillar erected at the gates of his palace; whereby he forbad all to enter thither that did not sacrifice to the gods which he worshipped; whereby he excluded the *Jews* from all access to him, either for the suing to him for justice, or the obtaining of his protection, in what case soever they should stand in need of it. And whereas the inhabitants of *Alexandria* were of^k three ranks, 1st, The *Macedonians*, who were the original founders of the city, and had the first right in it: 2^{dly}, The mercenary soldiers who came thither to serve in the army; and 3^{dly}, The native *Egyptians*; and by the favour of *Alexander the Great*, and *Ptolemy Soter*, the *Jews* were enrolled among^l the first rank, and had all the privileges of original *Macedonians* conferred on them. *Philopator* resolved to deprive them of this right; and therefore by^m another decree ordered, that all of the *Jewish* nation that lived in *Alexandria* should be degraded from the first rank, of which they had hitherto always been from the first founding of the city, and be enrolled in the third rank among the common people of *Egypt*, and that all of them should come thus to be enrolled, and at the time of their enrolment have the mark of an ivy leaf, ⁿ the badge of his god *Bacchus*, by an hot iron impressed upon them; and that all those who should refuse to be thus enrolled and stigmatized with the said mark, should be made slaves; and that if any of them should stand out against this decree, he should be put to death. He would have them marked with the badge of his god *Bacchus*, not only in that by his drunkenness he had made himself a great devotee of his, but most especially in that the *Ptolemys* of *Egypt* pretended to derive^o their pedigree from him, and therefore he himself was marked with this badge; for which reason they gave him the nickname of^p *Gallus*, because the priests called *Galli* were so marked. So saith the author of the *Greek Etymologicon*; his words are, ^q *Ptolemy Philopator was called Gallus, because he was stigmatized or marked with the leaf of an ivy, in the same manner as the priests called Galli; for in all the bacchinal solemnities they were crowned with ivy.* But that he might not seem an enemy to all of that nation, he ordained, that as many of them as would be initiated into the heathen religion, and sacrifice unto his gods, should retain their former privileges, and remain still in the same rank which they were of before. But of the many thou-

An. 216.
Ptolemy
Philopator 6.

ⁱ 3 Maccab. cap. ii.
contra Apionem, lib. 2.
Antiochenus ex Satyri historia,
Alexandrin.

^k Strabo, lib. 17. p. 797.

^m 3 Maccab. cap. ii.

^l Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 1. &

ⁿ 2 Maccab. vi. 7.

^o Theophilus

^p Εν ἐπιστομῇ χρόνων, à Scaligero edita, p. 254. Chronic.

^q Γάλλος ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ Πτολεμαῖος διὰ τὸ φύλλα κισσῶς κατὰσχέσθαι ὡς οἱ Γάλλοι, &c.

sands

sands of the *Jewish* race, which then dwelt at *Alexandria*, there were found only three hundred who accepted of this condition, and forsook their God to gain the favour of their King. The rest stood all firm to their religion, rather chusing to suffer any thing than depart in the least from it. And those of them that had riches, freely parted with them to the King's officers, to get themselves excused from being thus enrolled and stigmatized; but others were forced to submit hereto. But all of them so abhorred those that apostatized from their God to please the King on this occasion, that they thenceforth excluded them from all manner of communication with them, none of them vouchsafing after that to converse, or on any occasion whatsoever to have any more to do with such impious wretches; which being interpreted as done by them in opposition to the King's authority, this so enraged him against them, that he took a resolution of destroying them all, that is, not only those *Jews* that were of *Alexandria*, but all the other of that nation, wheresoever they lived within his dominions; purposing first to begin with those of *Egypt*, and then to proceed in the next place against the inhabitants of *Judea* and *Jerusalem*, and extirpate the whole nation. And therefore in the first place he sent out his orders to command, that all the *Jews* who lived any where in *Egypt*, should be brought in chains to *Alexandria*; and having them accordingly thus brought thither, he shut them up in the *Hippodrome* (a large place without the city, where the people used to assemble to see horse races, and other shews) purposing there to expose them for a spectacle to be destroyed by his elephants. But when they were all met at the day appointed to see the fight, and the elephants were brought forth ready prepared for the execution, they were disappointed of the shew for that day by the King's absence. For being late up the night before at a drunken carousal, he slept so long the next day, that the time for the shew was over before he awoke; whereon it was put off to the next day following; and then the same cause made another disappointment. For another such fit of drunkenness had so drowned his thoughts, that when called up the next morning then to see the shew, he remembered nothing of it, but thought those out of their wits who spoke to him of it, which caused that the shew was put off again to the third day. All this while the *Jews* continuing shut up in the *Hippodrome*, ceased not with lifted up hands and voices to pray unto God for their deliverance, which he accordingly vouchsafed unto them. For on the third day, when the King was present, and the elephants were brought forth, and made drunk with wine mingled with frankincense (as they had been the two days before) that they might with the more rage execute what was intended upon those people, and were accordingly let loose upon them, instead of falling upon the *Jews*, they turned their rage all upon those who came to see the shew, and destroyed great numbers of them; and besides several appearances were seen in the air, which much frightened the King, and all the spectators. All which manifesting the interposal of a divine power in the protection of those people, *Philopator* durst not any longer prosecute his rage against them, but ordered them to be all again set free; and fearing the divine vengeance upon him in their behalf, for the appeasing and diverting of it, he restored them to all their privileges, rescinding and revoking all his decrees which he had published against them.

* 3 Maccab. cap. iii.

* 3 Maccab. cap. iv.

* 3 Maccab. cap. v.

And he added over and above many gifts and favours unto them; among which one was, that he gave them liberty to put to death all those *Jews* who had apostatized from their religion, which they accordingly executed, not sparing a man of them. *Josephus* gives us no account in his antiquities of all this matter, but there is mention of it in his second book against *Apion*. But it is to be observed, that we have this only in the *Latin* edition of *Ruffinus*. For the *Greek* text is there wanting, and also there this whole matter is said to be transacted in the reign of *Ptolemy Physcon*, many years after the time where I have here placed it, according to the third book of the *Maccabees*. For there the whole history of this persecution, and the deliverance of the *Jews* from it, is at large related, it being the whole subject of that book; and therein it is said to have been all transacted in the reign of *Ptolemy Philopator*, immediately on his return from *Syria*, after the victory obtained by him at the battel of *Raphia*; and when that battel was fought, *Polybius* and other authors have told us.

THE name of *Maccabees* was first given to *Judas* and his brethren, for the reason which will be hereafter mentioned. And therefore the first book and the second book, which give us an account of their actions, are called the first book and the second book of the *Maccabees*. But because they were sufferers in the cause of their religion, hence others, who were like sufferers in the same cause, and by their sufferings bore witness to the truth, were in after times called also *Maccabees* by the *Jews*. And for this reason it is, that *Josephus* having written apart by it self the history of those who suffered martyrdom under the persecution of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, gives it the title of the *Maccabees*. And for the same reason this history of the persecution of *Ptolemy Philopator* against the *Jews* in *Egypt*, and their suffering under it, is called the third book of *Maccabees*; altho', as to the subject matter of it, it ought to be called the first book. For the things which it relates were first in order of time, as being transacted before ever those *Maccabees*, of whom we have the history in the first and second book of the *Maccabees*, were at all in being. But this book being of less authority and repute than the other two, it hath for this reason been reckoned after them, according to the order of dignity, tho' it be before them in the order of time. It seems to have been written by some *Alexandrian Jew* in the *Greek* language not long after the time of *Siracides*. It is extant also in *Syriac*, but the author of that version seems not well to have understood the *Greek* original. For in some places he varies from it through manifest ignorance of the *Greek* language. It is in most of the ancient manuscript copies of the *Greek* Septuagint, as particularly it is in the *Alexandrian* manuscript in the King's library at St. *James's*, and in the *Vatican* manuscript at *Rome*, which are two of the ancientest manuscripts of the Septuagint now in being; but was never inserted into the vulgar *Latin* version of the *bible*, or is it to be found in any manuscript of it. And that version being only in use through the whole western Church till the reformation, the first translations which we have of the *bible* into *English* were made from thence, and for that reason none of those having the third book of *Maccabees* among the apocryphal books, it hath never since been added, though it deserves a place there much better than some parts of the second book of *Maccabees*. For tho' it comes to us in a romantic dress, with some enlargements and imbellishments of a *Jewish* invention; yet it is not to be doubted, but the ground-work of it is true, and that there really was
such

such a persecution raised against the *Jews* of *Alexandria* by *Ptolemy Philopator* as that book relates; there are accounts of other persecutions " they there underwent, altogether as bad, which no one doubts of. The first authentic mention we have of this book, is ^w in *Eusebius's* chronicon. It is also named with the two other books of the *Maccabees*, in the 85th of the apostolic canons: But when that canon was added is uncertain. Some manuscript *Greek bibles* have not only this third book of the *Maccabees*, but also *Josephus's* history of the martyrs, that suffered under *Antiochus Epiphanes* ^x, inserted after it by the name of the fourth book of the *Maccabees*.

IN the interim *Antiochus*, after the peace made with *Ptolemy*, turning all his thoughts to the making of war against *Achæus*, and having made great preparations for it, ^y marched over mount *Taurus* into *lesser Asia* for the suppressing of him; where having joined himself in league with *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, by virtue of this conjunction he so distressed *Achæus*, that he drove him out of the field, and shut him up in *Sardis*, and thereon sitting down before that place, besieged him in it with his whole army.

An. 215.
Ptolemy
Philopator 7

ACHÆUS ^z there held out above a year against him, in the interim many sallies were made, and many skirmishes were fought under the walls, till at length, in the second year of the siege, by the craft of *Ligoras* one of *Antiochus's* commanders the city was taken; whereon *Achæus* retreated into the castle, and there defended himself for some time, till at last he was, by the treacherous contrivance of two crafty *Cretans*, delivered into the hands of *Antiochus*. The manner of it was thus. ^a *Ptolemy Philopator* having entered into a strict alliance with *Achæus*, was much concerned on his hearing of his being so closely shut up in the castle of *Sardis*; and therefore committed it to the care of his chief minister *Sosibius*, by any means possible to get him out of this danger. There being at that time in *Ptolemy's* court a crafty *Cretan* called *Bolis*, who had long resided there, *Sosibius* consulted with him about this matter, and asked his advice for the finding out of proper means for the accomplishing of what his master desired. *Bolis* asking time to consider of it, at the next conference undertook the matter, and communicated to him the way which he thought of whereby to accomplish it. For he told him, that he had an intimate friend, who was also a near relation of his, called *Cambylus*, that was captain of the *Cretan* mercenaries in *Antiochus's* army, and had then the keeping of a fortress behind the castle at *Sardis*; that him he would deal with to permit *Achæus* to make his escape that way. *Sosibius* approving of the project, forthwith sent *Bolis* to *Sardis* to put it in execution, and gave him ten talents to bear him thorough in it. *Bolis* having communicated the matter to *Cambylus*, they, like ^b two crafty knaves, consulting together how to make the most of it, agreed to discover the whole to *Antiochus*, and on his promise of a suitable reward, to turn the plot for the betraying of *Achæus* into his hands; and then divide that reward, and also the ten talents which

^u See Philo's book against Flaccus, and the history of his embassy to Caligula.

^w Pag. 185.

^x Vide Hoddium de biblicorum textibus originalibus, p. 649.

^y Polybius, lib. 5. p. 444,

446. ^z Polybius, lib. 7. p. 506, 507.

^a Polybius, lib. 8. p. 522, 523, &c.

^b The *Cretans* were always infamous for falshness and knavery. Hence St. Paul to Titus, cap. i. §. 12. The *Cretans* are always liars.

Bolis

Bolis had from *Sofibius*, between them. *Antiochus*, on his receiving of this proposal, was much pleased with it, and promised rewards large enough to encourage the undertakers to go on with the plot. *Bolis*, by the means of *Cambylus*, having got into the castle, and by virtue of his credentials from *Sofibius*, and other friends, gained full credit with the unfortunate Prince, so that he was hereby induced to put himself into the hands of these two false *Cretans*; they, as soon as they had gotten him out of the castle, seized his person, and delivered him to *Antiochus*, who having caused him forthwith to be beheaded, did thereby put an end to the *Asian* war. For as soon as the death of *Achæus* was known, they that were in the castle forthwith surrender'd, and soon after all the other places through the *Asian* provinces did the same. And therefore *Antiochus* having received them all again under his obedience, left such governors over them as he might best confide in, and then returned again to *Antioch*.

ABOUT this time the discontents of the *Egyptians* against *Philopator*, An. 213. Ptoemy Philopator 9. which I have above mentioned, broke out into a civil war. *Polybius*^c tells us, that there was such a war, but neither he nor any other author gives us any account of the event of it. But *Philopator* still retaining his royal dignity and power, without any diminution of either, this sufficiently proves that he master'd this difficulty. Which side the *Jews* (who now made a considerable part of the bulk of the people of *Egypt*) took in this war is not said, but it seems most likely that they were of that party which came by the worst. For *Eusebius*^d tells us, that about this time forty thousand of them were cut off and destroyed.

ANTIOCHUS having settled his affairs in *lesser Asia*,^e made an expedition into the east, for the reducing of those provinces which had revolted from the *Syrian* empire; and the *Parthians* having lately seized *Media*, his first attempt was upon that province. There reigned at that time over the *Parthians* *Arfaces*, the son of that *Arfaces* who first founded the *Parthian* empire. He taking the advantage of *Antiochus's* being otherwise engaged in his wars with *Ptolemy* and *Achæus*, had entered *Media*, and made himself master of that countrey, and added it to his former dominions. On *Antiochus's* approach that way, he endeavoured to hinder his passage by stopping up all the wells in the deserts through which he was to march, no army being able there to be subsisted without them. But *Antiochus* being aware of the design, sent a party of horse before him to secure those wells, who having driven away the party that was sent to destroy them, *Antiochus* safely passed those deserts with all his army, and entering *Media*, drove *Arfaces* thence; and having recovered all that countrey, spent the remainder of the year in settling of it again in its former order under his dominion, and in providing for the farther operations of the war.

EARLY the next spring^f he marched into *Parthia*, and there having obtained the same success as in *Media*, *Arfaces* was forced to retreat into *Hyrkania*, where thinking to secure himself behind the mountains which parted that countrey from *Parthia*, he placed guards in all the passes through which the *Syrian* army was to march, hoping thereby to obstruct their farther progress that way. An. 211. Ptolemy Philopator 11.

^c Lib. 5. p. 444. pian. in Syriacis.

^d In chronico, p. 185.
^f Polybius, lib. 10. p. 599.

^e Polybius, lib. 10. p. 598. — 602. Ap-

An. 210.
Ptolemy
Philopator 12.

BUT *Antiochus*, as soon as the season would admit, took the field to drive them thence; and ^g by dividing his army into several parties, and assaulting those guards all at the same time in their several stations, he soon made himself master of all those passes; and therefore marching securely thorough them over those mountains, he descended from them with all his army into the countrey of *Hyrkania*, and there laid siege to *Syringis*, the capital of the province; and after some time having, by undermining the walls, made a great breach in them, he took the place by storm, and all the inhabitants surrendered themselves to his mercy. In the interim *Arsaces* was not idle, but all the way as he retreated having gathered forces, at length ^h made up an army of an hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse; with which being strong enough to face the enemy, he made a stand against him, and with great valour opposed his farther progress, which drew out the war into a great length. But after many conflicts that happen'd between the two armies, no farther advantage being gained on the part of *Antiochus*, he found it would be no easy matter for him to vanquish so valiant an enemy, and wholly dispossess him of the provinces which he had been so long settled in.

An. 208.
Ptolemy
Philopator 14.

AND therefore he became ⁱ inclined to hearken to terms of accommodation for the ending of so troublesome a war; and accordingly a treaty being set on foot, it was agreed that *Arsaces* should hold *Parthia* and *Hyrkania* on the terms of becoming a confederate of *Antiochus's*, and assisting him in his wars for the recovery of the other provinces which had revolted from him.

An. 207.
Ptolemy
Philopator 15.

ANTIOCHUS having thus made peace with *Arsaces*, ^k carried the war in the next place against *Euthydemus* King of *Bactria*. It hath been above related how *Theodotus* first usurped *Bactria* from the empire of the *Syrian* Kings, and left it to his son of the same name. Him *Euthydemus* having vanquished and driven out, reigned in his stead; and being a very valiant and wise Prince, he maintained a long war against *Antiochus*, in defence of the countrey which he had made himself master of, and every where made good his ground against him; so that *Antiochus* only wasted his army in this countrey, without gaining any advantage by it.

IN the interim *Philopator* went on in his old course of life, giving himself wholly up to his lusts, and voluptuous delights. *Agathoclea* his concubine, and *Agathocles* her brother, who was his catamite, governed him absolutely. Drinking, gaming, and lasciviousness were the whole employments of his life. *Sofibius* being an old crafty minister, who had now served in the court under three Kings, did, as far as the favourites would permit, manage the affairs of the state, in which by his long experience he was thoroughly versed; but was wicked enough to serve such a King, and such his favourites, in all their vilest purposes. While things were thus managed, ^l *Arsinoe*, who was sister and wife to *Philopator*, was little regarded, which she not having patience enough to bear, spared neither her complaints, nor her clamours, on all occasions; which much offending the King, and also the whore and the catamite, who govern'd him, orders were given to *Sofibius* to put her to death, which he accordingly executed

^g Polybius, lib. 10. p. 600, & 601. ^h Justin. lib. 41. cap. 5. ⁱ Justin. lib. 41. cap. 5.

^k Polybius, lib. 10. p. 620. ^l Polybius, lib. 15. p. 719. Valesii excerpta, p. 65. Justin. lib. 30. cap. 1.

by the hands of one *Philammon*, whom he employed for the effecting of this cruel and barbarous murther. *Justin*^m calls her *Eurydice*, and ⁿ *Livy Cleopatra*; but according to *Polybius*, who writeth with the most exactness of these matters, her name was *Arsinoe*.

THESE things^o very much displeasing the people, they forced *Sofibius* An. 206. Ptolemy Philopator 16. during the life-time of the King to quit his office of chief minister, and called to it *Tlepolemus*, a young nobleman of great note in the army for his valour and military prowess and skill; and by a general vote in the grand council appointed him to succeed therein. And accordingly *Sofibius* resigned to him the King's signet, which was the badge of his office, and by virtue hereof *Tlepolemus* managed all the publick affairs of the kingdom during the remainder of the King's life; but in that short time he abundantly shewed, that he was no way equal to the charge he undertook, having neither the experience, craft, nor application of his predecessor to qualify him for it.

IN the mean while *Antiochus* carried on the war against *Euthydemus* in *Bactria*,^p but after his utmost efforts for the dispossessing him of that countrey, finding that he made but little progress herein, by reason of the valour and vigilancy of those he had to deal with, he grew weary of the war; and therefore admitted ambassadors from *Euthydemus* to treat of an accommodation. By them *Euthydemus* complained of the injustice of the war which *Antiochus* had made against him; telling him, that he was not of those that had revolted from him; and that therefore he had not on this account any right of war against him: That the revolt of the *Bactrians* from the *Syrian* empire had been made under the leading of others before his time: That he was possessed of that countrey by having vanquished and driven out the descendants of those revolters; and held it as the just price of his victory over them. He farther ordered it to be suggested to *Antiochus*, that the *Scythians* taking the advantage of the war in which they were now wasting each other, were preparing a great army to invade *Bactria*; and that therefore if they continued any longer their contention about it, a fair opportunity would be given those Barbarians to take it from both. This consideration added to the desire which *Antiochus* afore had to get rid of this tedious and troublesome war, brought him to agree to such terms as produced a peace; for the confirming and ratifying of which *Euthydemus* sent his son to *Antiochus*, who took such liking to the young man, that he gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and for his sake allowed the father to take the title and style of King of *Bactria*. And then having received from him all his elephants (which was one of the terms of the peace) he marched over mount *Caucasus* into *India*, where having renewed his league with *Sophagasenus* the King of that countrey, and received so many elephants from him; as when added to those which he had from *Euthydemus*, made up their number to an hundred and fifty, he marched from thence into *Arachosia*, and from that countrey into *Dran-giana*, and from thence into *Carmania*, settling as he went all those countries in due order under his obedience.

^m Lib. 30. cap. 1.ⁿ Lib. 27.^o Valefii excerpta ex Polybio, lib. 16.^p Polybius, lib. 11. p. 651.

An. 205.
Ptolemy
Philopator 17.

AFTER ^a having wintered in *Carmania* he returned through *Persia*, *Babylonia*, and *Mesopotamia* again unto *Antioch*, after having been seven years absent from thence in this expedition. By the boldness of his attempts, and the wisdom of his conduct through this whole war, he gained the reputation of a very wise and valiant Prince, which made his name terrible through all *Europe*, as well as *Asia*, and thereby he kept all the provinces of his empire in thorough subjection to him; and thus far his actions might well have deserved the name of *the great*, which was given unto him, and he might have carried it with full glory and honour to his grave, but that he unfortunately engaged in a war with the *Romans*. Being blown up with vanity and conceit on the reputation he had gained, he thought none could now stand before him, and this made him project the conquest of *Greece* and *Italy*, but failing in the attempt, he fell low by the ill success of it; and afterwards concluded his reign in a very unfortunate death, as will be hereafter related.

An. 204.
Ptolemy
Epiphanes 1.

HE had not been long returned to *Antioch*, e'er he had an account of the death of *Ptolemy Philopator* King of *Egypt*. This Prince ^r having worn out a very strong body by his intemperance and debaucheries, ended his life, as it usually happens to others in this case, before he had lived out half its course. He was very little above twenty when he first came to the throne, and he sat on it only seventeen years. After him succeeded ^s *Ptolemy Epiphanes* his son, a child of five years old. None but *Agathocles*, *Agathoclea*, and their creatures, being about him at the time of his death, they ^t concealed it as long as they could, and in the interim plundered the palace of all the treasure and riches there left by the deceased King that they could lay their hands upon; and at the same time were framing projects for their continuing in the same power which they had under the deceased King, by usurping the regency during the minority of his successor; and vainly imagining that they could carry this point, if *Tlepolemus* were out of the way, they laid a plot to have him cut off; and therefore when the King's death was known, ^u they called together ^w the *Macedonians* to a general council, and when they were met, *Agathocles* and *Agathoclea* came out to them; and *Agathocles* having the young King in his arms, after much weeping spoke to them. The effect of his speech was to implore their protection for the young King, whom, he said, his father at his death had delivered (pointing at *Agathoclea*) into her hands, and that at the same time he had recommended him to the fidelity of his *Macedonian* subjects, and therefore he implored their aid and assistance against *Tlepolemus*, of whom he told them he had certain information that he was preparing to seize the crown; and then he would have produced several witnesses, whom he had then present, to prove his charge. He foolishly hoped by this weak artifice to have stirred up the *Macedonians* to cut him off, and then to have established himself upon his death in the regency. But the folly of this contrivance being easily seen thorough, it at first provoked the laughter, and afterward the rage of all that heard it; and the ruine of him, and his sister, and all their creatures, followed immediately after.

^a Polybius, ibidem.
Hieronymus, aliique.

^r Justin. lib. 30. cap. 1, & 2.
^t Justin. lib. 30. cap. 2.

^s Ptolem. in canone, Eusebius,
^u Polybius, lib. 15. p. 712, 713.

^w i. e. Those Alexandrians, who were of the Macedonian race, and the descendants of those who were the first founders of Alexandria, or such as had been admitted to their privileges.

For on this occasion all their misdemeanors being called to remembrance, all the people of *Alexandria* arose in a general uproar against them. And therefore having first taken from them the young King, and placed him on the throne in the publick *Hippodrome*, they there brought before him first *Agathocles*, and next *Agathoclea*, and *Oenauthe* their mother, and caused them there, as by the King's order, to be all put to death in his presence; and then proceeded in the same manner against the sisters and kindred of *Agathocles* and *Agathoclea*, and all other their creatures, till they had cut them all off; and such reckonings wicked favourites are often brought to, when deprived of that power whereby they have abused the people. The power alone in this case is apt enough to create envy, but is much more so, when employed for unjust and wicked purposes; the only method to make any one safe in such stations, is to do nothing else in them but what shall be in all times justifiable. About three days before this uproar happen'd, * *Philammon*, who had been employed in the murdering of *Arfinoc*, being come from *Cyrene* to *Alexandria*, the ladies who had been of her attendance hearing of it, took the advantage of this disorder to revenge on him the death of their mistress. For breaking into his house, they fell upon him with stones and clubs, till they had beaten him to death, a punishment which he well deserved, by becoming the instrument of so wicked an act. After this, the guardianship of the young King was for the present committed to the charge of *Sosibius*, the son of that *Sosibius* who had been the ruling minister of the court during the last three reigns. Whether he were then living or no is not said; it's certain he lived to a very great age, his continuance for above sixty years in the ministry is a sufficient instance of it; and for this reason he was called *Ἰπποχρόνιος*, i. e. *the long liver*. And no doubt by the *Sosibius*, who is said in the history of *Aristeas* to be one of the chief promoters of the *Greek* version of the *Hebrew* scriptures, called the *Septuagint*, is meant none other than this *Sosibius* by the writer of that apocryphal book. But whether he were brought so early upon the stage, the distance of the time gives us reason to doubt: For we have placed the making of that version in the year 277, which was seventy one years before the time that he left the ministry. He was ²as crafty and as wicked a minister as ever governed the publick affairs of any kingdom, not caring how wicked and vile any means were, so that they conduced to the effecting of the ends he proposed; which is exactly that scheme of politics which *Machiavel* hath since with a bare face recommended to the world, and so many in our time have practised after him. But that which is most remarkable in this old *Egyptian* politician is, that he continued so long in prosperity, and was permitted at last so easily to retire, which hath scarce ever happen'd to any other that have acted by his principles.

ANTIOCHUS King of *Syria*, and *Philip* King of *Macedon*, thinking to serve themselves of the advantage they had by the death of *Philopator*, and the succession of an infant King after him, ²entered into a league to divide his dominions between them; agreeing that *Philip* should have *Caria*, *Libya*, *Cyrene*, and *Egypt*, and *Antiochus* all the rest. And accordingly *Antiochus* forthwith marched into *Cæle-Syria* and

An. 203.
Ptolemy
Epipha-
nes 2.

* Polybius, ibidem.
Plutarchus in Cleomene.
Justin. lib. 30. cap. 3.

y Valesii excerpta ex Polybio, p. 65.

z Valesii excerpta, ibidem.

a Polybius, lib. 3. p. 159. & lib. 15. p. 707. Livius, lib. 31.

Hieronimus in cap. xi. Danielis.

Palestine; and partly this year, and partly in the next, made himself master of those provinces, and all the several districts and cities in them.

An. 202.
Ptolemy
Epipha-
nes 3.

SCIPIO having beaten *Hannibal* in *Africa*, and thereby put an end to the second *Punic* war with victory and honour, the name of the *Romans* began to be every where of great note; and therefore the *Egyptian* court finding themselves much distressed by the league made between *Philip* and *Antiochus* against their infant King, and the usurpations which had thereon been made by them on his provinces, ^b sent an embassy to *Rome* to pray their protection, offering them the guardianship of their King, and the regency of his dominions during his minority; and to induce them to accept hereof alledged, that the deceased King had recommended both to them at his death. The *Romans* thinking this would enlarge their fame, complied with what was desired, and took on them the tuition of the young King.

THIS year being the 3560th year of the *Jewish* æra of the creation, ^c the writers of that nation tell us, that *Joshua* the son of *Perachia* was admitted president of the Sanhedrim, and *Nathan* the *Arbelite* his vice-president, and that both together had the charge of being rectors of the divinity school at *Jerusalem*. They tell us nothing in particular of the latter, neither is what they say of the other consisting with the time in which they place him, or of any truth as to the matters related. For they tell us of him, that when *Alexander* the *Asmonean* King of *Judæa* slew the doctors of the law at *Jerusalem*, for telling him that he ought to be contented with the Crown, and not hold that and the High-priesthood together, *Joshua* then escaping from his wrath, fled into *Egypt*; and that *Jesus Christ* being his scholar, accompanied him thither. But the year of the *Jewish* æra above mentioned, under which they place the first entering of this *Joshua* on his presidency, was two hundred years before *Christ's* birth, and many years also before the reign of *Alexander* the *Asmonean* in *Judæa*; but to be out two or three hundred years in their chronology is nothing with the *Jews*. They are certainly the worst historians, and the worst accounters of times, that ever pretended to be either.

An. 201.
Ptolemy
Epipha-
nes 4.

THE *Romans* having complied with the request of the *Egyptian* embassy to them, which I have mentioned, ^d sent three ambassadors to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, and *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, to let them know, that they had taken on them the tuition of *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt* during his nonage; and to require them, that they therefore desist from invading the dominions of their pupil; and that otherwise they should be obliged to make war upon them for his protection. After they had delivered this embassy to both Kings, ^e *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, who was one of them, according to the instructions he had received from the senate at his first setting out, went to *Alexandria* to take on him in their name the tuition of the young King; where having regulated his affairs, as well as the then circumstances of them would admit, he appointed ^f *Aristomenes* an *Acaranian* to be his guardian, and chief minister, and then returned again to *Rome*. This *Aristomenes* ^g was an old experienced minister of that court, who had long been conversant in all the affairs of it; and having undertaken this charge, he managed it with great prudence and fidelity.

^b Justin. lib. 30. c. 2.
[†] id. Shalsheleth Haccabalah.
Valerius Maximus, lib. 6. cap. 6.

^c R. Abraham Zacutus in Juchasin. David Ganz in Zemach David.
^d Livius, lib. 31. Justin. lib. 30. cap. 3.
^e Justin. ibidem.
^f Polybius, lib. 15. p. 717.

THE first thing that he did was to provide against the invasions of the two confederated Kings; in order whereto he took care to recruit the army with the best soldiers he could get; for which purpose ⁸ he sent *Scopas* into *Ætolia* with vast sums of money to raise as many men there as he could, they being then reputed the best soldiers of the age. This *Scopas* had formerly been the chief governor of that countrey, and was a person of great note in his time for his military skill and prowess; when the time of his ministry was expired, and he missed of being continued in it as he desired, he left *Ætolia*, and went into the service of the King of *Egypt*; and being employed to make this levy, he brought to him from *Ætolia* six thousand stout men, which was a very considerable reinforcement to the army.

An. 200.
Ptolemy
Epipha-
nes 5.

AT this time *Antiochus* having passed into *lesser Asia*, and there engaged himself in a war with *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, the ministry at *Alexandria* took the advantage hereof to send *Scopas* with an army into *Palestine* and *Cæle-Syria* for the recovery of those provinces; where ^h he managed the war with that success, that he took several cities, and reduced all *Judæa* by force, and put a garrison into the castle at *Jerusalem*; and on the approach of winter, returned to *Alexandria* with full honour for the victories he had obtained, and with as great riches, which he had gathered from the plunder of the countrey. But it soon appeared, that his successes this campaign were mostly owing to the absence of *Antiochus*, and the want of that opposition thereon, which otherwise would have been made against him.

An. 199.
Ptolemy
Epipha-
nes 6.

FOR after *Antiochus* ⁱ had on the interposition of the *Romans* desisted from his war against *Attalus*, and was come in person into *Cæle-Syria*, this soon turned the scales, and brought the victory absolutely over on the other side. For altho' *Scopas* came again with a great army into those parts, yet being encounter'd by *Antiochus* at *Paneas* near the fountains of the river *Jordan*, he was ^k there overthrown with a great slaughter, and forced to flee to *Sidon*; where being shut up with ten thousand of his men, he was there besieged by *Antiochus*, till at length he was forced by famine to surrender on terms of life only, and he and his men were sent thence stripp'd and naked. The regency at *Alexandria* were not wanting to do the utmost for his relief; for on their hearing of his being besieged in *Sidon*, they sent three of their best generals with the best of their forces to raise the siege. But *Antiochus* having disposed all matters so, that they could find no way to effect it, *Scopas* and his men were forced to submit to the dishonourable conditions I have mentioned, and to return to *Alexandria*, to be there provided with new cloaths, and new arms, for future service.

An. 198.
Ptolemy
Epipha-
nes 7.

AFTER this *Antiochus* ^l marched to *Gaza*, and finding there a resistance that provoked his anger, he gave up the place, when taken, to be plunder'd and ravag'd by his soldiers; and then having secur'd the passes there against the march of any new forces out of *Egypt* to disturb him in his conquests, he marched back ^m and took in *Betanea*, *Samaria*, *Abila*, *Gadara*, and all other the remaining parts of *Palestine* and *Cæle-Syria*,

⁸ Livius, lib. 31.

^h Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3.

ⁱ Livius, lib. 32.

^k Valesii excerpta ex Polybio, p. 77, 78, &c. Hieronymus in cap. xi.

Danielis. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3.

^l Valesii excerpta ex Polybio, p. 87.

^m Josephus ibidem.

and made himself wholly masterⁿ both of the countries and all the cities in them.

THE *Jews* were at this time very much alienated in their affections from the *Egyptian* King; whether it were by reason of the former ill treatment of their nation by his father, or for some fresher ill usage they had received, is not said. It's most likely it was because of the ravages and robberies of *Scopas*, on his taking *Jerusalem* the former year; for he was^o a very covetous and rapacious man, laying his hands every where on all that he could get. And therefore on *Antiochus's* marching that way, ^p they willingly render'd all places unto him; and on his coming to *Jerusalem*, the priests and elders went out in a solemn procession to meet him, and received him with gladness, and entertained him and all his army in their city, provided for his horses and elephants, and assisted him with their arms for the reducing of the castle, where *Scopas* had left a garrison. In acknowledgment hereof *Antiochus*, ^q in a decree directed to *Ptolemy*, one of his lieutenants, granted them many privileges and favours; and in another decree published in their favour, he particularly ordained, that ^r no stranger should enter within the ^s *Sept* of the temple; which seems to have been provided against, with respect to the attempt which *Philopator* made to put a force upon them as to this matter; and which, I doubt not, was no small part of the reason that made them so disaffected to the *Egyptian* cause, contrary to their former inclinations towards it. And it is to be remarked, that *Antiochus* by former favours granted by him to their brethren, who were settled in *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia*, had declared himself a friend to their nation in such a manner, as had made them much more desirous of having him for their sovereign, than the *Egyptian* King, who had used them ill; and therefore they gladly laid hold of this opportunity to revolt from him. For *Antiochus*, in his eastern expeditions, having found the *Jews* of *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia* very serviceable to him, and very steady to his interest, entertained a great opinion of their fidelity to him. And therefore^s on some commotions that happen'd in *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, by a decree directed to *Zeuxis*, an old commander of his, and then his lieutenant in those provinces, he ordered two thousand families of the *Jews* of *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia* to be sent thither for the suppressing of those seditions, and the keeping of those parts in quiet; commanding that they and all that they had should be transported thither at the King's charges; and that on their arrival thither they should be placed in the strongest fortresses for guards of the countrey, and have lands and possessions there divided out unto them for a plentiful subsistence; and that till they should receive the fruits of those lands, they should be maintained out of the King's stores. All which was a great argument of the opinion he had of their fidelity, and of the confidence which on the account hereof he placed in them. And from those *Jews*, who were on this occasion transplanted from *Babylonia* into those parts, were descended most of the *Jews* whom we find afterwards scattered in great numbers all over the *lesser Asia*, especially in the times of the first preaching of the Gospel.

ⁿ Justin. lib. 31. cap. 1. Livius, lib. 33. Polybius Legat. 72. p. 893.

^o Polybius, lib. 17. p. 773.

^p Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3.

^q Josephus ibidem.

^r i. e. *Within the Sept called the Chel, within which no uncircumcised person was to pass.* See Lightfoot of the temple, chap. xvii.

^s Josephus antiq. lib. 12. c. 3.

ANTIOCHUS having thus brought all *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine* in subjection to him, projected the doing of the same in *lesser Asia*, his grand aim being to restore the *Syrian* empire to the full extent, in which it had been held by any of his ancestors, especially by *Seleucus Nicator* the founder of it. But to quiet the *Egyptians*, that they might not renew the war in *Palestine* and *Cæle-Syria* in his absence, he sent ^t *Eucles* of *Rhodes* to *Alexandria*, with proposals of a marriage between *Cleopatra* his daughter, and King *Ptolemy*, to be consummated as soon as they should be of an age fit for it, promising the restoration of those provinces on the day of the nuptials by way of dower with the young Princess; which offer being accepted of, and the contract fully agreed to on these terms, the *Egyptians* acquiesced in *Antiochus's* engagements for the performance of them, and no more renewed the war upon him, but left him wholly free to pursue his other designs. This *Jerome* ^t tells us was done in the seventh year of the reign of *Epiphanes*.

ANTIOCHUS therefore having thus secured all in peace behind him, An. 197. Ptolemy Epiphanes 8. early the next spring ^u did set forward with a great fleet for the carrying on of his designs upon *lesser Asia*; and at the same time sent thither *Artydes* and *Mitbridates*, two of his sons, with a great army by land, ordering them to march to *Sardis*, and there tarry his coming to them. At this time *T. Quintius Flaminius* the *Roman* general was in *Greece* with a great army making war with *Philip* King of *Macedon*. *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* and the *Rhodians* were confederates with the *Romans* in this war; and *Antiochus* having been in league with King *Philip* ever since the death of *Ptolemy Philopator*, was well understood to have come into those parts to give him all the assistance he was able. Thus stood the state of affairs in those parts, when *Antiochus* first set out on this expedition. But he had not proceeded far in it, before they received a considerable change in two particulars; that is, in the death of *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, and the overthrow of *Philip* King of *Macedon* by the *Romans*.

For ^w *Attalus* having at *Thebes* made an oration to the *Bæotians* to persuade them to join with the *Romans* against *Philip*, spoke it with that vehemence, that his soul in a manner expiring with his voice, he swooned away, and fell down as dead in the middle of it; and after this having lain sick a while at *Thebes*, he was carried to *Pergamus*, and there died, after having ^x lived seventy two years, and reigned forty four. He having left behind him four sons, *Eumenes*, *Attalus*, *Philetærus*, and *Attenæus*; *Eumenes* the eldest of them succeeded him in his throne, and was ^y the founder of the famous library that was at *Pergamus*. His three brothers carried it with that fidelity to him, and he with that affection to them, that they seemed all of them to have one and the same interest; and continuing in this concord and unanimity all their life after, ^z they became a rare example of brotherly love to each other.

As to *Philip* King of *Macedon*, ^a he having come to a battle with the *Romans* at a place called *Cynocephalus* in *Thessaly*, was there overthrown

^t Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis.

^u Livius, lib. 33.

^w Livius, lib. 33. Polybius

Legat. 25, p. 820. Plutarchus in T. Quintio Flamini.

^x Polybius in excerptis Valesii, p. 102.

Livius, lib. 33. Suidas in voce *Ἀττάλῃς*.

^y Plinius, lib. 13. cap. 11.

^z Plutarchus in

φιλαδέλφειας. Excerpta Valesii ex Polybio, p. 168. Suidas in voce *Ἀττάλῃς*.

^a Plutarchus in

T. Quintio Flamini, Livius, lib. 33.

with the loss of eight thousand men slain, and five thousand taken prisoners; whereon being brought to distress he sued for peace, which was granted him ^b barely on this consideration, that the *Romans* understanding that *Antiochus* was coming into those parts with great forces, both by sea and land, they might not have to do with two such potent and warlike Princes at the same time.

IN the interim *Antiochus* ^c having with his fleet sailed along the coasts of *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, and *Caria*, took in a great many of the maritime cities of those provinces, and the islands adjoining; and at length coming round to *Ephesus*, seized that city, and there set up for his winter quarters, spending the remainder of the year in projecting and concerting those measures which might be most proper for the accomplishing of the designs that brought him into those parts. But ^d *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, and other *Greek* cities in *Asia*, which then enjoyed their liberties, finding his scheme was to reduce them all to be in the same subjection to him as they had formerly been to his ancestors, resolved to stand out against him, and sent to the *Romans* for their protection, which they readily undertook in their behalf. For they being resolved to put a stop to *Antiochus's* farther progress westward, as fearing to what the power of so great a King might grow, should he establish himself in those parts of *Asia*, according to his designs, gladly laid hold of this opportunity to oppose themselves against him; and therefore forthwith sent ambassadors to him to require of him, that he should restore to King *Ptolemy* all the cities of the *lesser Asia* that he had taken from him; that he should quit those that had been King *Philip's*; and that he should permit all the *Grecian* cities in those parts to enjoy their liberties, and not pass into *Europe*; and to declare, that in case they had not satisfaction in all these particulars, they would make war against him.

An. 196.
Ptolemy
Epipha-
nes 9.

BUT before these ambassadors came to him, ^e he had caused one part of his forces to lay siege to *Smyrna*, and another to *Lampsacus*, and with the rest he passed over the *Hellepont*, and seized all the *Thracian Chersonesus*; where finding the city *Lysimachia* (which lay in the neck of the *Isthmus* leading into that *Chersonesus* or *Peninsula*) lying in its ruins (it having a few years before been reduced to this condition by the *Thracians*) he set himself to rebuild it, designing there to lay the foundation of a kingdom for *Seleucus* his second son, and subject the neighbouring countrey to him, and make this the prime seat for his residence. While he was busying himself in these projects, ^f the ambassadors sent to him from *Rome* came into *Thrace*, and finding him at *Selymbria*, a city of that countrey, they there had audience of him, and communicated their commission to him. On their debating with him the particulars of it, which are above mentioned, the *Romans* argued how unreasonable a thing it was, that when they had vanquished King *Philip*, *Antiochus* should reap the fruits of their victory, by seizing his cities in *Asia*: That they having undertaken the guardianship of King *Ptolemy*, during his minority, it was incumbent on them to demand restitution of all those cities that were taken from him; and that they having decreed the restoration of all the *Greek* cities to their liberties,

^b Polybius Legat. 6. p. 792.

^c Livius, lib. 33. Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis.

^d Livius, ibidem. Appianus in Syriacis.

^e Livius & Appianus, ibidem.

^f Polybius, lib. 17. p. 769. & Legat. 10. p. 800. Livius & Appianus, ibidem.

it became them to see that what they had decreed should be made good: That they required his not passing into *Europe*; because they could not see with what other intent he should make that passage, and now build *Lysimachia* on that side, as they found him then a doing, than to be as a step to a farther war, which must light upon them. To this *Antiochus* answered, that as to *Ptolemy* full satisfaction would be given him on that King's marrying his daughter, which was then agreed on: That as to the *Greek* cities, he intended them their freedom, but that they should owe it to him, and not to the *Romans*: That as to *Lysimachia*, he built it to be a residence for his son *Seleucus*: That *Thrace*, and the *Chersonesus* as a part of it, belonged all to him: as having been conquered by *Seleucus Nicator* his ancestor, on his vanquishing of *Lysimachus*; and therefore he passed over into it as his just inheritance. As to *Asia*, and the cities in it, he told them that they had no more to do there than he had in *Italy*; and that since he meddled not with any of the affairs of the latter, he wondred that they concerned themselves with what was done in the former. Hereon the *Romans* having desired, that the ambassadors from *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus* might be called in, and they, on their being admitted, having spoken very freely as to their cause, *Antiochus* could not bear it, but fell into a passion, and cried out, that the *Romans* were not to be his judges in these matters; whereon the assembly broke up in confusion, and no satisfaction was given on either side, but all things tended towards a breach between them.

WHILE these matters were thus treating of, there came ^s a rumour that *Ptolemy Epiphanes* was dead in *Egypt*; whereon *Antiochus* reckoning *Egypt* to be his own, made haste on board his fleet to sail thither to take possession of it; and having left *Seleucus* his son with his army at *Lysimachia*, to finish what was there intended, he first called in at *Ephesus*, and having joined to his fleet such other ships as he had in that port, from thence made all the sail he could for *Egypt*; but on his arrival at *Patera* in *Lycia*, finding the report of *Ptolemy's* death to be there upon good evidence contradicted, instead of steering for *Egypt*, he shaped his course directly for *Cyprus*, purposing to seize that island; but in his way thither meeting with a violent storm, in which he lost a great many of his ships and men, he was glad, after having gathered up the remainders of this ruinous wreck, to put in at *Seleucia* to repair his shatter'd ships; and then winter'd at *Antioch*, without doing any thing more this year.

THAT which occasioned the rumour of *Ptolemy's* death, was a treasonable plot then laid against his life; which being first supposed, was afterwards reported to have taken effect. *Scopas* the *Ætolian* was the author of this conspiracy; ^h who being general of the mercenaries, most of which were *Ætolians*, and by virtue of that command having under him a numerous and strong band of veteran soldiers, thought he had hereby an advantage now in the infancy of the King to make himself master of *Egypt*, and usurp the sovereignty over it. And accordingly he had formed his scheme for the attempt, and no doubt he would have succeeded in it, had he executed his treason with the same boldness and resolution as he first contriv'd it. But altho' he were a very valiant man, yet when it came to the point of

^s Appianus in Syriacis. Livius, lib. 33. cerpta, p. 61.

^h Polybins, lib. 17. p. 771, 772. Valefi ex-

execution, his heart failing him, and instead of immediately falling on, as such a desperate case required, he sat at home consulting and debating with his friends and partisans, how best to manage the matter; and while he was thus doubting and delaying the opportunity was lost. For *Aristomenes* the chief minister having in the interim gotten information of the whole matter, took such care to prevent it, that *Scopas* was seized, and being brought before the council, was there convicted of the treason; and thereon he, and all his accomplices, were put to death for it. And as to the rest of his *Ætolians*, they having on this occasion forfeited the confidence which the government had before in them, were most of them hereon cashier'd out of the King's service, and sent home into their own country. Thus ended the treason of *Scopas*, and he is not the only villain, that having with great resolution enter'd on wicked designs, hath failed of courage at the time of execution, and defeated his own treason for want of it. For few men are so entirely wicked, as to be thorough proof against that horror and confusion of mind, which very wicked actions usually create whenever they come to be executed. At his death he was found possessed of vast riches, which he had gotten in the King's service, by plundering those countries where he commanded as general. And he having, while he was victorious in *Palestine*, recovered *Judæa* and *Jerusalem* to the King of *Egypt*, no doubt a great part of his plunder was gotten from thence. One of the chiefest of his accomplices in this treason was *Dicæarchus*,ⁱ who had formerly been admiral under *Philip* King of *Macedon*; and being sent by him to make war upon the *Cyclades* on a very unjust and wicked account, to shew how little he regarded either piety or justice, before he sailed out of the port on that expedition, he erected two altars, one to iniquity, and the other to impiety, and sacrificed on them both. And do not all else do the same, who engage in such horrid designs of assassination and treason as that was in which this man perished? He having so signally distinguished himself by his wickedness, *Aristomenes* very justly distinguished him from all the rest of the conspirators in his punishment; for all the others he poisoned, but him he tormented to death.

WHEN this conspiracy was fully master'd, ^k the King being now fourteen years old, was, according to the usage of that country, declared to be out of his minority, and his inthronization (which the *Alexandrians* called his *Anaclateria*) was celebrated with great pomp and solemnity; and hereby the government was put into his hands, and he actually admitted to the administration of it. And as long as he managed it by *Aristomenes* his former minister, all things went well. But when he grew weary of that able and faithful servant, and put him to death to get rid of him, the remainder of his reign was all turned into disorder and confusion, and his kingdom suffered the same, or rather more by it, than in the worst times of his father.

An. 195.
Ptolemy
Epipha-
nes 10.

EARLY the next spring *Antiochus* set out from *Antioch* to return to *Ephesus*. He was no sooner gone, ^l but *Hannibal* came thither to put himself under his protection. He had lived six years quietly at *Carthage* since the late peace with the *Romans*; but being now under a suspicion of holding secret correspondence with *Antiochus*, and plotting with him for the

ⁱ Polybius, lib. 17. p. 772.

^k Polybius, lib. 17. p. 773.

^l Cornelius Nepos in Hannibale. Livius, lib. 33. Appianus in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 31. cap. 2, & 3.

bringing of a new war upon *Italy*, and some that maligned him at home having sent to *Rome* clandestine informations to this effect, the *Romans* sent ambassadors to *Carthage* to make inquiry into the matter, and to demand *Hannibal* to be deliver'd to them, if they found reason for it. *Hannibal* hearing of their arrival, suspected their business, and therefore before they had time to deliver their message, got privately away to the sea shore, and putting himself on board a ship, which he had there ready provided, escaped to *Tyre*, and from thence went to *Antioch*, hoping to find *Antiochus* there. But he being gone for *Ephesus* before his arrival, he made thither after him. *Antiochus* was there at that time in debate with himself on the point of making war with the *Romans*, being very doubtful and fluctuating in his mind, whether he should enter on it or no. But *Hannibal's* coming to him soon determined his resolutions for the war, he being hereon excited to it, not only by the arguments which this great adversary of the *Romans* pressed upon him for it, but especially because of the opinion he had of the man. For he having often vanquished the *Romans*, and thereby justly acquired the reputation of having exceeded all other generals in military skill, this created in *Antiochus* a confidence of being able to do all things with him on his side. And therefore thinking of nothing thenceforth but of victories and conquests, he became fixed for the war; and all this year and the next were spent in making preparations for it. In the mean time however ambassadors were sent from both sides on pretence of accommodating matters, but in reality only to spy out and discover what each other was a doing.

THIS year *Simon* the High-priest of the *Jews* being dead, ^m his eldest son *Onias*, the third of that name, succeeded in his stead, and held that office, reckoning it to the time of his death, twenty four years; he had the character of a very worthy good man, but falling into ill times, he perished in them in the manner as will be hereafter related.

ABOUT this time died ⁿ *Eratosthenes*, the second library-keeper at *Alexandria*, being eighty two years old at the time of his death, and was ^o succeeded in his office by *Apollonius Rhodius* the author of the *Argonautics*. This *Apollonius* had been a scholar of *Callimachus*, but having afterwards very much offended him, ^p *Callimachus* wrote a very bitter invective against him, which he called *Ibis*, from the name of a bird in *Egypt* which used to foul his bill by cleansing his breech; intimating thereby, as if the offence given him by his scholar was by foul words against him, and that he therefore gave him this name, to express thereby that he was a foul-mouth'd person. Hence *Ovid*, writing an invective against one that had in like manner offended him, calls him in imitation of *Callimachus* by the same name of *Ibis*. Altho' this *Apollonius* was called *Rhodius*, ^q it was only for that he had long lived at *Rhodes*, not that he was born there; for he was a native of *Alexandria*, and there at length he ended his days, being called thither from *Rhodes* to take upon him this office in the King's library.

^m Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 4. Eusebius in chronico. Chronicon Alexandrinum.

ⁿ Lucianus in Macrobiis. ^o Suidas in Ἀπολλώνιῳ. ^p Suidas in Καλλίμαχῳ.

^q Anonymus vitæ Apollonii Rhodii scriptor.

An. 193.
Ptolemy
Epipha-
nes 12.

ANTIOCHUS being eagerly set in his mind for a war with the *Romans*, after having made the preparations I have mentioned, he endeavour-
ed farther to strengthen himself by making alliances with the neighbouring
Princes. To this intent he ^r went to *Raphia*, the place in the confines of
Palestine and *Egypt*, which hath been above mentioned, and there mar-
ried his daughter *Cleopatra* to King *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, agreeing to give
with her by way of dower the provinces of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, ^s up-
on the terms of sharing the revenues equally between them, according as
had been before promised. And on his return from thence to *Antioch*,
he ^t married *Antiochis*, another of his daughters, to *Ariarathes* King of
Cappadocia, and ^u would have given a third to *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*.
But that King refused his alliance contrary to the opinion of his three bro-
thers: For they thought it would be a great strengthning of his interest to
be son-in-law to so great a King, and therefore advised him to it. But
Eumenes soon convinced them, by the reasons which he gave for the re-
fusal, that he had much better considered the matter. For he told them,
that if he married *Antiochus's* daughter, he should be obliged thereby to
engage with him in his war against the *Romans*, which he saw he was at
that time entering on; and then if the *Romans* were conquerors, as he
had reason to think they would, he must partake of the misfortunes of the
conquered, and be undone by it. And on the other hand, if *Antiochus*
should have the better, he should have no other advantage by it, but under
the notion of being his son-in-law the easier to become his slave. For
whenever he should gain the upper-hand in the war, all *Asia* must truckle to
him, and every Prince therein become his homager; that much better
terms were to be expected from the *Romans*, and that therefore he would
stick to them; and the event sufficiently proved the wisdom of his choice.

An. 192.
Ptolemy
Epipha-
nes 13.

AFTER these marriages were over, *Antiochus* hasten'd again into *lesser*
Asia, and ^w came to *Ephesus* in the depth of the winter. From thence in
the beginning of the spring he marched against the *Pisidians*, who stood
out against him; but he had not long been engaged in this war, ^x e'er he
had the news of the death of *Antiochus*, his eldest son. This brought him
back again to *Ephesus*, there to mourn for this loss; and a great shew of
sorrow was there made by him on this account. But it was commonly
said that it was all shew only; that ^y in reality he himself procured his son's
death, and made him fall a sacrifice to his jealousy. For he was a Prince
of great hopes, and had given such proofs of his wisdom, goodness, and
other royal virtues, that he became the idol of all that knew him. This they
say made the old King jealous of him, and therefore on his last arrival at
Ephesus having sent him back into *Syria*, on pretence that he might there
take care of the eastern provinces, caused poison to be there given him
by some of the eunuchs of the court, and so did rid himself of him. But
scarce any Prince hath died an untimely death, whose life was desirable, but
suspicions have been raised, and rumours spread about of poison, or some
other violence for the cause of it; and perchance such a bare suspicion was
all that was in this case.

^r Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis. Livius, lib. 35. Appian. in Syriacis. ^s Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3. ^t Appianus in Syriacis. ^u Appianus, ibid. Polybius Legat. 25. p. 820. Livius, lib. 37. ^w Livius, lib. 35. ^x Livius, ibidem. Appianus in Syriacis. ^y Livius, lib. 35.

As soon as the solemnity of this mourning was somewhat over, and *Antiochus* began again to betake himself to business, great² consultation was had between him and those of his council about his passing into *Greece*, and there beginning the war which he had resolved on with the *Romans*. *Hannibal*, who was for making *Italy*, and not *Greece*, the seat of the war, was not called to any of these councils: For being then under suspicion with *Antiochus*, he had no more of his confidence. This was effected by the craft of *Publius Villius*, who thereby over-reached the craftiest and the most cautious of men. For^a this *Villius* being ambassador from the *Romans* to *Antiochus*, took all opportunities to converse with *Hannibal*. This had the effect he intended, which was to bring him into suspicion with *Antiochus*; and hereon his counsel being no more regarded, *Greece* was made the seat of the war, and not *Italy*, as he advised. This saved *Italy* from having *Hannibal* again with another war in its bowels, which might have been as dangerous to the *Roman* state, as when he was there in the former war.

BUT that which pinn'd down his resolution for the beginning of the war in *Greece*, was an embassy from the *Ætolians* to invite him thither. The *Ætolians*, from being late confederates of the *Romans*, being now on some disgust become their enemies^b, sent this embassy to *Antiochus* to draw him into *Greece* against them, not only promising him the assistance of all their forces, but also giving him assurances, that he might depend on the joining of *Philip* King of *Macedonia*, *Nabis* King of *Lacedemonia*, and other of the *Grecian* principalities and states with him; who having conceived, as they told him, great enmity against the *Romans*, waited only his coming to declare against them. *Thoas*, who was at the head of this embassy, pressed all this upon him with great earnestness, telling him, that the *Romans* being gone home with their army, had left *Greece* empty; that now was the time for him to take possession of it; that if he laid hold of this opportunity, he would find all things as it were prepared for the putting of the whole countrey into his hands; and that he had nothing more to do, but to come over thither to make himself master of it. Which representation prevailed so far with him, that he immediately passed over into *Greece*, and thereby rashly precipitated himself into a war with the *Romans*, without duly concerting the measures proper for such an undertaking, or carrying a sufficient number of men with him to support it. For he left *Lampsacus*, *Troas*, and *Smyrna*, three powerful cities in *Asia*, behind him un-reduced; and his forces that were coming to him from *Syria* and the eastern countries, having not yet reached him, he passed over with no more than ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse, which were scarce enough to take possession of the countrey were it wholly naked, and he to have no war with the *Romans* in it. With these forces he arrived in the island of *Eubæa* about the end of the summer, and from thence passed to *Demetrias*, a town in *Thessaly*, where he called all his officers and chief commanders of his army together, ^c to consult with them about the future operations of the war; and *Hannibal* being again restored to the King's

² Livius, lib. 35. Appianus in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 31. cap. 4. ^a Julius Frontinus Strategem. lib. 1. cap. 8. Livius, lib. 34, & 35. Justin. & Appianus, ibidem. ^b Justin. lib. 30. cap. 4. & lib. 32. cap. 1. Appian. in Syriacis. Polybius, lib. 3. p. 159. Livius, lib. 36. ^c Livius, lib. 36. Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 31. cap. 5, & 6.

favour and confidence, had his place among them; and being asked his opinion in the first place, he insisted on what he had often declared, that the *Romans* were not to be overcome but in *Italy*; and that therefore it had been his constant advice to begin the war there: But since other measures had been taken, and the King was then in *Greece*, there to begin the war, his advice in the present state of affairs was, that the King should immediately send for all his other forces out of *Asia*, without depending any longer either on the *Ætolians*, or other *Grecian* confederates, who he foresaw would deceive him; and that as soon as they were arrived, he should march with them towards those coasts of *Greece* that were over against *Italy*, and there have his fleet with him on the same coasts; one half of which he advised should be employed to ravage and alarm the coasts of *Italy*, and the other half kept in some port near him to make a shew of his passing over, and accordingly to be ready to pass over for the taking of all such advantages as occasions might offer. This he said would keep the *Romans* at home to defend their own coasts, and would be the properest method which could then be taken, of carrying the war into *Italy*, where alone (he persisted) the *Romans* could be conquered. And this was the best advice which could then be given *Antiochus*; but he followed it only in that particular which related to the fetching over his forces out of *Asia*: For he immediately sent to *Polyxenidas* his admiral to transport them into *Greece*. But as to all other particulars, his courtiers and flatterers diverted him from hearkning to them. They blew him up into a conceit, that victory was certain on his side; that if he made his way to it by the methods which *Hannibal* had advised, then he, as the adviser and director, would have the glory of it, which the King ought to reserve wholly to himself; and therefore they advised him to follow his own counsels, without hearkning any more to that *Carthaginian*. After this^d the King went to *Lamia*, and there being invested with the chief command of *Ætolians*, and having received thereon the applause and acclamations of that people, he returned to *Eubœa*, and having made himself master of *Chalcis* in that island, there took up his winter quarters for the ensuing winter. In the interim *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* sent *Attalus* his brother to *Rome*, to acquaint the senate of *Antiochus's* passage into *Greece*; whereon they immediately prepared for the war, and sent *Acilius Glabrio* their consul into *Greece* with an army for the managing of it.

Ar. 191.
Ptolemy
Epipha-
nes 14.

ANTIOCHUS, while he lay in his winter quarters, ^e fell in love with the daughter of his host in whose house he lodged; and although now past fifty, was so desperately enamour'd of this young girl, who was under twenty, that nothing could satisfy him but he must marry her; and thereon he spent the remaining part of the winter in nuptial feastings, and in love dalliances with his new bride, instead of making those preparations which were necessary for the carrying on of that dangerous war he was then engaged in; which created a great loose and thorough relaxation of discipline in all else about him, till at length he ^f was roused up by the news, that *Acilius* the *Roman* consul was on a full march into *Theffaly* against him.

^d Livius, lib. 35.

^e Livius, lib. 36. Appianus in Syriacis. Athenæus, lib. 10. c. 13. Excerpta Valerii, p. 297. & 609. Plutarchus in Philopœmene.

^f Plutarchus in M. Catone.

Appian. in Syriacis. Livius, lib. 36. Athenæus, lib. 10, cap. 12. Frontinus Stratagem. lib. 2. cap. 4. Tullius de senectute.

All that he could do on this alarm ^s was to seize the streights of *Thermopylae*, and send to the *Ætolians* for more forces. For *Polyxenidas* having not been able to transport his *Asian* forces, by reason of contrary winds and ill weather, he had no other forces then with him, but those whom he first brought over. But before any of the *Ætolians* could come to him, ^s *Cato*, one of the *Roman* generals then with the consul, having with a strong detachment gotten over the mountains by the same path in which *Xerxes*, and after him *Brennus*, had formerly forced a passage over them, his men seeing themselves hereby ready to be encompassed, threw down their arms and fled; whereon being pursued by the *Romans*, they were all cut in pieces, excepting only five hundred, with whom *Antiochus* made his escape to *Chalcis*: On his arrival thither he made all the haste he could from thence to his fleet, and having gotten on board it with this poor remainder of his forces, passed over to *Ephesus*, carrying with him his new married wife; and there thinking himself safe from the *Romans*, neglected every thing that might make him so, and again relapsed into his former dotage on that woman, indulging himself in it to a total neglect of all his affairs, till at length ^h *Hannibal* roused him out of it by laying before him his danger, and representing to him what was necessary for him forthwith to do for the securing of himself from it. Hereon he sent to hasten the march of those forces from the eastern provinces, which were not yet arrived, and having fitted out his fleet, sailed with it to the *Thracian Chersonesus*, and having there reinforced *Lyfimachia*, and farther fortify'd and strengthen'd *Sestus*, and *Abydus*, and all other places thereabout, for the hindring of the *Romans* from passing the *Hellepont* into *Asia*, he returned again to *Ephesus*; where in a grand council it being resolved to try their fortune by sea, ⁱ *Polyxenidas*, *Antiochus's* admiral, was ordered out with the fleet to fight *C. Livius* the *Roman* admiral, then newly come into the *Ægean* sea. Near mount *Corycus* in *Ionis* both fleets meeting, a sharp fight ensued between them, wherein *Polyxenidas* being beaten, with the loss of ten ships sunk, and thirteen taken, was forced to retire with the remainder to *Ephesus*; and the *Romans* putting in at *Canæ*, a port in *Æolis*, did there set up their fleet for the ensuing winter, fortifying the place, where they drew it to land, with a ditch and a rampart.

IN the interim *Antiochus* was at *Magnesia*, busying himself in drawing together his land-army. On ^k his hearing of this defeat of his fleet at *Corycus*, he hasten'd to the sea coasts, and applied himself with his utmost care to repair the loss, and set out a new fleet, that might keep the mastery of those seas; in order whereto he refitted those ships that had escaped from the late defeat, added others to them, and sent *Hannibal* into *Syria* to bring from thence the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* fleets for their reinforcement. And then having ordered *Seleucus* his son with one part of the army into *Æolis* to watch the *Roman* fleet, and keep all there in subjection to him, he with the rest took up his quarters in *Phrygia* for the ensuing winter.

^s Plutarchus in M. Catone. Appian. in Syriacis. Livius, lib. 36. Athenæus, lib. 10. cap. 12. Frontinus Stratagem. lib. 2. cap. 4. Tullius de senectute. ^h Appian. in Syriacis. Livius, Lib. 36. ⁱ Livius & Appianus ibidem. ^k Livius, lib. 36, & 37, Appianus in Syriacis.

An. 190.
Ptolemy
Epipha-
nes 15.

THE next year the ¹*Romans* sent *Lucius Scipio* their consul, and *Scipio Africanus* his brother as his lieutenant, to carry on the war against *Antiochus* by land in the place of *Acilius Glabrio*, and *L. Æmilius Rhegellus* to command their fleet at sea in the place of *C. Livius*.

IN the beginning of the year ^m*Polyxenidas*, *Antiochus's* admiral, having by a stratagem over-reached *Pausistratus*, who commanded the *Rhodian* fleet, that was sent to the assistance of the *Romans*, surprized him in the port of *Samos*, and there destroyed twenty nine of his ships, and him with them. But the *Rhodians*, instead of being discouraged by this loss, were enraged for the revenging of it, and immediately set out another fleet more powerful than the former, with which, in conjunction with *Æmilius* the *Roman* admiral, they sailed to ⁿ*Elea*, and there relieved *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, when almost swallowed up by *Antiochus*, and afterward being sent to meet *Hannibal* on his coming with the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* fleet to the King, ^o they alone encounter'd him on the coasts of *Pamphylia*, and by the goodness of their ships, and the skilfulness of their marines, overthrew that great warrior; and having driven him into port, there pent him up, so that he could stir no farther for the assistance of the King.

ANTIOCHUS hearing of this defeat, and at the same time having received an account, that the *Roman* consul was with a great army on his full march thro' *Macedonia*, in order to pass the *Hellepont* into *Asia*, ^p he could think of no better course for the hindring of his passage, and the keeping of the war out of *Asia*, than to recover again the mastery of the seas, which he had in a great measure lost by the two late defeats: For then he might have his fleets at leisure and in full power to cut off all possibility of passing an army into *Asia* either by the *Hellepont* or any other way. And therefore resolving to attempt this at the hazard of another battel, he came to *Ephesus*, where his fleet lay; and having there, on a review, put it into the best posture he was able, and furnished his marines with all things necessary for another encounter, he sent them forth under the command of *Polyxenidas* his admiral to fight the enemy. And they ^q having met *Æmilius* with the *Roman* fleet near *Myonesus*, a maritime town in *Ionia*, they there fell upon him, but with no better success than in the former engagements: For *Æmilius* having gained an entire victory, *Polyxenidas* was forced to flee back again to *Ephesus*, with the loss of twenty nine of his ships sunk, and thirteen taken. This put *Antiochus* into such a consternation, that being frightened as it were out of his wits, he very absurdly sent to recal all his forces out of *Lysimachia*, and the other towns on the *Hellepont*, for fear lest they should fall into the enemies hands, who were approaching those parts to pass into *Asia*; whereas the only way left him to have hinder'd that passage, was to have continu'd them there. But he did not only thus absurdly withdraw them from thence, when he most needed them there, but did it with such precipitation, that he left all the provisions which he had laid up there for the war behind

¹ Livius, lib. 37. Appianus in Syriacis.

^m Livius & Appianus ibidem.

ⁿ Elea was the sea port to Pergamus, and but at a short distance from it.

^o Livius, lib. 37. Appianus in Syriacis. Cornelius Nepos in Hannibale.

^p Polybius Legat. 22. p. 812. Livius, lib. 37.

^q Livius, ibidem. Appianus in Syriacis.

him; so that when the *Romans* came thither, they found all necessities for their army in such plenty stored up in those places, as if they had been of purpose provided for them; and the passage of the *Hellepont* left so free to them, that they transported their army over it without any opposition, where only, with the best advantage, opposition could have been made against them. When *Antiochus* heard of the *Romans* being in *Asia*, he began to grow diffident of his cause, and would gladly have got rid of the war with them, which he had so rashly run himself into; and therefore sent ambassadors to the two *Scipio's* to desire peace; and to make his way the easier to it, he restored to *Scipio Africanus* his son (who had been taken prisoner in this war), without ransom; but notwithstanding this, being able on no other terms to obtain peace, than on the quitting of all *Asia* on this side mount *Taurus*, and paying the *Romans* all the expences of the war, he thought he could suffer nothing by the war more grievous than such a peace, and therefore prepared to decide the matter by battle, and the *Romans* did the same. *Antiochus's* army, according to *Livy*, consisted of seventy thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and fifty four elephants; whereas the *Roman* forces amounted to no more than thirty thousand. Both armies met near *Magnesia* under mount *Sipylus*, and there it came to a decisive stroke between them, in which *Antiochus* receiving a total overthrow, lost fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse slain upon the field of battle, and fourteen hundred more taken prisoners, and he himself difficultly escaped to *Sardis*, gathering up in his way such of his forces as survived this terrible slaughter. From *Sardis* he passed to *Cilene* in *Phrygia*, where he heard his son *Seleucus* had escaped from the battle, and having there joined him, made all the haste he could over mount *Taurus* into *Syria*. *Hannibal*, and *Scipio Africanus* were both absent from this battle; the former being with the *Syrian* fleet pent up in *Pamphylia* by the *Rhodians*, and the other detained by sickness at *Elea*. As soon as *Antiochus* was arrived at *Antioch*, he sent from thence *Antipater* his brother's son, and *Zeuxis*, who had been governor of *Lydia* and *Phrygia* under him, to desire peace of the *Romans*. They found the consul at *Sardis*, and there *Scipio Africanus*, who was now recovered from his sickness, being come, they first applied themselves to him, and he introduced them to the consul his brother: Whereon a council being held on the subject of their embassy, after full consultation therein had about it, the ambassadors were called in, and *Scipio Africanus* delivering the sense of the council, told them, that as the *Romans* used not to sink low when vanquished, so neither would they carry themselves too high when conquerors; and that therefore they would require no other terms of peace after the battle, than those which were demanded before it; that is, that *Antiochus* should pay the whole expences of the war, and quit all *Asia* on this side mount *Taurus*; which being then accepted of, and the expences of the war estimated at fifteen thousand talents^a of *Eubœa*, it was agreed

^a Polyb. Legat. 13. p. 813. Appianus in Syriacis. Justinus, lib. 31. c. 7. Livius, lib. 37.

^b Livius & Appianus, ibidem. ^c Polybius Legat. 24. p. 816. Livius, lib. 37. Appian. in Syriacis. Justinus, lib. 31. cap. 8. Diodorus Siculus Legat. 9. Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis.

^d Herodotus, lib. 3. speaking of a Babylonian talent saith, that it contained seventy Eubœic Mina's. ^e Elian speaking of the same Babylonian talent (Hist. var. lib. 1. cap. 22.) saith it contained seventy

agreed that it should be paid in manner following; that is to say, five hundred talents present, two thousand five hundred when the senate should ratify what was then agreed, and the rest in twelve years time, at the rate of a thousand talents in each of those years. And *L. Cotta* was sent from the consul with the ambassadors to *Rome*, to acquaint the senate of the agreement, and there fully conclude and ratify the same. And a little after the five hundred talents were paid the consul at *Ephesus*, and hostages were given for the payment of the rest, and the performance of all other articles that were agreed on; among whom one was *Antiochus*, one of the King's sons, who afterwards reigned in *Syria* by the name of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, and *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, who were the chief incentors of this war, were also demanded by the *Romans* to be delivered up unto them on the making of the peace. But as soon as they heard that a treaty was entered on, foreseeing what would be the result of it, they both took care to get out of the way before it came to a conclusion.

An. 189.
Ptolemy
Epipha-
nes 16.

THE * next year *Cn. Manlius Vulso*, who succeeded *L. Scipio* in the consulship, coming into *Asia* to succeed him in that province, *Scipio* delivered to him the army, and with *Scipio Africanus* his brother returned to *Rome*, where the peace which they made with *Antiochus* being ratified and confirmed, and all *Asia* on this side mount *Taurus* delivered into the hands of the *Romans*, * they restored the *Grecian* cities to their liberties, gratified the *Rhodians* with the provinces of *Caria* and *Lycia*, and gave all the rest of it, that had before belonged to *Antiochus*, to *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*. For *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* having been their confede-

two Attic Minæ; from hence it follows that seventy two Attic Minæ are equal to seventy Euboic Minæ; and sixty of each making a talent, this shews the difference that is between an Euboic talent and an Attic. But there were two other sorts of Euboic talents, or authors give us disagreeing accounts concerning it. *Festus* saith, Euboicum talentum nummo Græco septem millium, nostro quatuor millium denariorum (in voce Euboicum) i. e. An Euboic talent consists in Greek money of 7000 drachms, and in our Latin money of 4000 Roman pennies. But here is a manifest error in the copy as all agree, instead of 4000, it ought to be 7000 Roman pennies: For, according to *Festus*, a drachm and a Roman penny were equal: For in the word talentum he saith, that an Attic talent (which consisted of 6000 drachms) contained 6000 Roman pennies. According to *Festus* therefore, a Roman penny and an Attic drachm were equal, and 7000 of these made *Festus's* Euboic talent. But the Euboic talent, by which *Antiochus* was to pay this sum of 15000 talents to the Romans was much higher: For *Polybius* tells us (*Legat.* 24. p. 817.) and so also doth *Livy*, lib. 37, & 38. that they were to contain each eighty libræ or Roman pounds. But every libra or Roman pound containing ninety six Roman pennies, eighty of those libræ must contain 7680 Roman pennies, i. e. 240 l. of our money. But here it is to be observed, that in the treaty of this peace made with *Antiochus*, there is a difference between *Polybius* and *Livy* in the copies which they give us of it. For altho' *Livy*, as well as *Polybius*, doth in the protocol of the treaty (lib. 37.) say that the 15000 talents to be paid the Romans were to be Euboic talents, yet *Livy* in the treaty it self saith they were to be Attic talents. But here *Livy* writing from *Polybius*, is mistaken in the version he made of this treaty from the Greek copy of it, which he found in him. For whereas in *Polybius* the words are, that the money to be paid the Romans should be ἀγέλαια Ἀττικῶν ἀγέλαια, *Livy* mistaking the meaning of the Greek phrase render'd it of Attic talents; whereas what is there said is meant only of the Attic standard. For as the Euboic talent was of the greatest weight, so the Attic money was of the finest silver of any in Greece, and by the treaty the money was to be paid according to both; that is, the Romans having conquered *Antiochus*, not only obliged him to pay this vast sum for his peace, but also made him pay it in talents of the highest weight, and in silver of the best and finest standard in all Greece. So that the Romans might in this case say the same to him, as formerly *Brennus* did to them. Væ victis, i. e. Woe be to the conquered. * *Livius*, lib. 37. *Appianus* in *Syriacis*.

* *Livius*, lib. 37, & 38. *Polybius* *Legat.* p. 818, 819, &c. & p. 845. *Diodorus Siculus* *Legat.* 10. *Appianus* *ibid.*

rates

rates through this whole war, and much assisted them in it, they had these countries given them for the reward of their service.

MANLIUS, after the time of his consulship was out, being continued An. 188. Ptolemy Epiphanes 17. still in the same province ^y as pro-consul, he there waged war against the *Gauls*, who had planted themselves in *Asia*; and having subdued them in several battels, and reduced them to live orderly within the limits assigned them, he thereby delivered all that countrey from the terror of those barbarous people, who lived mostly hitherto by harassing and plundering their neighbours; and so quieted all things in those parts, that thenceforth the empire of the *Romans* became thoroughly settled in all that countrey as far as the river *Halys* on the one side, and mount *Taurus* on the other; and the *Syrian* Kings became thenceforth utterly excluded from having any thing more to do in all the *lesser Asia*. Whereon *Antiochus* is said to have expressed himself, ^z that he was much beholden to the *Romans* in that they had hereby eased him of the great care and trouble which the governing of so large a countrey must have cost him.

ANTIOCHUS being at great difficulties how to raise the money An. 187. Ptolemy Epiphanes 18. which he was to pay the *Romans*, he marched into the eastern provinces, ^a to gather the tribute of those countries to enable him to it, leaving his son *Seleucus* (whom he had declared his successor) to govern in *Syria* during his absence. On his coming into the province of *Elymais*, hearing that there was a great treasure in the temple of *Jupiter Belus* in that countrey, he seized the temple by night, and spoiled it of the riches that were laid up in it; whereon the people of the countrey rising upon him for the revenging of this sacrilege, slew him and all that were with him. So *Diodorus Siculus*, *Justin*, *Strabo*, and *Jerome* relate the manner of his death; but ^b *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that he was slain by some of his own followers; whom he did beat in a drunken fit, while at one of his carouzals.

HE was a Prince of a very laudable character for humanity, clemency, and beneficence, and of great justice in the administration of his government; and till the fiftieth year of his life, managed all his affairs with that valour, prudence, and application, as made him to prosper in all his undertakings; which deservedly gained him the title of *the great*. But after that age declining in the wisdom of his conduct, as well as in the vigour of his application, every thing that he did afterwards lessened him as fast, as all his actions had aggrandized him before, till at length being vanquished by the *Romans*, he was driven out of the best part of his dominions, and forced to submit to very hard and disgraceful terms of peace, and at last ending his life in a very ill and impious attempt, he went out in a stink like the snuff of a candle.

THE prophecies of *Daniel*, chap. xi. from the tenth verse to the nineteenth inclusive, refer to the actions of this King, and were all fulfilled by them. What we find foretold in the tenth verse, was exactly accomplished in the war which *Antiochus* made upon *Ptolemy Philopator* for the conquering of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, as it is above related, *annis* 221, 220, 219, and 218. In the eleventh and twelfth verses are foretold the expedition, which *Philopator* made into *Palestine* against *Antiochus* anno 217, and the

^y Livius, lib. 38.

^z Cicero pro Deiotaro Rege. Valerius Maximus, lib. 4. cap. 1.

^a Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valesii, p. 292, & 298. Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis. Justinus, lib. 32. cap. 2. Strabo, lib. 16. p. 744.

^b De viris illustribus, cap. 54.

victory which he then got over him at *Raphia*. For there *the great multitude*, that is the great army, which *Antiochus* brought thither against him, *was given into his hands*, and *Ptolemy did cast down*, that is slew many thousand of them, and dissipated and put to flight all the rest. And yet the same prophecy tells us, that notwithstanding all this, *he should not be strengthen'd by it*, and so it happen'd. For *Ptolemy* being wholly given up to luxury, sloth, and voluptuousness, made haste back again into *Egypt*, there to enjoy his fill of them after this victory, without taking the advantages which it gave him. By which ill conduct he stirred up some of his people to sedition and rebellion, and weaken'd himself in the affection and esteem of all the rest, as is above related under the years 216 and 215. What follows to the end of the seventeenth verse, foretels the renewal of that war by *Antiochus* after certain years, that is anno 203, fourteen years after the ending of the former war, when on the death of *Philopator*, and the succeeding of his infant-son *Ptolemy Epiphanes* in his stead, *Antiochus of the North* returned and came again into *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine* for the recovering of those provinces, bringing with him *a greater multitude than in the former war*, that is that great army, which he brought with him out of the east on his late return from thence. What is said in the fourteenth verse, that *in those times* (that is in the first years of the reign of *Epiphanes* the King of the South) *many should stand up against him*, was fully verified by the leaguings of the Kings of *Macedon* and *Syria* together against him to seize all his dominions, and divide them between them; by the sedition of *Agathocles*, *Agathoclea*, and *Tlepolemus* to invade his royal power; and by the conspiracy of *Scopas* utterly to extinguish it, and seize the kingdom for himself; all which are above related to have happen'd in these times. And the same prophecy tells us, that in those same times many *violators of the law among the people of the prophet*, that is the *Jews* apostatizing from the law, should *exalt themselves*, that is under the favour of the King of the South; for the pleasing of whom they should forsake their God and their holy religion, but that *they should fall* and be cut off, i. e. by *Antiochus*; and so it came to pass. For *Antiochus* having, anno 198, made himself master of *Judæa* and *Jerusalem*, did cut off, or drive from thence, all those of *Ptolemy's* party, who had thus far given themselves up to him; but shewed particular favour to those *Jews*, who persevering in the observance of their law, would not comply with any proposals of the King of *Egypt* to apostatize from it. In the fifteenth verse the holy prophet foreshews the victory by which *Antiochus the King of the North* should make himself again master of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, that is how he should come again into those provinces, *and cast up mounts against the most fenced cities in them, and take them*; and this he did in the year 198. For having then vanquished the King of *Egypt's* army at *Paneas*, he besieged and took first *Sidon*, and next *Gaza*, and then all the other cities of those provinces, and made himself thorough master of the whole countrey. For although the King of *Egypt* sent an army against him of *his chosen people*, that is of his choicest troops, and under the command of his best generals, yet they could not prevail, or *have any strength to withstand him*, but were vanquished and repulsed by him; so that, as the prophet proceeds to tell us in the sixteenth verse, *he did according to his will* in all *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, and *none could there stand before him*. And on the subjecting of these provinces to him, the same

same prophetic text goes on to tell us, *That he should stand in the glorious land, and that it should be consumed by his hand*; and so accordingly it came to pass. For on his subduing *Palestine*, he entered into *Judaea, the glorious land*, which was a part of *Palestine*, and there established his authority, and made it there firmly *to stand*, after he had expelled out of the castle of *Jerusalem* the garrison which *Scopas* had left there. But that garrison having made such resistance, that *Antiochus* was forced to go thither with all his army to reduce it; and the siege continuing some time, it happen'd hereby that the countrey was eaten up, and *consumed* by the foraging of the soldiers; and *Jerusalem* suffered such damage during the siege of the castle, both from the besieged and the besiegers, that it was near ruined by it; which fully appears by the decree which *Antiochus* afterwards granted the *Jews* for repairing of their demolish'd city, and the restoring of it from the ruinous condition into which it was then reduced. This decree was directed to *Ptolemy*, one of *Antiochus's* lieutenants, and who then seems to have been his governor in that province, and it is still extant ^c in *Josephus*. In the seventeenth verse is foretold, how that when *Antiochus* was ready to have enter'd Egypt with the strength of his whole kingdom, he made an agreement with *Ptolemy* to give him his daughter in marriage, corrupting her, that is with ill principles to betray her husband to him, and thereby make him master of *Egypt*: For ^d *Jerome* tells us, this match was made with this fraudulent design. But *she did not stand on his side, neither was for him*, but when married to King *Ptolemy*, forsook the interest of her father, and wholly embraced that of her husband; and therefore we find her joining with him ^e in an embassy to the *Romans*, for the congratulating of their victory gained by *Acilius* at the streights of *Thermopylae* over her own father. The eighteenth verse tells us of *Antiochus's* turning of his face unto the isles, and his taking of many of them: And so accordingly it was done. For after having finished the war in *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, anno 197, he sent two of his sons with his army by land to *Sardis*, and he himself with a great fleet at the same time sailed into the *Ægean* sea, and there took in many of the islands in it, and extended his power and dominion much in those parts, till at length the Prince of the people, to whom he had offered reproach by that invasion, that is *Lucius Scipio* the Roman consul, made the reproach turn upon him, by overthrowing him in the battel at mount *Sipylus*, and driving him out of all lesser *Asia*. This forced him, according to what is foretold in the nineteenth verse, to return to the fort of his own land, that is to *Antioch*, the chief seat and fortress of his kingdom. From whence going into the eastern provinces to gather money to pay the *Romans*, he stumbled and fell, and was no more found, as the sacred text expresseth it; that is, on his attempting to rob the temple in *Elymais*, he failed in his design, and was cut off and slain in it, so that he returned not into *Syria*, or was any more found there.

In the year that *Antiochus* died, *Cleopatra* his daughter, Queen of *Egypt*, bore unto *Ptolemy Epiphanes* her husband ^f a son, who reigned after him in *Egypt* by the name of *Ptolemy Philometor*. Hereon ^g all the great men

^c Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 3.

^d In comment. ad cap. xi. Danielis.

^e Livius, lib. 37.

^f He was six years old when his father died, and therefore must have been born this year.

^g Josephus, lib. 12. cap. 4.

and prime nobility of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine* hasten'd to *Alexandria* to congratulate the King and Queen, and make them those presents which were usual on such an occasion. But *Joseph* (who on the restoration of those provinces to the King of *Egypt*, was again restored to his office of collecting the King's revenues in them) being ^h too old to take on him such a journey himself, sent *Hyrchanus* his son to make his compliment in his stead. This *Hyrchanus* was the youngest of his sons, but being of the quickest parts, and best understanding of them all, was best qualified for this employment. The history of his birth is very remarkable; it is told at large by *Josephus* in the twelfth book of his antiquities, ⁱ in manner as followeth.

JOSEPH, in the time of the former *Ptolemy* father of *Epiphanes*, going to *Alexandria* on his occasions (as he frequently had such there, while collector of the King's revenues in *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*) *Solyminius* his brother accompanied him in the journey, and carried with him a daughter of his, with intent on his coming to *Alexandria* to marry her to some *Jew* of that place, whom he should find of quality suitable for her. *Joseph* on his arrival at *Alexandria* going to court, and there supping with the King, fell desperately in love with a young beautiful damsel, whom he saw dancing before the King; and not being able to master his inordinate passion, he communicated it to his brother, and desired him, if possible, to procure for him the enjoyment of this young woman, and in as secret manner as he could, because of the sin and shame that would attend such an act; which *Solyminius* undertaking, put his own daughter to bed to him. *Joseph* having drunk well over night, perceived not that it was his niece; and having in the same secret manner accompanied with her several times without discovering the deceit, and being every time more and more enamour'd with her, still supposing her to be the dancer, he at length made his moan to his brother, lamenting that his love had taken such deep-rooting in his heart, that he feared he should never be able to get it out; and that his grief was, that the ^k *Jewish* law would not permit him to marry her, she being an *alien*, and if it would, ^l the King would never grant her unto him. Hereon his brother discovered to him the whole matter, telling him, that he might take to wife the woman with whom he had so often accompanied, and was so much enamour'd of, and lawfully enjoy her as much as he pleased; for she whom he had put to bed to him was his own daughter: That he had chosen rather to do this wrong to his own child, than suffer him to do so shameful and sinful a thing, as to join himself to a strange woman, which ^k their holy law forbade. *Joseph* being much surprized at this discovery, and as much affected with his brother's kindness to him, expressed himself with all the thankfulness which so great an obligation deserved, and forthwith took the young woman to wife; and of her the next year after was born *Hyrchanus*. For according to the *Jewish* law an uncle might marry his niece, tho' an ^m aunt could not her nephew, for

^h For supposing *Joseph* to have been 30 years old when he first went to the court of King *Ptolemy* *Euergetes*, (and older he could not then be according to *Josephus*, for he saith he was then νεῦν ἐπὶ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, i. e. as yet a young man,) he would now have been sixty nine. This also proves that it could not be earlier that *Hyrchanus* was sent on this embassy: For then *Joseph* would not have been past the age of going himself, and all things else prove it could not be later. ⁱ Cap. 4. ^k Exodus xxxiv. 16. Deuter. vii. 3. ^l 1 Kings xi. 2. Ezra ix. 10. Nehemiah x. 30. & xiii. 25. ^l Perchance this dancer was that *Agathoclea* which that King, i. e. *Ptolemy* *Philopator*, so much doted upon.

^m Levit. xviii. 12, 13. & xx. 19.

which the *Jewish* writers give this reason; that the aunt being in respect of the nephew in the same degree with the father or mother in the line of descent, hath naturally a superiority above him; and therefore for him to make her his wife, and thereby bring her down to be in a degree below him (as all wives are in respect of their husbands) would be to disturb and invert the order of Nature. But that there is no such thing done where the uncle marries the niece: For in this case both keep the same degree and order, which they were in before, without any mutation in it.

JOSEPH had by another wife seven other sons, all elder than *Hyrca-nus*, to each of which he offered this commission of going for him to the *Egyptian* court on the occasion mentioned; but they having all refused it, *Hyrca-nus* undertook it, though he were then a very young man, not being above twenty, if so much. And having persuaded his father not to send his presents from *Judæa*, but to enable him on his arrival at *Alexandria*, to buy there such curiosities for the King and Queen, as when on the spot he should find would be most acceptable to them, he obtained from him letters of credit to *Arion* his agent at *Alexandria*, by whose hands he returned the King's taxes into his treasury, to furnish him with money for this purpose, without limiting the sum, reckoning that about ten talents would be the most he would need. But *Hyrca-nus* on his arrival at *Alexandria*, taking the advantage of his father's unlimited order, instead of ten talents demanded a thousand; and having forced *Arion* (who had then three thousand talents of *Joseph's* money in his hands) to pay him that whole sum, which amounted to above two hundred thousand pound of our money, he bought an hundred beautiful boys for the King, and an hundred beautiful young maids for the Queen, at the price of a talent a head; and when he presented them, they carried each a talent in their hands, the boys for the King, and the young maids for the Queen: So that this article alone cost him four hundred talents. Some part of the rest he expended in valuable gifts to the courtiers and great officers about the King, keeping the remainder to his own use. By which means having procured in an high degree the favour of the King and Queen, and their whole court, he returned with a commission to be collector of the King's revenues in all the countrey beyond *Jordan*. For having thus over-reached his father, he made all the interest which *Joseph* formerly had in the *Egyptian* court, to devolve from him upon himself, and got into his hands also the best of his estate; which exceedingly angring his brothers, who were before ill affected towards him, they conspired to way-lay him, and cut him off as he returned, having their father's connivance, if not his consent for the same, so much was he angered against him by what he had done in *Egypt*. But *Hyrca-nus* coming well attended with soldiers to assist him in the execution of his office, got the better of them in the assault which they made upon him; and two of his brothers were left dead upon the spot. But on his coming to *Jerusalem*, finding his father exceedingly exasperated against him, both for his conduct in *Egypt*, and the death of his brothers on his return, and that for this reason no one there would own him, he passed over *Jordan*, and there enter'd on his office of collecting the King's revenues in those parts. A little after this *Joseph* died, and thereon a war commenced between *Hyrca-nus* and the surviving brothers about their father's estate, which for some time disturbed the peace of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*. But the High-priest and the generality of the people taking part with the brothers, he was forced again to retreat over *Jordan*,

where he built a very strong castle, which he called *Tyre*, from whence he made war upon the neighbouring *Arabs*, infesting them with incursions and depredations for seven years together. This was while *Seleucus Philopator* the son of *Antiochus the Great* reigned in *Syria*. But when *Antiochus Epiphanes* succeeded *Seleucus*, and had instated himself in *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, as well as in the other provinces of the *Syrian* empire, *Hyrchanus* being threaten'd by him with his wrath, for his conduct in this and other matters, for fear of him fell on his own sword, and slew himself. Some time before his death he seems to have recovered the favour of *Onias* the High-priest, and to have had him wholly in his interest; for he took his treasure into his charge, ^a and laid it up in the treasury of the temple, there to secure it for him; and in his answer to *Heliodorus* he saith of him, that he was a ^o man of great dignity. And *Onias*'s favouring him thus far, might perchance be the true cause of that breach, ^p which happen'd between him and *Simon* the governor of the temple, who upon good reason is supposed to have been the eldest of the brothers of *Hyrchanus*, and the head of the family of the *Tobiadae* (or sons of ^q *Tobias*.) And it is most likely this provoked him to lay that design of betraying the treasury of the temple into the hands of the King of *Syria*, which we shall by and by speak of, that so *Hyrchanus* might lose what he had deposited in it.

An. 186.
Ptolemy
Epipha-
nes 19.

AFTER the death of *Antiochus the Great*, *Seleucus Philopator* his eldest son, whom he left at *Antioch* on his departure thence into the east, ^r succeeded him in the kingdom, but made a very poor figure in it, by reason of the low state which the *Romans* had reduced the *Syrian* empire to, and the heavy tribute of a thousand talents a year, which through the whole time of his reign he was obliged to pay them, by the treaty of peace lately granted by them to his father.

PTOLEMY ^s had hitherto managed his government with approbation and applause, being till now directed in all things by the counsel and advice of *Aristomenes* his chief minister, who was as a father unto him. But at length the flatteries of his courtiers prevailing over the wise counsels of this able minister, he began to deviate into all the vicious and evil courses of his father; and not being able to bear the freedom with which *Aristomenes* frequently advised him to a better conduct, he made him away by a cup of poison, and then gave himself up with a full swing into all manner of vicious pleasures, and this led him into as great miscarriages in the government: For thenceforth, instead of that clemency and justice with which he had hitherto governed the kingdom, he turned all into tyranny and cruelty, conducting himself in all things that he did by nothing else but by corrupt will, and arbitrary pleasure.

An. 185.
Ptolemy
Epipha-
nes 20.

THE ^t *Egyptians* not being able to bear the grievances which they suffered under this great male-administration of their King, began to combine and make associations against him; and being headed by many of the greatest power in the land, formed designs for the deposing of him from his throne, and had very near succeeded in it.

ⁿ 2 Maccab. iii. 11.

^o 2 Maccab. ibidem.

^p 2 Maccab. iii. 4, 5, &c.

^q This Tobias was the father of Joseph, and grandfather of Hyrchanus. ^r Appianus in Syriacis. Qui de eo dicit, quod erat otiosus, nec admodum potens propter cladem quam pater acceperat. ^s Diodorus Siculus in excerptis. Valefii, p. 294. ^t Diodorus, ibidem.

FOR the extricating himself out of these troubles he made ^u *Polycrates* An. 184. Ptolemy Epiphanes 21. his chief minister, who was a wise and valiant man, and long experienced in all the affairs both of war and peace: For he had been one of his father's generals in the battel of *Raphia*; and much of that victory, which was there gained, was owing unto him. After that he had been governor of *Cyprus*, and coming from thence to *Alexandria*, just upon the breaking out of the conspiracy of *Scopas*, he had a great hand in the suppressing of it.

By his means *Ptolemy* ^w having subdued the revolvers, brought many of An. 183. Ptolemy Epiphanes 22. their leaders (who were of the chief nobility of his kingdom) upon terms of accommodation to submit to him; but when he had gotten them into his power, he broke his faith with them: For after having treated them with great cruelty, caused them all to be put to death; which base action involved him in new difficulties, but the wisdom of *Polycrates* extricated him out of all.

AGISIPOLIS, who on the death of *Cleomenes* had been in his infancy declared King of *Lacedæmon*, being slain by pirates in a voyage which he was making to *Rome*, ^x Archbishop *Usher* thinks that *Areus*, a noble *Lacedæmonian* much spoken of in those times, had the title of King of *Lacedæmon* after him, and that from him was sent that letter to *Onias*, the High-priest of the *Jews*, in which the *Lacedæmonians* claimed kindred with the *Jews*, and desired friendship with them on this account. *Josephus* indeed ^z saith, that this letter was written to *Onias* the son of *Simon*, who was the third of that name that was High-priest at *Jerusalem*: But it is hard in his time to find an *Areus* King of *Lacedæmon*. For Archbishop *Usher's* conjecture will not do: That *Areus*, on whom he would fix the title of King of *Lacedæmon* for the fathering of this letter to *Onias*, is no where said to be so; neither is it any way likely that he ever had that title. For before his time both the royal families of the Kings of *Lacedæmon* had failed, and become extinct; and the government there, which had for some time before been invaded by tyrants, was then turned into another form. And besides *Jonathan* in his letter to the *Lacedæmonians*, (*1 Macc. xii. 10.*) wherein he makes mention of this letter of *Areus*, saith, that *there was a long time passed since it had been sent unto them*, which could not have been said by *Jonathan* in respect of the time in which *Onias the third* was High-priest; since from the death of that *Onias*, to the time that *Jonathan* was made Prince of the *Jews*, there had passed no more than twelve years. It's most likely *Josephus* mistook the *Onias*, to whom this letter was directed, and ascribed that to *Onias the third*, which was done only in the time of *Onias the first*. For ^a while *Onias* the first of that name, the son of *Jaddua*, was High-priest of the *Jews*, there was an *Areus* King of *Lacedæmon*, and from him most likely it was that this letter was written. But the greatest difficulty as to this letter, is to know on what foundation the *Lacedæmonians* claimed kindred with the *Jews*. *Areus* saith in his letter, that *it was found in a certain writing, that the Lacedæmonians and the Jews were brethren, and that they were both of the stock of Abraham*. But what this writing was, or how this pedigree mentioned in it was to be made out, is not said. No

^u Polybius in excerptis Valefii, p. 113.

^w Polybius, ibidem.

^x Annales Veteris Testamenti sub anno J. P. 4531.

^y 1 Maccab. xii. Josephus, lib. 12. cap. 5.

^z Lib. 12. cap. 4.

^a Vide Scaligeri animadversiones in Eusebii chronicon, p. 139. & canonum Isagog. lib. 3. p. 340.

doubt it was from some old, fabulous story now lost; learned men having been offering several conjectures for the making out of this matter, but all so lame as not to be worth relating.

An. 180.
Ptolemy
Philo-
metor I.

PTOLEMY having suppressed his rebellious subjects at home, projected a war abroad against *Seleucus* King of *Syria*. But ^b as he was laying his designs for it, one of his chief commanders asked him, where he would have money to carry it on? To this he answered, that his friends were his money; from whence many of the chief men about him inferring, that he intended to take their money from them for carrying on of this war, for the preventing of it procured poison to be given him, which did put an end to this project and his life together, after he had reigned twenty four years, and lived twenty nine. *Ptolemy Philometor* his son, an infant of six years old, succeeded him in the kingdom, under the guardianship of *Cleopatra* his mother.

An. 177.
Ptolemy
Philo-
metor I.

PERSEUS having succeeded his father *Philip* in the kingdom of *Macedon*, ^c married *Laodice* the daughter of *Seleucus* King of *Syria*; and the *Rhodians* with their whole fleet conducted her from *Syria* into *Macedon*. In their way thither they stopp'd at *Delus*, an island in the *Ægean* sea sacred to *Apollo*, where he had a temple erected to him, which next that at *Delphos* was reckoned to be of the greatest note in all *Greece*. While the fleet lay there, *Laodice* having made many offerings to the temple, and given many gifts to the people of the place, they in acknowledgment hereof there erected a statue to her, on the pedestal whereof was engraven this inscription. Ο Δῆμος ὁ Δελίων Βασιλίῳσαν Λαοδίκην Βασιλέως Σελεύκου, γυναῖκα ἧ Βασιλέως Περσεύου, ἀρετῆς ἐνεκεν καὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν καὶ εὐνοίας πρὸς τὸν Δῆμον τῶν Δελίων, i. e. *The people of Delus erected this for Queen Laodice, the daughter of King Seleucus, and the wife of King Perseus, because of her virtue, and of her piety to the temple, and her beneficence to the people of Delus.* The marble whercon this inscription was engraven is still extant among the *Arundel* marbles at *Oxford*, from whence it was published by me among the *Marmora Oxoniensia*, num. 142. p. 276.

An. 176.
Ptolemy
Philo-
metor 5.

Simon a *Benjamite* being made ^d governor or protector of the temple at *Jerusalem*, (which office he seems to have had from the death of *Joseph*, and was most probably ^e one of his sons) differences arose between him and *Onias* the High-priest; and when he found that he could not prevail against *Onias*, he with the rest of the sons of *Tobias* fled from *Jerusalem*, and went to *Apollonius*, who was governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine* for *Seleucus* King of *Syria*, and told him of great treasures, which he said were laid up in the temple at *Jerusalem*; whereon *Apollonius* informing the King, *Heliodorus* his treasurer was sent to make seizure of it, and bring it to *Antioch*. How the hand of God appeared in a very miraculous manner against *Heliodorus* in this sacrilegious attempt, is at large related in the third chapter of the second book of *Maccabees*. However ^f *Simon* still carrying on his malice against *Onias*, and murders having been thereon committed by those of his faction, and *Apollonius* encouraging him herein, *Onias* went to *Antioch* to make complaint to the King of these violences, but he had not been long there e'er the King died.

^b Hieronymus in cap. xi. Danielis.

^c Polybius legat. 60. p. 882. Livius, lib. 42.

^d 2 Maccab. iii. 4.

^e Vide Grotium in annotationibus ad tertium cap. secundi libri Mac-

cab. 5. 4.

^f 2 Maccab. iv.

It hath been above related, that when *Antiochus the Great*, the father of *Seleucus*, made peace with the *Romans* after the battel of mount *Sipylos*, among other hostages which were then given for the observance of that peace, one was *Antiochus* the King's son, and younger brother to *Seleucus*. He having been now thirteen years at *Rome*, ^s *Seleucus* had a desire to have him home; and therefore for the redeeming of him he sent *Demetrius* his only son, then about twelve years old, to be there in his stead, by way of exchange for him. Whether he did this, as ^h some moderns think, that his son might have the benefit of a *Roman* education; or that he might make use of *Antiochus* for the executing of some designs he might then have upon *Egypt*, during the minority of *Philometor*, as ⁱ is conjectur'd by others; or for some other reason different from both, is not said in any authentic history of those times. While both the next heirs of the crown were thus absent (*Demetrius* being gone for *Rome*, and *Antiochus* not yet returned from thence) *Heliodorus* the King's treasurer, the same that had been sent to rob the temple at *Jerusalem*, thinking this a fit opportunity for him to usurp the crown, were *Seleucus* out of the way, ^k caused poison to be treacherously given him, of which he died.

It appears from the third and fourth chapters of the second book of *Maccabees*, and also from ^l *Josephus*, that *Seleucus* had been in possession of *Cæle-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judæa* some time before his death. For *Apolonius* was governor of those provinces for him, and *Heliodorus* was sent to *Jerusalem* by his commission, when he would have there seized the treasure of the temple for his use; and *Onias*, when oppressed by *Simon* the *Benjamite*, and his faction, applied himself to *Seleucus* King of *Syria*, and not to *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*, for redress of his grievances; all which plainly proves, that *Seleucus* was then in possession of the sovereignty of those provinces; but how he came by it is no where said in history. After the battel of *Paneas*, it's certain *Antiochus the Great* made himself master of all *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, and utterly excluded *Ptolemy* from the sovereignty, which till then the *Egyptian* Kings had in those provinces. But when the same *Antiochus* married his daughter *Cleopatra* to *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, he agreed to restore them to him by way of dower with her, reserving to himself one half of the revenues of those provinces. And if they were then restored to *Ptolemy*, the question ariseth herefrom, how then came *Seleucus* to be possessed of them? By what we find in ^m *Polybius* it may be inferr'd, that this agreement was never faithfully executed either by *Antiochus*, or *Seleucus* his son; but that both of them held these provinces notwithstanding that article of the marriage, whereby it was agreed to surrender them to the *Egyptian* King. For that author ⁿ tells us, that from the time of the battel of *Paneas*, where *Antiochus* vanquished *Scopas* and the *Egyptian* army, all parts of the above mentioned provinces were subject to the King of *Syria*. And he also tells us, that *Antiochus Epiphanes* (who succeeded *Seleucus*) in an answer which he gave to the ambassadors that came to him from *Greece*, to compose the differences that were between him and King *Ptolemy Philometor*, ^o denied, that *Antiochus* his father ever agreed to surrender *Cæle-Syria* to *Ptolemy Epiphanes* on his marrying of his daughter

^s Appianus in Syriacis.

^h Sallianus sub an. mundi 3878.

ⁱ Vaillant in historiâ Regum

Syriæ. ^k Appian. in Syriacis.

^l In libro de Maccabæis, cap. 4.

^m Legat. 72. p. 893.

ⁿ Polybius Legat. 82. p. 908.

to him, which may seem to infer, that *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, notwithstanding the said agreement, were still retained in the possession of the *Syrian Kings*. But what *Josephus*^o saith of *Hyrcaus*'s journey to congratulate King *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and *Cleopatra* his Queen, on the birth of *Philometor* their son, and the flocking of the nobles of *Cæle-Syria* thither on the same account, is a clear proof of the contrary; that is, that *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine* were then in the possession of the *Egyptian King*, by what means soever it afterwards became that he was put out of it. It's most likely, that *Seleucus* having just cause of war given him by the preparations that *Ptolemy Epiphanes* was making against him at the time of his death, took the advantage^p of the minority of *Philometor* his son to prosecute this war against him, which his father had begun, and therein seized these provinces. For it's certain, both from the *Maccabees* and *Josephus*, that *Seleucus* was in possession of them at the time of his death.

THE whole of this King's reign is expressed in the twentieth verse of the eleventh chapter of *Daniel*: For in that text it is foretold, that after *Antiochus the Great*, who is spoken of in the foregoing verses, *there should stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes*. And *Seleucus* was no more than such all his time: For the whole business of his reign was to raise the thousand talents every year, which by the treaty of peace that his father made with the *Romans*, he was obliged for twelve years together annually to pay that people; and the last of those twelve years was the last of his life. For as the same text saith, that *within a few*^q *years after he should be destroyed, and that neither in anger, nor in battel*, so accordingly it happen'd. For he reigned only eleven years, and his death was neither in *battel*, nor in *anger*; that is, neither in war abroad, nor in sedition or rebellion at home, but by the secret treachery of one of his own friends. His successor was *Antiochus Epiphanes* his brother, of whom we shall treat in the next book.

^o Antiq. lib. 12. c. 4.

^p He was but six years old at the time of his father's death.

^q The Hebrew word *Yamim*, which in the English bible is render'd days, signifieth also years, and is put as often for the one as the other.





THE
Old and New TESTAMENT
Connected in the
HISTORY
OF THE
Jews and Neighbouring Nations,
FROM THE
Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
to the time of CHRIST.



PART II. BOOK III.



ON the death of *Seleucus Philopator*, ^a *Heliodorus*, who had ^{An. 175.} been the treacherous author of his death, endeavoured to ^{Ptolemy} seize the crown of *Syria*. *Antiochus*, the brother of *Se-* ^{Philo-} ^{metor 6.} *leucus*, was then on his return from *Rome*. While at *Athens* ^b, in his journey, he there heard of the death of his brother, and the attempt of *Heliodorus* to ~~usurp~~ the throne; and finding that the usurper had a great party with him to support him in his pretensions, and that there was another party also forming ^c for *Ptolemy* (who made some claim to the succession in right of his mother, she being

^a Appianus in Syriacis.

^b Appianus, ibidem.

^c Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 21.
sister

sister to the deceased King) and that both of them were agreed *not*^d to give unto him (tho' the next heir in the absence of *Demetrius*) the honour of the kingdom, as the holy prophet ^d *Daniel* foretold, he ^e applied himself to *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, and *Attalus* his brother, and ^f by flattering speeches, and great promises of friendship, prevailed with them to help him against *Heliodorus*. And by their means that usurper ^g being suppressed, he was quietly placed on the throne, and all submitted to him, and permitted him without any farther opposition peaceably to obtain the kingdom, as had been predicted of him in the same prophecy. *Eumenes* and *Attalus* at this time having some suspicions of the *Romans*, were desirous of having the King of *Syria* on their side in case a war should break out between them; and *Antiochus's* promises to stick by them, whenever such a war should happen, were the inducements that prevailed with them to do him this kindness.

ON his being thus settled on the throne he took ^h the name of *Epiphanes*, that is, *the Illustrious*; but nothing could be more alien to his true character than this title. The prophet *Daniel* foretold of him, that he should be ⁱ a vile person, so our *English* version hath it; but the word *nib-zeb* in the original rather signifieth despicable than vile. He was truly both in all that each word can express, which will fully appear from the character given of him by ^k *Polybius*, ^l *Philarchus*, ^m *Livy*, and ⁿ *Diodorus Siculus*, who were all heathen writers, and the two first of them his Contemporaries. For they tell us that he would get often out of the palace, and ramble about the streets of *Antioch* with two or three servants only accompanying him; that he would be often conversing with those that graved in silver, and cast vessels of gold, and be frequently found with them in their shops talking and nicely arguing with them about the mysteries of their trades; that he would very commonly debase himself to the meanest company, and on his going abroad would join in with such as he happen'd to find met together, altho' of the lowest of the people, and enter into discourse with any one of them, whom he should first light on; that he would in his rambles frequently drink with strangers and foreigners, and even with the meanest and vilest of them; that when he heard of any young company met together to feast, drink, or any otherwise to make merry together, he would, without giving any notice of his coming, intrude himself among them, and revel away the time with them in their cups and songs, and other frolicks, without any regard had to common decency, or his own royal character; so that several being surprized with the strangeness of the thing, would, on his coming, get up and run away out of the company. And he would sometimes, as the freak took him, lay aside his royal habit, and putting on a *Roman* gown, go round the city, as he had seen done in the election of magistrates at *Rome*,^o and ask the votes of the citizens, in the same manner as used to be there practised; now taking one man by the hand, and then embracing another, and would thus set himself up, sometimes for the office of ædile, and sometimes for that of tribune, and having been thus voted into the office he sued for, he would take the curule chair,

^d Dan. xi. 21.^e Appianus in Syriacis.^f Dan. xi. 21.^g Appianus, ibid.^h Appianus in Syriacis. Eusebius in chronico. Athenæus, lib. 5. p. 193.ⁱ Dan. xi. 21.^k Apud Athenæum, lib. 5. p. 193.^l Apud Athenæum, lib. 10. p. 438.^m Lib. 41.ⁿ In excerptis Valesii, p. 304.

and sitting down in it, hear petty causes of contracts, bargains, and sales made in the market, and give judgment in them with that serious attention and earnestness, as if they had been matters of the highest concern and importance. It's said also of him, that ° he was much given to drunkenness, and that he spent a great part of his revenues in revellings and drunken carouzals; and would often go out into the streets, while in these frolicks, and there scatter his money by handfuls among the rabble, crying out, *let him take to whom fortune gives it.* Sometimes he would go abroad with a crown of roses upon his head, and wearing a *Roman* gown, would walk the streets alone, and carrying stones under his arms, would throw them to those that should follow after him. And he would often wash himself in the publick baths among the common people, and there expose himself by many absurd and ridiculous actions. Which odd and extravagant sort of conduct made many doubt how the matter stood with him; some thinking him a fool, and some a madman; the latter of these, most thought to be his truest character, and therefore instead of *Epiphanes*, or, *the Illustrious*, they called him *Epimanes*, that is, *the Madman*. *Jerome* tells us also of him, that he was exceedingly given to lasciviousness, and often by the vilest acts of it debased the honour of his royal dignity; that he was frequently found in the company of mimics, pathics, and common prostitutes; and that with the latter he would commit acts of lasciviousness, and gratify his lust on them publickly in the sight of the people. And it is farther related of him, that having for his catamites two vile persons called *Timarchus* and *Heraclides*, who were brothers, he made the first of them governor of *Babylonia*, and the other his treasurer in that province, and gave himself up to be govern'd and conducted by them in most that he did. And having on a very whimsical occasion exhibited shews and games at *Daphne* near *Antioch* with vast expence, and called thither a great multitude of people from foreign parts, as well as from his own dominions, to be present at the solemnity, he there behaved himself to that degree of folly and absurdity, as to become the ridicule and scorn of all that were present. Which actions of his are sufficient abundantly to demonstrate him both despicable and vile, though he had not added to them that most unreasonable and wicked persecution of God's people in *Judæa* and *Jerusalem*, which will be hereafter related.

As soon as *Antiochus* was settled in the kingdom, *Jason* the brother of *Onias* being ambitious of the high-priesthood, by underhand means applied to him for it; and by an offer of 360 talents, besides eighty more, which he promised on another account, obtained of him, that *Onias* was displaced from the office, and he advanced to it in his stead: And at the same time procured, that *Onias* was called to *Antioch*, and confined to dwell there. For *Onias*, by reason of his signal piety and righteousness, being of great esteem among the people throughout all *Judæa* and *Jerusalem*, the intruder justly feared that he should have but little authority in his new acquired office, as long as this good man, from whom he usurped it, should continue

° Athenæus, lib. 10. p. 438.

p Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valesii, p. 306. Athenæus,

lib. 5. p. 193.

q Athenæus, ibid.

r In comment. ad Dan. xi. 37.

s They are taken

to be the same, who in Athenæus, p. 438. are called Aristus and Themison, tho' that author there seems to speak of Antiochus Magnus, and not of Antiochus Epiphanes.

t Polybius apud

Athenæum, lib. 5. p. 194. & lib. 10. p. 439. Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valesii, p. 320.

u 2 Maccab. iv. 7. Josephus de Maccabæis, cap. 4.

w 2 Maccab. iii. 1. iv. 37.

at *Jerusalem*; and therefore he procured from the King an order for his removal from thence to *Antioch*, and his confinement to that place; where^x he accordingly continued, till he was there put to death, as will be hereafter shewn in its proper place. *Antiochus* coming poor to the crown, and finding the publick treasury empty, by reason of the heavy tribute paid the *Romans* for the twelve years last foregoing, was greedy of the money which *Jason* offered, and therefore for the obtaining of it, readily granted what he desired of him, and would have been glad to have granted more on the same terms; which *Jason* perceiving, y proposed to advance one hundred and fifty talents over and above what he had already offered, if he might have licence to erect at *Jerusalem* a *Gymnasium*, or place of exercise, and an *Ephebeum*, or a place for the training up of youth according to the usage and fashion of the *Greeks*, and moreover have authority of making as many of the inhabitants of *Jerusalem* freemen of *Antioch*, as he should think fit. Which proposal being as readily accepted of as the former, all this was also granted him. And by these means he doubted not he should be able to make a party among the *Jews* to overbear all that might stand for *Onias*; and accordingly, on his return to *Jerusalem* with these grants and commissions, he had all the success herein which he proposed. For at this time there were many among the *Jews* fondly inclined to the ways of the *Greeks*, whom he gratified by erecting his *Gymnasium* for them to exercise in; and the freedom of the city of *Antioch* being a privilege of great value, while the *Syro-Macedonian* King flourished there, by his power of granting that freedom he drew over many more to his bent; so that z putting down the governments that were according to law, he brought up new customs against the law, drawing the chief young men of the *Jewish* nation into his *Ephebeum*; and there training them up after the manner of the *Greeks*; and in all things else he made as many of them as he could apostatize from the religion and usages of their fore-fathers, and conform themselves to the manners, customs and rites of the heathens; whereon the service of the altar became neglected, and the Priests despising the temple, omitted there the publick worship of God, and hasten'd to partake of the games and divertisements of the *Gymnasium*, and all other the unlawful allowances of that place; whereby it came to pass that all those privileges, which at the solicitation of *John* the father of *Eupolemus* were by special favour obtained of King *Seleucus Philopator* for the securing of the observance of the *Jewish* law in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, were all overborn and taken away. And from hence was propagated that iniquity among the *Jews*, which drew after it for its punishment one of the greatest calamities, next the two terrible destructions executed upon their temple and countrey by *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Titus*, that ever beset that nation. Of all which mischief the ambition of this wicked man was the original cause: For sacrificing to it his religion and his countrey, he betrayed both to procure his own advancement. And to render himself the more acceptable to those from whom he obtained it, he changed not only his religion, but also his name: For a his name was at first *Jesus*, but when he went over to the ways of the *Greeks*, he took also a *Greek* name, and called himself *Jason*, and having thus given himself up to the heathen superstition, he laid hold of all opportunities to distinguish himself in expressing his zeal for it.

x 2 Maccab. iv. 33, 34.

y 2 Maccab. iv. 8, 9.

z 2 Maccab. iv. 10, 11, 12, &c.

a Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 6.

AND therefore ^b the next year being the time of the ^c *Quinquennial* An. 174. Ptolemy Philometor 7. games that were celebrated at *Tyre* in honour of *Hercules* the patron god of that countrey, and *Antiochus* being present at them, he sent several *Jews* of his party, whom he had enfranchised and made freemen of *Antioch*, to be ^d spectators of those games, and to offer from him a donative of ^e 3300 drachms to be expended in sacrifices to that heathen deity. But the bearers being afraid of involving themselves in the guilt of this idolatry, gave the money to the *Tyrians* to be employed in the repairing of their fleet; and so the apostate was defeated of what he intended by this impious gift.

IN *Egypt* from ^f the death of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, *Cleopatra* his Queen, An. 173. Ptolemy Philometor 8. sister of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, had taken on her the government of the kingdom, and the tuition of her infant son, who had succeeded him in it, and managed it with great care and prudence; but she dying this year, the management of affairs there fell into the hands of *Lemæus* a nobleman of that court, and *Eulæus* an eunuch, who had the breeding up of the young King. As soon as they had entered on the administration, they made demand of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine* from *Antiochus Epiphanes*, ^g which gave origin to the war that afterwards ensued between *Antiochus* and *Philometor*. As long as *Cleopatra* lived, she being mother to the one and sister to the other, kept this matter from making a breach between them; but after her death, those into whose hands the government next fell, made no longer scruple to demand of *Antiochus*, in behalf of their master, what they thought his due. And it must be owned, that those provinces were always in the possession of the Kings of *Egypt* from the time of the first *Ptolemy*, till *Antiochus the Great* wrested them out of the hands of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*; and by this title only *Selencus* his son came to be in full possession of them, and on his death was succeeded in the same by *Antiochus Epiphanes* his brother. The *Egyptians* in de-

^b 2 Maccab. iv. 18, 19. ^c These Quinquennial games at Tyre were in imitation of the Quinquennial games in Greece called the Olympics. They are called Quinquennial, because they were celebrated in the beginning of the fifth year, tho' from one Olympic to another no more than four years intervened. ^d The original calls them *Θεωγῆς*, which word among the Greeks signify'd such as were sent from one city to another in the name of the community to be present at their sacred solemnities; and bear a part in them. ^e In the English version it is 300 drachms, and so it is also in the common printed books of the Greek original. But in the Arundel manuscript it is *τρεχμῖας τετρακοσίας*, i. e. 3300; which is the truer reading; for 300 drachms at the highest valuation making no more than 75 Jewish shekels, that is of our money 11 l. 5 s. it was too little to be sent on such an occasion (vide Annales Usserii sub anno mundi 3830.) But it is to be here observed, that the Tyrian god, to whom this oblation was sent, is in the place of the second book of Maccabees here cited called Hercules, according to the style of the Greeks. Among the Tyrians themselves this name was not known. There his name was Melcarthus, which being compounded of the two Phœnician words Melec and Kartha, did in that language signify the King or Lord of the city. The Greeks, from some similitude which they found in the worship of this god at Tyre, with that wherewith they worshipped Hercules in Greece, thought them to be both the same, and therefore called this Tyrian god Hercules: and hence came the name of Hercules Tyrius among them. This God seems to be the same with the Baal of the holy Scriptures, whose worship Jezebel brought from Tyre into the Land of Israel; for Baal with the addition of Kartha signifyeth the same as Melec with the same addition; for as the latter in the Phœnician language is King of the city, the other in the same language is Lord of the city; and as Baal is put alone to signify this Tyrian god in Scripture, so do we find Melec also put alone to signify the same god. For Hesychius tells us, *Μάλικα τὸν Ἡρακλέα Ἀραβῆσι*, i. e. Malic is the Name of Hercules among the Amathusians: And these Amathusians were a colony of the Tyrians in Cyprus. Vide Sanchoniathonem apud Eusebium de Præp. Evang. lib. 1. Bocharti Phaleg. part. 2. lib. 1. cap. 34. & lib. 2. cap. 2 Seldenum de diis Syris Syntag. 1. cap. 6. & Fulleri miscellanea lib. 3. cap. 17. ^f Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 21. ^g Polybius Legat. 82. p. 908.

fence of their claim argued, that ^h in the last partition of the empire of *Alexander* made after the battel of *Ipsus* among those four of his successors who then survived, these provinces were assigned to *Ptolemy Soter*; that he and the succeeding Kings of his race had held them ever after, till *Antiochus the Great* wrested them out of the hands of *Ptolemy Epiphanes* after the battel of *Paneas*; and that the same *Antiochus* had agreed on the marrying of his daughter to the same King *Ptolemy*, and made it the main article of that marriage, again to restore to him these provinces by way of dower with her. But *Antiochus* ⁱ denied both these allegations, pleading in answer to them, that by virtue of the last partition of the empire of *Alexander* above-mentioned, all *Syria*, including *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, was assigned to *Seleucus Nicator*; and therefore it belonged to him as his rightful heir in the *Syrian* empire: And as to the article of marriage whereby a restoration of those provinces to King *Ptolemy* was claimed, he utterly denied that there was any such thing. And having thus declared on both sides their pretensions, they joined issue hereon, and referred it to the sword to decide the matter.

PTOLEMY Philometor being now fourteen years old, he was declared to be out of his minority, and thereon ^k great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for his ^l inthronization, as was usual there on this occasion; hereon *Antiochus* ^m sent *Apollonius* one of the prime nobles of his court in an embassy thither to be present at the solemnity, and to congratulate the young King thereon. This he did, in outward pretence to express his respects to his nephew, and shew him honour on this occasion; but in reality it was only to spy out how that court stood affected to him, and what measures they were purposing to take, in reference to him and the contested provinces of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*. And on the return of this ambassador to him, finding by his report that war was intended against him, he ⁿ came by sea to *Joppa* to take a view of the frontiers towards *Egypt*, and to put them into a thorough posture of defence against any attempts which the *Egyptians* might make upon them. And in this progress he came to *Jerusalem*, where he was received with great pomp and solemnity by *Jason* and all the city, and treated with great magnificence; but this operated nothing for the averting of that great mischief and calamity which he afterwards brought upon that place and the whole Nation of the *Jews*. From *Jerusalem* he marched into *Phœnicia*, and having there settled all matters he returned again to *Antioch*.

An. 172.
Ptolemy
Philometor 9.

THE next year *Jason* ⁿ sent *Menelaus* his brother to *Antioch* there to pay the King his tribute money, and also to treat with him about other matters, which he thought necessary to be done. But on his admission to audience, instead of pursuing his commission in behalf of his brother, he treacherously supplanted him, and got into his place: For having first recommended himself to the favour of this vain prince by a flattering speech, wherein he greatly magnified the glorious appearance of his power, he took the opportunity of petitioning him for the high-priesthood for

^h Polyb. Legat. 72. p. 893. ⁱ Polyb. Legat. 72. p. 893. & Legat. 82. p. 908. ^k Polyb. Legat. 78. p. 902. ^l 2 Maccab. iv. 21. ^m 1 This the Alexandrian Greeks called *Ἀνακλήσεις* or the Solemnity of salutation, because they then first saluted him as King; this the author of the second book of Maccabees, call *προσηκλήσεις* iv. 21. for so it ought to be read according to the Alexandrian MS. and not *προσηκλήσεις*, as in the printed Books. ⁿ 2 Maccab. iv. 23, 24, 25. himself.

himself, offering more than *Jason* gave for it by three hundred talents. Which offer being readily accepted *Jason* was deposed, after he had been as High-priest in the government of that nation ^o three years, and *Menelaus* was advanced in his stead. This *Menelaus*, the author of the second book of *Maccabees* ^p saith, *was brother to Simon the Benjamite*, who was of the house of *Tobias*, but this could not be; for none but such as were of the house of *Aaron* were capable of this office; and therefore in this particular *Josephus* is rather to be credited, ^q who positively tells us, that he was the brother of *Onias* and *Jason*, and the son of *Simon* the second of that name High-priest of the *Jews*; and that he was the third of his sons, that had been in that office. His name at first was *Onias*, the same with that of his eldest brother, but running as fast as *Jason* into the ways of the *Greeks*, in imitation of him he took a *Greek* name also, and called himself *Menelaus*. His father and his eldest brother were both of them holy and good men, but he chose rather to imitate the example of wicked *Jason* than theirs; for he ^r followed him in all his ways of fraud, wickedness, and apostasy, and out-did him in each of them. *Jason's* being supplanted by him in the same manner, as he supplanted *Onias*, was a just retaliation of providence; but *Menelaus* was a much more wicked instrument herein than the other; since he practised this fraud against *Jason*, while he was under his confidence, and had from him the character of his ambassador, and by virtue of that character got that access to the King whereby he effected it. As soon as his mandate for the office was dispatch'd at the *Syrian* court, *Menelaus* went with it to *Jerusalem*. And although on his coming ^s the sons of *Tobias*, who then made a very potent faction in the *Jewish* state, join'd with him; yet such a party stood for *Jason*, that *Menelaus* was forced with his friends of the house of *Tobias* to quit the place, and return again to *Antioch*: Where they having declared, that they would no longer observe their countrey laws and institutions, but would go over to the religion of the King, and the worship of the *Greeks*; this so far gained them the favour of *Antiochus*, that he sent them back assisted with such a power as *Jason* could not resist. And therefore being forced to leave *Jerusalem* ^t he fled into the land of the *Ammonites*, and *Menelaus* took possession of his office without any farther opposition; and thereon he proceeded to make good all that he and his party had declared at *Antioch*, ^v by apostatizing from the law of *Moses* to the religion of the *Greeks*, and all other their rites and usages, and drawing as many others after him into the same impiety as he was able. For he did not desire the office of High-priest at *Jerusalem* for the sake of the *Jewish* religion, or that he intended to practise any part of the *Jewish* worship in it. That which made this office so desirable to him and *Jason*, and induced them both to give so much money for it, was the temporal authority that went with the ecclesiastical. For at that time, and for some ages past, the High-Priest of the *Jews* had first under the *Persian* and afterwards under the *Macedonian* Kings the sole temporal government of that nation. This last most certainly was derived from the King, and this gave him the handle to dispose of both,

^o 2 Maccab. iv. 23. ^p Ibidem. ^q Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 6. ^r 2 Maccab. iv. 5. *Josephus*
 Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 6. ^s *Josephus* ibid. ^t 2 Maccab. iv. 26. ^v *Josephus* Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 6.
 tho'

tho' the priesthood it self were derived only from that divine authority under which it acted. And the case is the same in respect of the christian priesthood: For to instance in Episcopacy, the first order of it, besides the ecclesiastical office, which is derived from *Christ* alone, it hath in christian states annexed to it (as with us) the temporal benefice, (that is, the revenues of the bishoprick) and some branches of the temporal authority, as the probat of wills, causes of tythes, causes of defamation, &c. All which latter most certainly is held under the temporal state, but not the former. Were this distinction duly considered, it would put an end to those erastian notions which now so much prevail among us: For the want of this is the true cause that many observing some branches of the episcopal authority to be from the state, wrongfully from hence infer that all the rest is so too; whereas, would they duly examine the matter, they would find, that besides the temporal power and temporal revenues with which Bishops are invested, there is also an ecclesiastical or spiritual power which is derived from none other than *Christ* alone. And the same distinction may also serve to quash another controversy, which was much agitated among us in the reign of his late Majesty King *William the third*, about the act which deprived the Bishops who would not take the oaths to that King. For the contest then was, that an act of parliament could not deprive a Bishop. This we acknowledge to be true in respect of the spiritual office, but not in respect of the benefice, and other temporal advantages and powers annexed thereto: For these every Bishop receiverh from the state, and the state can again deprive any Bishop of them upon a just cause: And this was all that was done by the said act. For the Bishops that were then deprived by it, had still their episcopal office left entire to them, they being as much Bishops of the Church universal after their deprivation as they were before.

An. 171.
Ptolemy
Philo-
metor 10.

MENE LAUS, after he had got into the High-priesthood by outbidding his brother, * took no care to pay the money; whereon the King calling upon *Sostratus*, the captain of the castle at *Jerusalem* (who was also receiver of the King's revenues in *Judaea*) and he upon *Menelaus* for the money, they were both summoned to appear before the King at *Antioch* to give an account hereof; but on their arrival there, they found the King was gone from thence to quell an insurrection which had been made against him at *Mallus* and *Tarsus*, two cities of *Cilicia*. For the revenues of these cities having been assigned to *Antiochis*, one of the King's concubines, for her maintenance, the inhabitants, either out of indignation for this thing, or because the concubine exacted upon them, rose up in an uproar, and *Antiochus* was then hasten'd thither to appease it, leaving *Andronicus*, one of the prime nobles of his court, to govern *Antioch* during his absence. *Menelaus* taking the advantage of the time thus gained by the absence of the King, made the best use of it he could to raise the money he owed him before his return: In order whereto, * having by the means of *Lysimachus*, whom he left his deputy at *Jerusalem*, gotten many of the gold vessels out of the temple, he sold them at *Tyre*, and the cities round about, and thereby raised money enough not only to pay the King, but also to bribe *Andronicus* and other courtiers to procure favour for him. † *Onias*, who then lived at *Antioch*, as being confined to that place by the order of the King,

* 2 Maccab. iv. 27, 28.

* 2 Maccab. iv. 32, 39.

† 2 Maccab. iv. 33, 34.

having

having notice of this sacrilege, reproved *Menelaus* very severely for it; which the apostate not being able to bear, for the revenging of himself upon him for it, applied to *Andronicus*, and engaged him for a sum of money to cut *Onias* off, of which *Onias* having gained intelligence, fled to the *Asylum* at *Daphne*, and there took sanctuary for the safety of his life. But ^z *Andronicus* having by fair words and false oaths persuaded him to come forth out of that place, immediately put him to death, that thereby he might earn the money which *Menelaus* had promised him. But *Onias* having by his laudable carriage, while he lived at *Antioch*, gained much upon the affection and esteem of the inhabitants of the place, as well *Greeks* as *Jews*, they took this murder so ill, ^a that they both joined in a petition to the King, on his return, against *Andronicus* for it; whereon cognizance being taken of the crime, and the wicked murderer convicted of it, *Antiochus* ^b caused him with infamy to be carried to the place where the murder was committed, and there put to death for it in such manner as he deserved. For *Antiochus*, as wicked a tyrant as he was, had sorrow and regret upon him for the death of so good a man, and therefore in his thus revenging of it he executed his own resentments, as well as those of the persons who had petitioned for it.

THIS *Onias* was High-priest of the *Jews* twenty four years. *Eusebius* mentioneth not at all the time of his being in the office, tho' he doth it of all the rest from the time of the *Babylonish* captivity. But the ^c *Chronicon Alexandrinum* doth assign him twenty four years, which are to be reckoned to the time of his death. This *Chronicon*, in the assigning of the years of each pontificate, from the time mentioned to the death of this *Onias*, much better agreeing both with the scriptures and the history of *Josephus*, than either *Africanus* or *Eusebius*, I have rather chosen to follow that author in this matter, than either of the other ² two, excepting only in the pontificate of *Simon the Just*. For whereas the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* assigns to it fourteen years, and *Eusebius* only nine, I chuse rather to follow *Eusebius* in this particular, that I might not carry down the last year of the high-priesthood of *Manasseh* too far from the death of his father. For allowing *Simon the Just* fourteen years to his pontificate, it will carry down the time of the death of *Manasseh* to seventy six years after the death of *Jaddua* his father, and make him to be near an hundred, if not more, at the time of his decease; and every year deducted from so great an age, makes the account the more probable, and nothing can be deducted elsewhere to lessen it by the authority of either of those two authors, (and there is no other authority but theirs to be recurred to in this matter:) For all the years of the other pontificates, from the death of *Jaddua* to that of *Manasseh*, do in both these authors either equal or exceed the years of the said *Chronicon*, and therefore there is no place else where

^z 2 Maccab. iv. 33, 34.

^a 2 Maccab. iv. 25, 26.

^b 2 Maccab. iv. 27, 28.

^c This *Chronicon* had first the name of *Fastii Siculi*, because first found in an old library in Sicily, and from thence conveyed to Rome, where *Sigonius* and *Onufrius* made use of it, and quote it under the name of *Fastii Siculi*. But *Sylburgius* having gotten another copy of it, presented it to *Hoeschelius*, who gave it to the library at *Augsburg* in Germany, from whence *Rader* the Jesuit published it with a Latin version, anno Dom. 1624. under the title of *Chronicon Alexandrinum*. He gave it this title, because in the manuscript, from whence he printed it, there was a short preface premised under the name of *Peter Patriarch of Alexandria*.

they can be lessened by the authority of either of them. And unless they be thus lessened, another inconvenience would happen worse than the other; for otherwise the last year of *Onias* would be carried down beyond what is consistent either with the history of *Josephus*, or that of the two books of the *Maccabees*. From the death of *Onias* the pontificates following will be taken from the said books of the *Maccabees*, as far as they go, and from the history of *Josephus*, who hath them all to the end.

IN the interim there happen'd a great mutiny at *Jerusalem*, by reason of the vessels of gold that were carried out of the temple by the order of *Menelaus*. When he went to *Antioch*,^d he left *Lysimachus*, another of his brothers as bad as himself, to execute his office during his absence, and by his means^e those vessels of gold were carried out of the temple, which *Menelaus* sold at *Tyre* and other places to raise the money above mentioned. When this came to be known, and the^f bruit hereof was spread abroad among the people, the multitude taking great indignation hereat, gathered themselves together against *Lysimachus*; whereon he got together about three thousand men of his party, under the command of one *Tyrannus* an old foldier, to resist their rage, and defend himself against them; but the multitude fell on them with that fury, that wounding some, and killing others, they forced the rest to flee; and then falling on *Lysimachus*, the sacrilegious robber, they slew him beside the treasury within the temple, and thereby for that time put an end to this sacrilege.

ANTIOCHUS^g having ever since the return of *Apollonius* from the *Egyptian* court been preparing for the war, which he found he must necessarily have with *Ptolemy* about the provinces of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, and being now ready for it, resolved to defer it no longer; but instead of expecting the war in his own territories, determined to carry it into those of his enemy. The youth of *Ptolemy* (he being then but sixteen years old) and the weak conduct of the ministers, into whose hands he was fall'n, made him despise both; and the *Romans* (under whose protection *Egypt* then was) were not at leisure to afford them any help, by reason of the war which they were at that time engaged in with *Perseus* King of *Macedon*; and therefore thinking he could not have a more favourable juncture for the bringing of this controversy to a successful decision, he resolved forthwith to begin the contest. However, to keep as fair with the *Romans* as the case would admit,^h he sent ambassadors to lay before the senate the right he had to the provinces of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine* then in his possession, and to justify the war which he was forced to enter on in the defence of them, and then forthwith marched his army towards the frontiers of *Egypt*; ⁱ where being met by the forces of *Ptolemy* between mount *Casius* and *Pelusium*, it there came to a battel between them; in which *Antiochus* having gotten the victory, he took care on the advantage of it well to fortify that border of his dominions, and to make the barrier in that quarter as strong as he could against any future attempt that *Ptolemy* might make upon these provinces; and then without attempting any thing farther

^d 2 Maccab. iv. 29.^e 2 Maccab. iv. 29.^f 2 Maccab. iv. 40, 41, 42.^g Livius, lib. 42. cap. 29. Polyb. Legat. 71. p. 892. Justin. lib. 34. cap. 2. Diodor. Sic. Legat. 18. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 6. Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 22. ^h Polybius Legat. 72. p. 893. Diodor. Sic. Legat. 18. ⁱ Hieronymus ibidem.

this year returned to *Tyre*, and there and in the neighbouring cities put his army into winter quarters.

WHILE he lay at *Tyre*, there ^k came thither to him three delegates from the sanhedrim, or seat of the *Jews*, to complain of the sacrileges of *Menelaus*, and the violences and disorders, which by *Lysimachus* his deputy, he had lately caused at *Jerusalem*; and having on the hearing of the cause plainly convicted him before the King of all that they had laid to his charge, *Menelaus* to avoid the sentence, which he deserved, and which he saw was ready to be pronounced against him, bribed *Ptolemy Macron* the son of *Dorymenes*, with a great sum of money to befriend him with the King; whereon *Ptolemy* taking the King aside, prevailed with him contrary to what he intended not only to absolve *Menelaus*, but also to put to death the three delegates of the *Jews*, as if they had unjustly accused him: Which was so manifest a piece of oppression and injustice in the eyes of all in that place, that the *Tyrians*, pitying their case, caused them to be honourably buried.

THIS *Ptolemy Macron* ¹ having been formerly governor of *Cyprus* for King *Ptolemy Philometor*, had, during his minority, reserved all the King's revenues of that island in his hands, refusing to pay it to the ministers notwithstanding their earnest call for it. But as soon as the King was enthroned he brought it all to *Alexandria*, and there paid the whole into the royal treasury; which being a supply, which at that time came very conveniently to answer the exigencies of the government, he then obtained great applause for his good conduct in this matter: But afterwards being disgusted either by some ill treatment from the ministry, or for that his service was not rewarded according to his expectation, ^m he revolted from King *Ptolemy*, and went over to *Antiochus*, and delivered the island of *Cyprus* into his hands. Whereon *Antiochus* received him with great favour, admitted him ⁿ into the number of his principal friends, and made him ^o governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*; and sent ^p *Crates*, who had been before deputy governor of the castle at *Jerusalem* under *Sostratus*, to be chief commander of *Cyprus* in his stead. Thus much is proper to be said of him in this place, because there will be other occasions to make mention of him in the future series of this history.

ABOUT this time, ^q for forty days together, there were seen at *Jerusalem* in the air, very strange sights of horsemen and footmen armed with shields, spears, and swords, and in great companies fighting against and charging each other, as in battel array; which foreboded those calamities of war and desolation, which soon after happen'd to that city and nation. And the like were seen at the place before the destruction of that city by the *Romans*: So ^r *Josephus* tells us who lived in that time, and attests it to have been vouched to him by such as had been eye witnesses of the same.

ANTIOCHUS having been making preparations during all the winter for a second expedition into *Egypt*, as soon as the season of the year would permit, ^s again invaded that countrey both by sea and land; and having on the frontiers gained ^t another victory over the forces of *Ptolemy*, that

^k 2 Maccab. iv. 44--50. ¹ Valesii excerpta ex Polybio, p. 126. ^m 2 Maccab. x. 13.
ⁿ 1 Maccab. iii. 38. ^o 2 Maccab. viii. 8. ^p 2 Maccab. iv. 29. ^q 2 Maccab. v. 2, 3.
^r De bello Judaico. lib. 7. cap. 12. ^s 2 Maccab. v. 1. ^t 1 Maccab. i. 17, 18. Hieronymus in comment. ad Dan. xi. 24.

were sent thither to oppose him, took *Pelufium*, and from thence made his way into the heart of the kingdom. In ^u this last overthrow of the *Egyptian* army, it was in his power to have cut them all off to a man; but instead of pursuing this advantage, he took care to put a stop to the executing of it, riding about the field in person after the victory to forbid the putting of any more to death; which clemency of his so far reconciled and endeared him to the *Egyptians*, that on his farther march into the countrey they ^w all readily yeilded to him, and he made himself with very little trouble master of *Memphis*, and all the other parts of *Egypt* excepting *Alexandria*, which alone held out against him.

WHILE *Antiochus* carried on this last invasion, *Philometor* came into his hands; whether he were taken prisoner by him, or else voluntarily came unto him is not said, the latter seems most likely: For *Antiochus* took not from him his liberty, but ^{*}they did eat at the same table, and conversed together as friends, and for some time *Antiochus* pretended to take care of the interest of this young King his nephew, and to manage the affairs of the kingdom as tutor and guardian to him. But when he had under this pretence made himself master of the countrey, he seized all to himself; and having miserably pillaged all parts where he came, ^y vastly enriched himself and his army with the spoils of them. During all this time, *Philometor* ^z conducted himself with a very mean spirit, keeping himself, while in arms, at as great a distance from all danger as he was able, and never shewing himself in the army that was to fight for him; and afterwards in a slothful cowardice submitting to *Antiochus*, and suffering himself to be deprived by him of so large a kingdom, without attempting any thing for the preserving of it; which was not so much owing to his want of natural courage or capacity (for he afterwards gave many instances of both) as to the effeminate education in which he was bred up by his tutor *Eulaus*. For that wicked eunuch being also his prime minister of state, took care by corrupting him with all manner of luxury and effeminacy to make him as unfit for government as he was able, that when he was grown up, he might still be as necessary to him, and have the same power in the kingdom as he before had in the time of his minority: Which is a policy that hath often been practised by wicked ministers towards their princes in their minority, to the vast damage always of the countrey where it hath happen'd.

WHILE *Antiochus* was in *Egypt*, ^a a false rumour having been spread through all *Palestine*, that he was dead, *Jason* thinking this a fit opportunity for him again to recover his station at *Jerusalem*, which he formerly had there as High-priest, march'd thither with above a thousand men, and having by the assistance of the party he had there, taken the city, and droven *Menelaus* to flee for shelter into the castle, he acted all manner of cruelties upon his fellow citizens, putting to death without mercy as many of those whom he thought his adversaries, as he could light upon.

ANTIÖCHUS on his being informed of all this in *Egypt*, supposed that the whole *Jewish* nation had revolted from him, and therefore

^u Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valesii, p. 311. ^w Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 23. ^x Hieronymus ad Dan. xi. 25. ^y 1 Maccab. i. 19. ^z Justin. lib. 34. cap. 2. Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valesii; p. 310. ^a 1 Maccab. i. 20--25. 2 Maccab. v. 5, 6, Josephus Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 8.

^b marched with all haste out of *Egypt* into *Judæa*, to quell this rebellion; and being told that the people of *Jerusalem* made great rejoicings on the news which came to them of his death, he was very much provoked thereat; and therefore in a great rage laying siege to *Jerusalem*, and ^c taking the city by force, he slew of the inhabitants in three days time forty thousand persons; and having taken as many more captives, sold them for slaves to the neighbouring nations. And not content with this he impiously forced himself into the temple, and entered into the inner and most sacred recesses of it; polluting by his presence both the holy place, and also the holy of holies; the wicked traytor *Menelaus* being his conductor and shewing him the way into both. And to offer the greater indignity to this sacred place, and to affront in the highest manner he was able the religion, whereby God was worshipped in it, he sacrificed a great sow upon the altar of burnt-offerings; and broth being by his command made with some part of the flesh thereof boiled in it, he caused it to be sprinkled all over the temple for the utmost defiling of it. And after this having sacrilegiously plundered it by taking thence the altar of incense, the shew-bread table, the candlestick of seven branches, that stood in the holy place, which were all of gold, and several other golden vessels, utensils, and donatives of former kings to the value of eighteen hundred talents of gold, and made the like plunder in the city, he returned to *Antioch*, carrying thither with him the spoils of *Judæa* as well as of *Egypt*; which both together amounted to an immense treasure of riches. On his departure from *Jerusalem*, for the farther vexation of the *Jews*, ^d he appointed *Philip* a *Phrygian*, who was a man of a very cruel and barbarous temper, to be governor of *Judæa*; and *Andronicus* another of the like disposition to be governor of *Samaria*; and left *Menelaus* to be still over them in the office of High-priest; who was worse to them than all the rest.

As to *Jason*, ^e on the return of *Antiochus* out of *Egypt*, he durst not tarry his coming to *Jerusalem*, but on his approach to that place, fled thence for fear of him, back again into the land of the *Ammonites*; but being there accused before *Aretas* King of the *Arabians*, whose kingdom reached into that countrey, he fled from thence also; and after that being forced to shift from place to place pursued of all men, and hated every where for his wickedness towards God, his countrey, and his religion; and finding safety no where in those parts, he was cast out thence first into *Egypt*, and from thence again into *Lacedæmonia*, where he perished in exile and misery without having any one to give him a burial.

^b 1 Maccab. i. 20---28. 2 Maccab. v. 11-20. Josephus antiq. lib- 12. cap. 7. lib. 13. cap. 16. De Bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 1. Contra Apionem lib. 2. & in libro de Maccabæis, cap. 4. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 34. Ecloga prima. p. 901. Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 27. ^c That Antiochus at this time took Jerusalem by force, is said by the author of the second book of the Maccabees, v. 11. and so also by Diodorus Siculus in the place above cited. But Josephus in the 12th book of his Antiquities, chap. 7. contrary hereto tells us, that Antiochus entered the city ἀμαχῆ, i. e. without force, those of his party within opening the gates to him; but herein he is also contrary to himself. For in his history of the Jewish war, book the first, chapter the first, he saith Antiochus took it κατὰ βία, i. e. by force, and there represents him as enraged by what he had suffered in the siege; and in the sixth book of the same history, chap. 11. he speaks of those, who were slain in this siege fighting against Antiochus in defence of the place. And this is not the only place where Josephus is inconsistent with himself, many other instances may be shewn of his giving different accounts of the same matter in different places. He having written his history of the Jewish war, and his antiquities at different times, between those two are most of these differences to be found.

^d 2 Maccab. v. 22, 23.

^e 2 Maccab. v. 7---10

An. 169.
Ptolemy
Philome-
tor 12.

THE *Alexandrians* ^f finding *Philometor* to be fallen under the power of *Antiochus*, and by him in a manner wholly deprived of the crown, looked on him as altogether lost to them; and therefore having the younger brother with them, they put him on the throne, and made him their King instead of the other; from which time he took the name of *Ptolemy Euergetes the second*, but afterwards they gave him the name of *Physcon*, i. e. *the fat-guts*, or *great-bellied*, by reason of the great and prominent belly, which by his luxury and gluttony he afterwards acquired, and by this name he is most commonly mentioned by those who have written of him. On his thus ascending the throne, ^g *Cineas* and *Cumanus* were made his prime ministers, and to them was committed the care of again restoring the broken affairs of that kingdom.

ANTIOCHUS, on his hearing of this, ^h laid hold of the occasion for his making of a third expedition into *Egypt*, under pretence of restoring the deposed King, but in reality to subject the whole kingdom to himself; and therefore having ⁱ vanquished the *Alexandrians* in a sea-fight near *Pelusium*, he again entered the countrey with a great army, and marched directly towards *Alexandria* to lay siege to the place. Whereon the young King ^k consulting with his two ministers, agreed to call a council of the chief commanders of the army, and upon advice had with them, pursue such methods for the stemming of the present difficulties as they should direct him unto; who having accordingly been called and met together, and having thoroughly considered the state of the then present affairs, advised to endeavour an accommodation with *Antiochus*, and that the ambassadors who were then at *Alexandria* on embassies from several of the *Grecian* states to the *Egyptian* court, should be desired to interpose their mediation for the effecting of it: Who ^l having readily undertaken the matter, forthwith sailed up the river to meet *Antiochus* with the proposals of peace which they were entrusted with, taking with them two ambassadors from *Ptolemy* himself for the same purpose. On their coming to his camp he received them very kindly, and having the first day entertained them at a splendid treat, appointed the next day to hear what they had to propose. The *Achaens* having then first opened the cause on which they were sent, all the rest spoke to it in their turns; and they all agreed in laying the blame of making the war on *Eulaus's* ill conduct, and the nonage of King *Ptolemy Philometor*; and on these two heads they apologized as much as they could for the present King, in order to mollify *Antiochus*, and bring him to terms of peace with him; and much urged the relation which was between them for a motive to induce him to it. *Antiochus* in answer to them acknowledged all to be true that they had said, concerning the cause of the war; and then took the opportunity of setting forth his title to the provinces of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, alledging all the arguments for it, which have been ^m above mentioned, and producing instruments for the proof of all that he alledged; which he did in such a manner, as fully satisfied all that were present of his right to those provinces. And then as to the proposals of peace, he referred them to a future treaty, which he

^f Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri, p. 60. & p. 68.

^g Polybius Legat. 81. p. 907.

^h Polybius Legat. 80, 81, 82. p. 906, 907. Livius, lib. 44. cap. 19.

ⁱ Livius, ibidem.

^k Polybius Legat. 81. p. 907.

^l Polybius Legat. 82. p. 908.

^m Supra sub anno 173.

said he should be ready to enter into with them about this matter, when two persons then absent, whom he named, should come to him, without whom he told them he could do nothing herein; and then went to *Naucratis*, and from thence to *Alexandria*, and there laid siege to the place. *Ptolemy Energetes* and *Cleopatra* his sister, who were then shut up in the town, being hereby much distressed, sent ambassadors to the *Romans* to represent their case, and pray relief: And a little after there came ambassadors from the *Rhodians* to endeavour to make peace between the two Kings^o, who having landed at *Alexandria*, and received what instructions the ministers of that court would entrust them with, went thence to the camp, in which *Antiochus* lay before the town, and used the best of their endeavours with him to bring him to an accommodation with the *Egyptian* King; insisting on the long friendship and alliance which they had thitherto enjoyed with both crowns, and the obligations which they thought themselves under on this account, to do the best offices they were able for the making of peace between them. But while they were proceeding in long harangues on these topics *Antiochus* interrupted them, and in few words told them, that there was no need of long orations as to this matter; that the kingdom belonged to *Philometor* the elder brother, with whom he had some time since made peace, and was now in perfect friendship with him; that if they would recal him from banishment, and again restore him to his crown, the war would be at an end. This he said, not that he intended any such thing, but only out of craft farther to embroil the kingdom, for the better obtaining of his own ends upon it. For^p finding he could make no work of it at *Alexandria*, but that he must be forced to raise the siege, the scheme which he had now laid for the compassing of his designs, was to put the two brothers together by the ears, and engage them in a war against each other, that when they had by intestine broils wasted and spent their strength, he might come upon them, while thus weaken'd and spent, and swallow both. And^q with this view having withdrawn from *Alexandria*, he marched to *Memphis*, and there seemingly again restored the whole kingdom to *Philometor*, excepting only *Pelusium*, which he retained in his hands; that having this key of *Egypt* still in his keeping, he might thereby again enter *Egypt*, when matters should there, according to the scheme which he had laid, be ripe for it, and so seize the whole kingdom; and having thus disposed matters, he returned again to *Antioch*.

PTOLEMY Philometor, now roused from his luxurious sloth by the misfortunes which he had suffered in these revolutions, had penetration enough to see into what *Antiochus* intended. His^r keeping of *Pelusium* was a sufficient indication unto him, that he held this gate of *Egypt* still in his power only to enter thorough it again, when he and his brother should have wasted themselves so far by their domestic feuds, as not to be able to resist him, and so make a prey of both. And therefore for the preventing of this, as soon as *Antiochus* was gone, he sent to his brother to invite him to an accommodation; and by the means of *Cleopatra*, who was sister to both, an agreement was made upon terms that the two brothers

ⁿ Polybius Legat. 90. p. 915. Livius, lib. 44. cap. 19. Justin. lib. 34. cap. 2.

^o Polybius Legat. 84. p. 909. ^p Livius, lib. 45. cap. 11. ^q Livius, ibidem.

^r Livius, lib. 45. cap. 11. Justin. lib. 34. cap. 2. Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri, p. 62. & in Eusebii Chronico, p. 68.

should jointly reign together: Whereon *Philometor* returning to *Alexandria*, peace was restored to *Egypt*, much to the satisfaction of the people, especially of the *Alexandrians*, who greatly suffered by the war. But the two brothers being aware that *Antiochus* would return again upon them, sent ambassadors into *Greece* to get auxiliary forces from thence for their defence against him; and they had reason enough so to do: For *Antiochus* hearing of this agreement of the two brothers, and finding his fine-spun scheme of policy, whereby he thought to have made himself master of *Egypt*, wholly baffled by it, he fell into a great rage, and resolved to carry on the war against both the brothers with greater force and fury than he had against either of them before.

An. 168.
Ptolemy
Philometor 13.

AND therefore "very early the next spring he sent a fleet to *Cyprus* to secure that island to him, and at the same time in person marched by land with a numerous army to make another invasion upon *Egypt*, in which he purposed, without owning the interest of either of his nephews, to suppress them both, and make an absolute conquest of the whole kingdom. On his coming to *Rhinocorura*, he was there met by ambassadors from *Philometor*, by whom that Prince having acknowledged his restoration to his kingdom to be owing to him, desired him that he would not destroy his own work, but permit him peaceably to enjoy the crown which he wore by his favour. But *Antiochus* not at all regarding the complement, but waving all those pretences of favour and affection for either of his nephews, which he had hitherto made a shew of, now plainly declared himself an enemy to both, telling the ambassadors, that he demanded the island of *Cyprus*, and the city of *Pelusium*, with all the lands that lay on that branch of the *Nile* on which *Pelusium* stood, to be yielded to him in perpetuity, and that he would on no other terms give peace to either of the brothers; and having set them a day for their giving him an answer to this demand, as soon as that day was over, and no answer returned to his satisfaction, he again invaded *Egypt* with a numerous army; and having subdued all the countrey as far as *Memphis*, and there received the submission of most of the rest, he marched towards *Alexandria* for the besieging of that city, the reduction of which would have made him absolute master of the whole kingdom; and this most certainly he would have accomplished, but that he met a *Roman* embassy in his way, which put a stop to his farther progress, and totally dash'd all the designs which he had been so long carrying on for the making of himself master of that countrey.

I have mentioned before, how *Ptolemy Euergetes* the younger of the two brothers, and *Cleopatra* his sister, being distressed by the former siege which *Antiochus* had laid to *Alexandria*, sent ambassadors to the *Romans* to pray their relief. These "being introduced into the senate, did there in a lamentable habit, and with a more lamentable oration, set forth their case, and in the humblest manner prostrating themselves before that assembly, prayed their help; with which the senate being moved, and having *considered also how much it was their own interest not to permit *Antiochus* to grow so great, as the annexing of *Egypt* to *Syria* would make him, decreed to send an embassy into *Egypt* to put an end to this war. The persons they appointed for it were *Caius Popillius Lænas* (who had been

* Polybius Legat. 89. p. 912.

" Livius, lib. 44. cap. 19.

† Livius, lib. 45. cap. 11.

* Polybius Legat. 90. p. 915.

" Livius, ibidem.

Livius, ibidem.

consul four years before) *Caius Decimius*, and *Caius Hostilius*. Their commission was first to go to *Antiochus*, and after that to *Ptolemy*, and to signify to them, that it was the desire of the senate that they should desist from making any farther war upon each other; and that if either of them should refuse so to do, him the *Roman* people would no longer hold to be either their friend or their ally. And that these ambassadors might come soon enough to execute their instructions before *Antiochus* should make himself master of *Egypt*, they were dispatch'd away in that haste, that within three days after they left *Rome*; and taking with them the *Egyptian* ambassadors, hasten'd to *Brundisium*, and there passing over to the *Grecian* shoar, from thence by the way of *Chalcis*, *Delos*, and *Rhodes*, they came to *Alexandria* just as *Antiochus* was making that second march to besiege this city, which I have mentioned. On his arrival at *Leusine*, a place within four miles of *Alexandria*, the ambassadors there met him. On the sight of *Popillius* (with whom he had contracted an intimate friendship and familiarity, while he was an hostage at *Rome*) he put forth his hand to embrace him as his old friend and acquaintance. But *Popillius* refusing the compliment; told him, that the publick interest of his countrey must take place of private friendship; that he must first know whether he were a friend or an enemy to the *Roman* state, before he could own him as a friend to himself; and then delivered into his hands the tables, in which were written the decree of the senate, which they came to communicate to him, and required him to read it, and forthwith give his answer thereto. *Antiochus* having read the decree, told *Popillius* he would consult with his friends about it, and speedily give him the answer they should advise. But ^y *Popillius* insisting on an immediate answer, forthwith drew a circle round him in the sand with the staff which he had in his hand, and required him to give his answer before he stirr'd out of that circle; at which strange and peremptory way of proceeding *Antiochus* being startled, after a little hesitation yielded to it, and told the ambassador that he would obey the command of the senate; whereon *Popillius* accepting his embraces, acted thenceforth according to his former friendship with him. That which made him so bold as to act with him after this peremptory manner, and the other so tame as to yield thus patiently to it, was the news which they had a little before received of the great victory of the *Romans* which they had gotten over *Perseus* King of *Macedonia*: For *Paulus Æmilius* having now vanquish'd that King, and thereby added *Macedonia* to the *Roman* empire, the name of the *Romans* after this carried that weight with it, as created a terror in all the neighbouring nations; so that none of them after this cared to dispute their commands, but were glad on any terms to maintain peace, and cultivate a friendship with them. After *Popillius* had thus sent *Antiochus* back again into *Syria*, ^z he returned with his colleagues to *Alexandria*; and having there ratify'd and fully fix'd the terms of agreement which had been before, but not so perfectly made between the two brothers, he sail'd to *Cyprus*, and having sent from thence *Antiochus's* fleet, as he had him and his army before from *Egypt*, and caus'd a thorough restoration of that island to be made to the *Egyptian* Kings,

^y Polybius Legat. 92. p. 916. Livius, lib. 45. c. 11, 12. Justin. lib. 34. cap. 3. Appian. in Syriacis. Valerius Maximus, lib. 6. cap. 4. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 1. cap. 10. Plutarchus in Apophthegm. cap. 32. Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 27. ^z Polybius & Livius, ibidem

to whom it of right belonged; he returned home to relate to the senate the full success of his embassy, and ambassadors followed him from the two *Ptolemys* to thank the senate for the great benefit they had received from it: For to this embassy they owed their kingdom, and that peaceable enjoyment, whereby they were now settled in it.

ANTIOCHUS returning out of *Egypt* in great ^a wrath and indignation, because of the baffle which he had there met with from the *Romans* of all his designs upon that countrey; he vented it all upon the *Jews*, who had no way offended him. For on his marching back through *Palestine* ^b he detached off from his army twenty two thousand men under the command of *Apollonius*, who was over the tribute, and sent them to *Jerusalem* to destroy the place.

It was ^c just two years after *Antiochus* had taken *Jerusalem*, that *Apollonius* came thither with his army. On his first arrival he carried himself peaceably concealing his purpose, and forbearing all hostilities till the next sabbath; but then ^d when the people were all assembled together in their synagogues for the celebrating of the religious duties of the day, thinking this the properest time for the executing of his bloody commission, he let loose all his forces upon them with command to slay all the men, and take captive the women and children to sell them for slaves; which they executed with the utmost rigor and cruelty, slaying all the men they could light on without shewing mercy to any, and filling the streets with their blood. After this having spoiled the city of all its riches they set it on fire in several places, demolished the houses, and pulled down the walls round about it, and then with the ruins of the demolished city built a strong fortress on the top of an eminence in the city of *David*, which was over against the temple, and over-looked and commanded the same, and there placed a strong garrison; and making it a place of arms against the whole nation of the *Jews* stored it with all manner of provisions of war; and there also they laid up the spoils which they had taken in the sacking of the city. And this fortress by the advantage of its situation being thus higher than the mountain of the temple, and commanding the same, from thence the garrison soldiers fell on all those, that went up thither to worship, and shed their blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled it with all manner of pollutions. So that from this time the temple became deserted and the daily sacrifices omitted, and none of the true servants of God durst any more go up thither to worship, ^e till *Judas* after three years and an half having recovered it out of the hands of the heathens, purged the place of its pollutions; and by a new dedication restored it again to its pristine use. For ^f all that escaped this carnage being fled from *Jerusalem* left that place wholly in the hands of strangers, so that the sanctuary was laid waste and the whole city desolated of its natural inhabitants. At this time ^g *Judas Maccabæus* with some others that accompanied him fled into the wilderness, and there lived in great hardship, subsisting themselves upon herbs, and what else the mountains and the woods could afford them; till they gained an opportunity of taking up arms for themselves and their

^a Polyb. ibidem.

^b 1 Maccab. i. 29---40. 2 Maccab. v. 24, 25, 26. Josephus antiq. lib.

12. cap. 7.

^c 1 Maccab. i. 29.

^d 1 Maccab. i. 30---40, 2 Maccab. v. 24---26. Josephus

antiq. lib. 12. cap. 7. ^e Josephus in præfatione ad historiam de bello Judaico & ejusdem historię libro 1. cap. 1. & libro 6. cap. 11. 1 Maccab. iv. 2 Maccab. x. ^f 1 Maccab. i. 38, 39. ^g 2 Maccab. v. 27.

countray in manner as will be hereafter related. *Josephus*^h makes *Antiochus* himself to be present at this execution, and confounds what was now done by *Apollonius* with what he himself did in his own person two years before. But the books of the *Maccabees* rightly distinguish these two actions, as done at two different times, the one by *Antiochus* himself after his second expedition into *Egypt*, and the other by *Apollonius* his lieutenant sent by him for this purpose on his return from his fourth and last expedition into that countray two years after; and hereby both are put in their true light.

THIS was done about the time of the year, in which our *Whitsuntide* now falls. *Livy*ⁱ tells us that *Antiochus* made this his last expedition into *Egypt primo vere*, i. e. in the first beginning of the spring; and that the *Roman* ambassadors met him before he could in that march reach *Alexandria*, which could not be above a month or six weeks after his first entring into that countray in this expedition; and immediately on his meeting those ambassadors he was forced to march back again, and in that march might reach *Palestine* about the end of *May*; and then *Apollonius* being sent with his commission for the desolating of the city and temple of *Jerusalem* there executed it, as above related, in the beginning of *June* following. For that desolation of the temple happen'd^k just three years and six months before it was again restored by *Judas Maccabæus*, as hath been already said; and therefore that restoration having been made^l on the twenty fifth day of the ninth month of the *Jews* called *Cisleu* in the 148th year of the æra of the *Seleucidæ*, it must follow, that the time of this desolation must have been on or about the twenty fifth day of their third month called *Sivan* in the æra of the *Seleucidæ*, 145, which answers to the æra before *Christ* 168, under which I have placed it. And the Jewish month *Sivan* answering in part to the month of *May*, and in part to the month of *June* in the *Julian* kalendar, the twenty fifth day of that month must happen near or about the time of our *Whitsuntide*, as I have said; and then it was that by the command of *Antiochus*, and the wicked agency of *Apollonius* the daily sacrifices, whereby God was honoured every morning and evening at *Jerusalem* were made to cease, and the temple turned into desolation: And this was not all the mischief that was done that people this year.

FOR as soon as *Antiochus* was returned to *Antioch*^m he issued out a decree, that all nations within his dominions leaving their former rites and usages should conform to the religion of the King; and worship the same gods, and in the same manner, as he did; which, altho' couched in general terms, was levelled mainly against the *Jews*, that thereby an handle might be afforded for the farther oppressing of that people. And it seems for no other end to have been extended to all the nations of the *Syrian* empire, but that thereby it might reach all of the Jewish worship, wherever they were dispersed among them; it being resolved by *Antiochus* through the adviceⁿ of *Ptolemy Macron*, to carry on this persecution not only against the *Jews* of *Palestine*, but against all others of that religion,

^h Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 7.

ⁱ Lib. 45. cap. 11.

^k Josephus in præfatione ad historiam

de bello Judaico & in ejusdem historię libro 1. cap. 1. & libro 6. cap. 11.

^l 1 Maccab. i. 59.

iv. 52, 54. 2 Maccab. 10. 5.

^m 1 Maccab. i. 41--64.

2 Maccab. 6. Josephus antiq. lib. 12.

cap. 7. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 1. & lib. de Maccabæis cap. 4. Hieronymus in Dan. cap. viii.

& cap. xi. ⁿ 2 Maccab. vi. 8.

who were settled any where else within his dominions. And this indeed was most conformable to his intention, his design being to cut off all of them, where-ever they were within his reach, that would not conform to his decree by apostatizing from their God and his law; that so he might as far as in him lay extinguish both the Jewish religion, and the Jewish name and nation at the same time. And for the more effectual executing of this decree ^o he sent overseers into all the provinces of his empire to see to the observance of it, and to instruct the people in all the rites which they were to conform to. And ^p all the heathen nations readily obeyed his commands herein, one sort of idolatry being to them as acceptable as another; and none did more readily run into this change than the *Samaritans*. ^q As long as the *Jews* were in prosperity, it was their usage to challenge kindred with them; and profess themselves to be of the stock of *Israel*, and of the sons of *Joseph*. But when the *Jews* were under any calamity or persecution, then they would say that they had nothing to do with them; that they were of the race of the *Medes* and *Persians* (as in truth they were) and not of the *Israelites*, and would thus utterly disown all manner of relation to them: Of which they gave a very signal instance at this time. For finding the *Jews* under so severe a persecution, and fearing lest they also might be involved in it, they addressed themselves to the King by a petition; wherein having set forth, that though their forefathers had formerly, for the avoiding of frequent plagues that happen'd in their countrey, been induced to observe the sabbaths, and other religious rites of the *Jews*; and had on mount *Gerizim* a temple like theirs at *Jerusalem*, and therein sacrificed to a god ^r without a name, as they did, and through the superstition of an ancient custom they had ever since gone on in the same way; yet they were not of that nation, or were any way related to them, but were descended from the *Sidonians*, and were ready to conform to all the rites and usages of the *Greeks* according as the King had commanded; they therefore prayed that seeing the King had ordered the punishing of that wicked people, they might not be involved with them therein, as guilty with them of the same crimes. And they farther petitioned that their temple which had hitherto been dedicated to no especial deity, might thenceforth be made the temple of the *Grecian Jupiter*, and be so called for the future. To which petition *Antiochus* having given a favourable answer, sent his order ^s to *Nicanor* the deputy governor of the province of *Samaria* to dedicate their temple to the *Grecian Jupiter* according to their desire, and no more to give them any molestation.

AND the *Samaritans* were not the only apostates that forsook their God and his law on this tryal. ^t Many of the *Jews* either to avoid the persecution, or to curry favour with the King and his officers by their compliance, or else out of their own wicked inclinations, did the same thing. And there were hereon great fallings away in *Israel*, and many of those who were guilty herein joining with the Kings forces then in the land,

^o 1 Maccab. i. 51.

^p 1 Maccab. i. 42.

^q Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 7.

^r For

Jehovah which was the proper name of the God of *Israel* was among them ἀνώνυμος, that is never to be spoken unless once in a year by the High-priest on his entering into the holy of holies on the great day of expiation, and hence it is said to be a God without a name.

^s One Apollonius was then governor of

Samaria, and *Nicanor* was his deputy. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 10. 1 Maccab. iii. 10.

^t 1 Maccab. i. 43---52. vi. 21---27.

became ^u much bitterer enemies to their brethren than any of the heathen themselves, who were sent of purpose to persecute them.

THE overseer, who was sent to see this decree of the King's executed in *Judea* and *Samaria*, was ^w one *Athenaus* an old man, who being well versed in all the rites of the *Grecian* idolatry, was thought a very proper person to initiate those people into the observance of them. On his coming to *Jerusalem*, and there executing his commission, ^{*} all sacrifices to the God of *Israel* were made to cease, all the observances of the *Jewish* religion were suppressed, the temple it self was polluted, and made unfit for God's worship, their sabbaths and festivals were prophaned, their children forbidden to be circumcised, and the law where-ever it could be found was taken away or destroyed, and the ordinances which God commanded them were wholly suppressed throughout the land, and every one was put to death that was discovered in any of these particulars to have acted against what the King had decreed. The *Syrian* soldiers under this overseer were the chief missionaries, and by them this conversion of the *Jews* to the King's religion was effected, in the same manner as a late neighbouring Prince converted his protestant subjects to the idolatrous superstition of *Rome*, which falls very little short of being altogether as bad. Having thus expelled the *Jewish* worship out of the temple, they introduced thither the heathen in its stead, and consecrating it to the chief of their false gods, called it ^v the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*; and having erected his image upon one part of the altar of holocaust, that stood in the inner court of the temple, upon another part of it just before that image they built another lesser altar, whereon they sacrificed to him. This was done ^z on the fifteenth day of the *Jewish* month *Cisleu*, which answers in part to *November*, and in part to *December* in our kalendar; and ^a on the twenty fifth day of the same month they there begun their sacrifices to him. And they did the same ^b to the *Samaritan* temple on mount *Gerizim*, consecrating it to the same *Grecian* god *Jupiter* by the name of *Jupiter the protector of strangers*. That it was the request of the *Samaritans* themselves to have their temple consecrated to the *Grecian Jupiter*, hath been already shewn; and it was also ^c at their desire, that it was consecrated to him under this additional title of *Protector of strangers*, that thereby it might be expressed that they were strangers in that land, and not of the race of *Israel*, who were the old inhabitants of it. And whereas ^d two women were found at *Jerusalem* to have circumcised their male children, of which they had been lately delivered, they hanged those children about their necks, and having led them in this manner through the city, cast them headlong over the steepest part of the walls; and also slew all those who had been accessory with them in the performance of this forbidden rite. And with the same severity they treated all others who were found in the practice of any one of their former religious usages, contrary to what the King had commanded. And the more to propagate among the people that heathen worship which was enjoined, and to bring all to conform thereto, ^e they did set up

^u 1 Maccab. vi. 21 — 24. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 7. ^w 2 Maccab. vi. 1.
^x 1 Maccab. i. 44 — 64. 2 Maccab. vi. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 7. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 1. De Maccabæis, cap. 4. ^y 2 Maccab. vi. 2. ^z 1 Maccab. i. 54.
^a 1 Maccab. i. 59. iv. 54. 2 Maccab. x. 5. ^b 2 Maccab. vi. 2. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 7. ^c 2 Maccab. vi. 2. ^d 1 Maccab. i. 60, 62, 63. 2 Maccab. vi. 10. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 7. ^e 1 Maccab. i. 47.

altars, groves, and chapels of idols in every city, and officers ^f were sent to them; who on the day of the King's birth in every month forced all to offer sacrifices to the *Grecian* gods, and ^s eat of the flesh of swine, and other unclean beasts then sacrificed to them. And when the feast of *Bacchus*, the god of drunkenness, came, and processions were made, as usual among the heathen *Greeks*, to the honour of that abominable deity, the *Jews* ^h were forced to join therein, and ⁱ carry ivy, as the rest of the heathens did, according to the idolatrous usage of the day.

WHEN these officers were thus sent to make all *Judæa* conform to the King's religion, and sacrifice to his gods, ^k one of them called *Apelles* came to *Modin*, where dwelt *Mattathias* a Priest of the course ^l of *Joarib*, a very honourable person, and one truly zealous for the law of his God. He was ^m the son of *John*, the son of *Simon*, the son of *Asmonæus*, from whom the family had the name of *Asmonæans*, and he had with him five sons, all very valiant men, and equally with himself zealous observers of the law of their God; *Johanan* called *Kaddis*, *Simon* called *Thassi*, *Judas* called *Maccabæus*, *Eleazar* called *Avaran*, and *Jonathan*, whose surname was *Apphus*. ⁿ *Apelles* on his coming to this city having called the people together, and declared unto them for what intent he was come, addressed himself in the first place to *Mattathias*, to persuade him to comply with the King's commands, that by the example of so honourable and great a man, all the rest of the people of the place might be induced to do the same; promising him, that thereon he should be taken into the number of the King's friends, and he and his sons should be promoted to honour and riches. To this *Mattathias* answered with a loud voice in the hearing of all the people of the place, that no consideration whatsoever should induce him, or any of his family, ever to forsake the law of their God; but that they would still walk in the covenant which he had made with their fore-fathers, and observe all the ordinances of it; and that no commands of the King should make any of them to depart herefrom. And when he had said thus much, seeing one of the *Jews* of the place presenting himself at the heathen altar, which was there erected, to sacrifice on it according to the King's commands, he was moved hereat with a religious zeal like that of *Phineas*, and ran upon the apostate and slew him; and then in the heat of his wrath fell also on the King's commissioner, and by the assistance of his sons, and others that joined with them, slew him and all that attended him. And after this getting together all of his family, and calling all others to follow, who were zealous for the law, he retired with them to the mountains; and ^o many others followed the same example, whereby the desarts of *Judæa* became filled with those who fled from this persecution. One company of them, to the number of a thousand persons, being gotten into a cave in the desert that lay nearest to *Jerusalem*, *Philip the Phrygian* ^p, whom *Antiochus* had left governor of *Judæa* and *Jerusalem* on his last being there, ^q went out against them with his forces. At first he endeavoured to per-

^f 1 Maccab. i. 51, 58. ii. 15.

^g 1 Maccab. i. 47. Diodorus Siculus, lib. 34. eclog. 1.

^h 2 Maccab. vi. 7.

ⁱ Ivy was sacred to Bacchus, and therefore the Bacchinals always carried it in their processions.

^k 1 Maccab. ii. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 8.

^l The course of

Joarib was the first of the 24 courses of the Priests that served in the temple, 1 Chron. xxiv. 7.

^m Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 8.

ⁿ 1 Maccab. ii. 15 — 28.

^o 1 Maccab. ii. 29, 30.

Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 8.

^p 2 Maccab. v. 22

^q 1 Maccab. ii. 31 — 38. 2 Mac-

cab. vi. 11. Josephus, ibidem.

suade them to a submission to the King's commands, promising them on this condition a thorough impunity for what was past; but they all resolutely answering, that they would rather die than forsake the law of their God, he thereon laid siege to the cave, which they had possessed themselves of, omitting all other hostilities till the next sabbath, expecting then to master them without resistance, and so it accordingly happen'd: For they then refusing, out of an over-scrupulous zeal for the observance of that day to do any thing for their own defence, when fallen on by the enemy, were all cut off, men, women and children, without one being spared of the whole company. *Mattathias* and his followers being much grieved at the hearing of this, and considering, that if they should follow the same example, they must all of them in the same manner be destroyed; on full debate had among them of the matter, they all came into this resolution, that the law of the sabbath in such a case of necessity did not bind; and therefore they unanimously decreed, that whenever they should be assaulted on the sabbath-day they would fight for their lives, and that it was lawful for them so to do; and having ratified this decree by the consent of all the Priests and Elders among them, they sent it to all others, who stood out in the observance of the law, where-ever dispersed through the land; by whom it being received with the like consent and approbation, it was made their rule in all the wars which they afterwards waged against any of their enemies.

ANTIOCHUS hearing that his commands did not meet with such a thorough conformity to them in *Judæa* as in other places, came thither in person farther to enforce the observance of them; and for the accomplishing hereof, executed very great cruelties on all non-apostatizing *Jews* that fell into his hands, hoping thereby to terrify all the rest into a compliance; and on this occasion happen'd the martyrdom of *Eleazar*, and of the mother and her seven sons, which we have described to us by the author of the second book of the *Maccabees*, and by *Josephus*, by both of which a full account having been given of this matter, especially by the latter, who hath written a book particularly hereof, I refer the reader to them. *Rufinus* in his *Latin* paraphrase of this book of *Josephus* concerning the *Maccabees*, gives us the names of the seven brothers, and their mother, and tells us, that as well they as *Eleazar* were carried from *Judæa* to *Antioch*, and that it was there that they were judged by *Antiochus*; but without any authority that we know of for either except his own invention. The reason of the thing, as well as the tenour of the history, which is given us of it by both the authors I have mentioned, make it much more likely that *Jerusalem*, and not *Antioch*, was made the scene of this cruelty; and that especially since it being designed for an example of terror unto the *Jews* of *Judæa*, it would have lost its force if executed any where else than in that countrey.

IN the interim *Mattathias* and his company lay close in the fastnesses of the mountains, where no easy access could be made to them; and as

^r 1 Maccab. ii. 40, 41. *Josephus* antiq. lib. 12. cap. 8. ^s *Josephus* de Maccabæis cap. 4, 5.

^t Chap. vi. & vii.

^u In libro de Maccabæis sive de imperio rationis.

^w Their names

according to *Rufinus* were Maccabæus, Aber, Machir, Judas, Achas, Areth, and Jacob, and their mother's name Solomona, but the later Jewish historians call her Hanna.

^x 1 Maccab. ii.

28, 29.

soon as *Antiochus* was again returned to *Antioch*, great numbers of such as were adherers to the law, there^y resorted to him to fight for the law of their God, and the liberties of their countrey; among these there were a company^z of *Asidæans*, men mighty in valour, and of great zeal for the law, as having voluntarily devoted themselves to a more rigid observation of it than other men; from whence they had the name of *Chasidim* or *Asidæans*: For after the settling of the *Jewish* Church again in *Judæa*, on their return from the *Babylonish* captivity, there were^a two sorts of men among the members of it; the one who contented themselves with that only which was written in the law of *Moses*, and these were called *Zadikim*, i. e. *the righteous*; and the other who over and above the law^b superadded the constitutions and traditions of the elders, and other rigorous observances which by way of supererogation they voluntarily devoted themselves to; and these being reckoned in a degree of holiness above the others, were called *Chasidim*, i. e. *the pious*. From the former of them were derived the sects of the *Samaritans*, *Sadducees*, and *Karaites*; and from the latter the *Pharisees*, and the *Essenes*: Of all which a fuller account will be given in the place proper for it. Of these *Chasidim* were those *Asidæans* (or *Chasidæans*, for^c so it ought to be written) who joined *Mattathias* on this occasion, and he was much strengthen'd by them: For to fight zealously for their religion, and the defence of the temple and its worship, was one of those main points of piety which they had devoted themselves to.

MATTATHIAS having thus gotten such a company together as made the appearance of a small army, ^dcame out of his fastnesses, and took the field with them; and going round the cities of *Judah*, he pulled down all the heathen altars, caused all male children whom he found any where without circumcision to be circumcised; cut off all apostates that fell into his hands, and destroyed all the persecutors where-ever he came. And thus going on he prospered in the work of purging the land of the idolatry which the persecutors had imposed upon it, and again re-established^e the true worship of God in its former state in all places where he prevailed. For having^f recovered several copies of the law out of the hands of the heathen, he restored the service of the synagogue, and caused it again to be read therein as before used to be done. When *Antiochus* issued out his decree for the suppressing of the *Jewish* religion, one main instruction given his agents for this purpose was, every where to^g take away and suppress the law of *Moses*: For that being the rule of their religion, were that taken away, he thought the religion it self must necessarily cease with it. And therefore orders were issued out, commanding all that had any copies of the law to deliver them up, and the punishment of death was severely inflicted upon all who were afterwards found retaining any of them. And by this means the persecutors got into their hands all the copies of the

^y 1 Maccab. ii. 43, 44. ^z 1 Maccab. ii. 42. ^a Vide Grotium in comment. ad 1 Maccab. ii. 42. ^b Vide Josephi Scaligeri Elenchum Trihæresii Nicolai Serarii, cap. 22.

^c For the word in Hebrew is written with the letter cheth, which answers to our ch; and by the translators of the Hebrew text is sometimes expressed in Greek by an aspirat, and in Latin by the letter h, and sometimes is left wholly out, as in the word *Asidæans*. ^d 1 Maccab. ii. 44, 45, &c. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 8.

^e That is the synagogue worship; for the temple worship was still obstructed by reason that the temple was still in the hands of the heathen. ^f 1 Maccab. ii. 48.

^g 1 Maccab. ii. 56, 57. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 7.

law which were in the land, excepting only such as those who fled into the deserts carried with them thither: For all others were forced to deliver them up unto them, and when they had gotten them, some they destroyed, and the others which they thought to preserve^h they polluted, by painting on them the pictures of their gods, that so they might no more be of use to any true *Israelite*: For their pictures wereⁱ forbidden by the law of God as much as their images, and to have either of them was equally esteemed an abomination among that people. But this order of persecution extending only to the five books of *Moses*, and not to the writings of the prophets, those who persisted still in the *Jewish* worship, instead of the lessons which had hitherto from the time of *Ezra* been read out of the law on every sabbath, did read like portions out of the prophets; and upon this occasion the publick reading of the prophets was first introduced into their synagogues, and it being thus introduced it continued there ever after. And therefore when the persecution was over, and the reading of the law was again restored in their synagogues, the prophets were also there read with it; and instead of the one lesson which was there read before, they thenceforth had two, the first out of the law, and the second out of the prophets, as hath been already observed^k in the first part of this history. All those copies of the law which the heathens had gotten into their hands on this occasion, and had not destroyed, *Mattathias* wherever he came made diligent search for, and thereby recovered several of them. Those which the heathen had not polluted were restored to their pristine use; the others might serve for the writing out of other copies by them, but were judged unfit for all other uses, by reason of the idol pictures painted on them, the *Jews* being as scrupulous of avoiding all appearances of idolatry after the *Babylonish* captivity, as they were prone to run into it before.

BUT *Mattathias* being very aged was soon worn out with the fatigues of this warfare, and therefore died the next year after he had first entered on it. The author of the first book of the *Maccabees* placeth his death^l in the 146th year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, that is of the æra of the *Seleucidæ*, the latter end of which was the beginning of the 166th *Julian* year before *Christ*: For the *Julian* year beginning from the first of *January*, and the years of the æra of the *Seleucidæ* according to the first book of the *Maccabees* from the first of *Nisan*, which fell in our *March*, the months intervening were in the latter end of the one, and in the beginning of the other. Before his death^m he called his five sons together, and having exhorted them to stand up valiantly for the law of God, and with a steady constancy and courage to fight the battels of *Israel* against their present persecutors, he appointed *Judas* to be their captain in his stead, and *Simon* to be their counsellor, and then giving up the ghost, was buried at *Modin* in the sepulchers of his fore-fathers, and great lamentation was made for him by all the faithful in *Israel*.

An. 166:
Judas
Maccabæus 1.

^h 1 Maccab. iii. 48. ⁱ Levit. xxvi. 1. Numb. xxxiii. 52. For whereas in the place in Leviticus here cited the English translators render it any image of stone, the Hebrew original is any stone of picture, and so it is noted in the margin at that place, by which the Jews understand stones painted with pictures. ^k Book V. p. 334. ^l 1 Maccab. ii. 70. ^m 1 Maccab. ii. 49—70. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 8.

BUT this loss was sufficiently compensated by the succession of *Judas Maccabæus* his son in the same station. For as soon as his father's funeral was over ⁿ he stood up in his stead, and accordingly as appointed by him took on him the chief command of those forces, which he had with him at his death, and his brothers, and all others, that were zealous for the law resorted to him, till they had made up the number of an army; whereon he erected his standard, and led them forth under it to fight the battles of *Israel*, against their common enemies the heathens that oppressed them. His motto in that standard being this *Hebrew* sentence taken out of the xvth chapter of *Exodus*, *ŷ. 11. Mi Camo-ka Baelim Jehovah*, i. e. *who is like unto thee among the gods O Jehovah*; and it not being wrote thereon in words at length, but by an abbreviation formed by ^o the initial letters of these words put together, which made the artificial word *Maccabi*, ^p hence all that fought under that standard were called *Maccabees* or *Maccabæans*, and he in an especial manner ^q had that name above the rest by way of eminence, who was the captain of them; and thus to abbreviate sentences, and names of many words by putting together the initial letters of those words, and making out of them an artificial word to express the whole, hath been a common practice among the *Jews*. Thus among them ^r *Rambam* is the name of *Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon*, and ^s *Ralbag* is the name of *Rabbi Levi Ben Gerson*, because the initial letters of the four words, of which these names do consist when put together, make these artificial words; and it is common to call these persons by them. And abbreviations made this way, both of whole sentences as well as of names, do so frequently occur in all their books, that there is no understanding of them without a key to explain these abbreviations by. And therefore *Buxtorf* for the help of students in the *hebrew* learning, hath written a book of purpose to explain these abbreviations, which is entituled *de abbreviaturis hebraicis*, wherein hundreds of instances may be seen of this kind. *Rufinus* having given names to the seven brothers that suffered martyrdom together under *Antiochus*, as hath been above-mentioned, calls the eldest of them *Maccabæus*, and therefore from him some would derive this name of the *Maccabees* to all that are called by it. But with how little authority *Rufinus* gives to those brothers the names which he mentions, hath been already observed. It's most probable this name had no other original than that which I have mentioned. But in its use it did not rest only on those to whom it was first given; for not only *Judas* and his brethren were called *Maccabees*, but the name was extended in after-times, to all those who joined with them in the same cause; and not only to them, but also to all others, ^t who suffered in the like cause under any of the *Grecian* Kings, whether of *Syria* or *Egypt*, altho' some of them liv'd long before them. For those who suffered under *Ptolemy Philopator* at *Alexandria* 50 years before, were afterwards called *Maccabees*, and so

ⁿ 1 Maccab. iii. 1. 2 Maccab. viii. 1. Josephus Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 9. ^o Thus Senatus populusque Romanus was expressed on the Roman standards and ensigns by the initial letters of these words, S. P. Q. R. ^p Vide Grotium in præfatione ad comment. in primum librum Maccabæorum, & Buxtorfium de abbreviaturis. p. 132. aliosque. ^q 1 Maccab. ii. 4. ^r Buxtorfius de abbreviaturis, p. 186. ^s Idem in eodem libro, p. 185. ^t Scaliger in animadversionibus in Chronologica Eusebii. N^o. M DCCC LIII. 143. ubi dicit omnes qui ob legis observationem excruciiati, caesi, & male tractati sunt, à veteribus christianis dicuntur Maccabæi, ut qui propter Christum, dicti Martyres.

were *Eleazar*, and the mother and her seven sons, tho' they suffered before *Judas* erected his standard with the motto above-mentioned. And therefore as those books, which give us the history of *Judas* and his brothers, and their wars against the *Syrian* Kings in defence of their religion and their liberties, are called the first and second book of the *Maccabees*; so that book, which gives us the history of those who in the like cause under *Ptolemy Philopator* were exposed to his elephants at *Alexandria*, is called the third book of the *Maccabees*, and that which is written by *Josephus* of the martyrdom of *Eleazar*, and the seven brothers and their mother, is called the fourth book of *the Maccabees*:. Of the two latter I have already given an account; the two others are those which we have in our bibles among the *Apocrypha*.

THE first of them, which is a very accurate and excellent history, and comes the nearest to the style and manner of the sacred historical writings of any extant, was written originally in *Chaldee* language of *Jerusalem* dialect, which was the language spoken in *Judæa* from the return of the *Jews* thither from the *Babylonish* captivity; and it was extant in this language in the time of *Jerom*, for " he tells us that he had seen it. The title which it then bore was " *Sbarbit Sar Bene El*, i. e. *the scepter of the Prince of the sons of God*, a title which well suited *Judas*, who was so valiant a commander of God's people then under persecution. The author of it some conjecture was *John Hyrcanus* the son of *Simon*, who was Prince and High-priest of the *Jews* near thirty years, and begun his government at the time where this history ends. It is most likely it was composed in his time, when those wars of the *Maccabees* were over, either by him or else by some others employed by him; for it reacheth no farther than where his government begins, and therefore in the time immediately following it seems most likely to have been composed; and publick records being made use of, and referred to in this history, this makes it very probable, that it was composed under the direction of some publick authority. From the *Chaldee* it was translated into *Greek*, and after that a translation was made of it from the *Greek* into *Latin*, and we have our *English* version from the same *Greek* fountain. *Theodotion* is conjectured to have first translated it into *Greek*, but it seems most probable, that this version was ancients, because of the use made of it by authors as ancient, as * by *Tertullian*, y *Origen* and others.

THE second book of the *Maccabees* consists of several pieces compiled together, by what author is utterly uncertain. It begins with two epistles sent from the *Jews* of *Jerusalem* to the *Jews* of *Alexandria* and *Egypt*, to exhort them to the observing of the feast of the dedication of the new altar erected by *Judas* on his purifying of the temple, which was celebrated on the 25th day of their month *Cisleu*. The first of them was written z in the 169th year of the *Æra* of the *Seleucidæ*, (i. e. in the year before Christ 144) and beginning at the first verse of the first chapter endeth at the ninth verse of the same chapter inclusively. And the second was written " in the 188th year of the same *Æra*, (i. e. in the year before Christ 125) and beginning at the tenth verse of the same chapter endeth

" In Prologo Galeato.

u Euseb. hist. eccles. lib. 6. cap. 25.

y Origenes ibidem, & alibi.

w Origenes in comment. ad Psalmos, vol. 1. p. 47. Editionis

x Adversus Judæos, p. 210. Edit. Rigalt. 2.

z 2 Maccab. i. 7.

" 2 Maccab. i. 10.

with the 18th verse of the second chapter. Both these epistles seem to be spurious, where-ever the compiler of this book pick'd them up. The first of them calls the feast of the dedication Σκηνοπηγία ἐν Κισλεῶ· that is the *feast of making tabernacles or booths in Cisleu*, which is very improper. For altho' they might during that solemnity carry some winter greens in their hands to express their rejoicing, yet they could not then make such booths as in the feast of tabernacles, because the month *Cisleu* falling in the middle of winter, they could not then lye abroad in such booths, nor find green bows enough to make them. And as to the second epistle, it is not only written in the name of *Judas Maccabæus*, who was slain thirty six years before, but also contains such fabulous and absurd stuff, as could never have been written by the great council of the *Jews* assembled at *Jerusalem* for the whole nation, as this pretends to be. What followeth after this last epistle to the end of the chapter is the preface of the author to his abridgment of his history of *Jafon*, which beginning from the first verse of the third chapter is carried on to the end of the 37th verse of the last chapter; and the two next verses that follow to the end, are the author's conclusion of the whole work. This *Jafon*, the abridgment of whose history makes the main of this book, was an hellenist *Jew* of *Cyrene*, of the race of those *Jews* ^b whom *Ptolemy Soter* sent thither, as hath been ^b afore related. He ^c wrote in *Greek* the history of *Judas Maccabæus* and his brethren, and of the purification of the temple at *Jerusalem*, and the dedication of the altar, and the wars against *Antiochus Epiphanes* and *Eupator* his son, in five books. These five books the author ^d abridged, and of this abridgment and the other particulars above-mentioned compiled the whole book in the same *Greek* language; and this proves that author to have been an hellenist also, and most likely he was of *Alexandria*, which one expression in the book, and there more than once occurring, seems very strongly to prove. For there in speaking of the temple of *Jerusalem* he calls it ^e the great temple, which cannot there be understood to be said otherwise, than by way ^f of contradistinction from another temple which was lesser; and that could be none other but the temple built in *Egypt* by *Onias*, which will be hereafter spoken of. This the *Jews* of *Egypt* did acknowledge as a daughter temple to that of *Jerusalem*, still retaining the prime honour to that as the mother temple, and therefore very properly the temple at *Jerusalem* might be called the great temple by them, in that they had a lesser, but not by any other *Jews*; for none others of them acknowledged this temple in *Egypt* at all, or any other but that at *Jerusalem* only, but looked on all those as schismatics that sacrificed any where else. And therefore none but an *Egyptian Jew*, who acknowledged the lesser temple in *Egypt*, as well as the greater temple at *Jerusalem*, could thus express himself as is above-mentioned, and consequently none but an *Egyptian Jew* could be the author of this book: And of all the *Egyptian Jews* the *Alexandrian* being the most polite and learned, this makes it most likely that there this book was composed. But this second book of the *Maccabees* doth by no means equal the accurateness and excellency of the first. There are in the Po-

^b See Part I. Book VIII. under the year 320. p. 416.
^c 2 Maccab. ii. 19. xiv. 13.
^d 2 Maccab. ii. 23, 24.
^e 2 Maccab. ii. 19.

^f It is in *Greek*, ἡ ἰερὴ ἡ μεγάλη, 2 Maccab. ii. 19.

lyglot bibles both of *Paris* and *London*, *Syriac* versions of both these books, but they are both of them of a later date and made from the *Greek*, tho' they are observed in some places to differ from it. And from the same *Greek* are also made the *English* versions of both these books, which we have among the apocryphal writers in our bibles.

ANTIOCHUS ^s hearing that *Paulus Æmilius* the *Roman* general, after having conquered *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, and subdued that whole realm, had celebrated games at *Amphipolis* on the river *Strymon* in that countrey; in imitation hereof proposed to do the same at *Daphne* near *Antioch*. And therefore having set a day for it sent out emissaries into all parts to invite the spectators to the place, whereby he drew great numbers thither to see the shews which he there celebrated with great pomp and prodigious expence for several days together; through all which, to verify the character prophetically given of him ^hby the holy prophet *Daniel*, he acted the part of a most vile and despicable person, agreeable to what hath been afore-mentioned of him, exposing himself before that numerous assembly by the meanest and most undecent actions of behaviour, to the contempt, scorn, and ridicule of all that were present; and to that degree, that several not being able to bear the sight of so absurd and profligate a conduct, fled from his feasts to avoid it. *Polybius* wrote a full description of all this, and ^s *Athenæus* hath copyed it from him at large, and the same may be seen ^s in epitome out of *Diodorus Siculus* among the *Excerpta* published by *Valesius*.

BUT while *Antiochus* was thus playing the fool at *Daphne*, *Judas* was acting another kind of part in *Judæa*. For having gotten together such an army as is mentioned, ⁱ he went round the cities of *Judæa* in the same manner as his father had begun to do, destroying every where all utensils and implements of idolatry, and cutting off in all places the heathen idolaters, and all others who had apostatized to them; and hereby having delivered the true lovers of the law, where-ever he came, from all those that oppressed them, for the better securing of them from all such for the future, he fortified their towns, rebuilt their fortresses, and placed strong garrisons in them for their protection and defence, and hereby made himself strong and powerful in the land. Whereon *Apollonius*, ^k who was governor for *Antiochus* in *Samaria*, thinking to put a stop to his future progress, got an army together and marched against him: But *Judas* ^l having vanquished and slain him in battel, made a great slaughter of his forces, and took their spoils; among which finding the sword of *Apollonius* he took it to his own use, and fought with it all his life after.

SERON, ^m who was a deputy governor of some part of *Cæle-Syria* under *Ptolemy Macron* (for this *Ptolemy* was then ⁿ chief governor of that province) hearing of the defeat of *Apollonius*, got all the forces together that were under his command, and ^o marched with them into *Judæa* with hopes of revenging this blow, and gaining thereby great honour to himself on *Judas*, and those that followed him. But instead hereof he met

^s Polybius apud Athenæum lib. 5. cap. 4. p. 194, 195. & lib. 10. cap. 12. p. 439. Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valesii, p. 321. ^h Daniel. xi. 21. ⁱ 1 Maccab. iii. 8. 2 Maccab. viii. 5,

6, 7. ^k 1 Maccab. iii. 10. Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 10. ^l 1 Maccab. iii. 10, 11, 12.

Josephus ibidem. ^m 1 Maccab. iii. 13. ⁿ 2 Maccab. viii. 8. ^o 1 Maccab. iii. 13—24.

Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 10.

with the same fate that *Apollonius* did, being vanquished by *Judas*, and slain in battel in the same manner as the other had been.

WHEN ^q *Antiochus* heard of these two defeats he was moved with great fury and indignation, and therefore in his rage forthwith sent and gathered together all his forces, even a very great army, resolving in his wrath to march immediately with them into *Judæa*, and there utterly destroy the whole nation of the *Jews*, and give their land to others to be divided among them. But when he came to pay his army he found his treasury so exhausted, that there was not money therein sufficient for it: Which forced him to suspend his revenge upon the *Jews* for the present, and put a stop to all those violent designs which he had formed in his mind for the speedy executing of it. He had expended vast sums in his last shews, and besides he was on all occasions ^r very magnificent and profuse in his gifts and donatives, frequently dealing out to his followers and others vast sums with both hands, sometimes to good purposes, but oftner to none at all; which made good what the prophet *Daniel* foretold of him. That ^s *he should scatter among his followers the prey, and the spoil, and riches*; and from hence he had the character of ^t *the magnanimous, and the munificent*. For in the liberal giving of gifts, we are told ^u in the *Maccabees* that he abounded above all the Kings that were before him. And besides at the same time he was farther perplexed, according to the predictions of the same holy prophet, ^v *by tidings that came to him out of the east, and out of the north that troubled him*. For in the north *Artaxias* King of *Armenia* his tributary had revolted from him; and in *Persia*, which was in the east, his taxes were no more duly paid: For there, as well as ^y in other parts of his empire, a failure herein was caused by reason of the dissention and plague which he had brought upon them, by taking away the laws which had been of old time among them, out of fond desire of bringing all to an uniformity with the *Greeks*. For had it not been for these disturbances, such payments from so large and rich an empire would regularly have come in to his treasury, as would constantly have made amends for all his goings out of it. But when the goings out of it continued, and the flowings in failed, had his treasure been as the ocean, it must have grown empty at last, and this now was his case.

AND therefore for the remedying of this, as well as other inconveniences which then perplexed his affairs, ^z he resolved to divide his army into two parts, and to leave one of them with *Lysias*, a nobleman of the royal family, to subdue the *Jews*, and with the other to march himself first into *Armenia*, and afterwards into *Persia* for the restoring of his affairs in those countries. And accordingly having left the same *Lysias* governor of all that part of his empire which lay on this side of the *Euphrates*, and committed to his care the breeding up of his son, who was then a minor but

^q 1 Maccab. iii. 27, 28, &c. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 11.

^r Josephus antiq. lib. 12.

cap. 11. Athenæus, lib. 5. p. 194. & lib. 10. p. 438.

^s Daniel xi. 24.

^t *How he came*

by these riches, spoil and prey, Athenæus tells in these following words: All these expences were made partly out of the prey, which contrary to his faith given he took in *Egypt* from King *Philometor* then a minor, and partly out of the gifts of his friends: But the greatest part was from the spoils of the many temples which he sacrilegiously robb'd. Deipnosoph. lib. 5. p. 195.

^u Μεγαλόψυχος καὶ φιλόδοξος. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 11.

^v 1 Maccab. iii. 30.

^x Daniel xi. 44. vide Hieronymum in comment. ad illum locum.

^y 1 Maccab. iii. 29.

^z 1 Maccab. iii. 31, 32, &c. Josephus ibidem.

^a of seven years old, he passed over mount *Taurus* into *Armenia*, and having ^b vanquished *Artaxias*, and taken him prisoner, marched thence into *Persia*, hoping that by taking the tribute of that rich countrey, and the other provinces of the east, for which they were in arrear to him, he should gather money sufficient wherewith to repair all the deficiencies of his treasury, and thereby restore all his other affairs to their former order and prosperity.

WHILE he was on these projects abroad, *Lysias* was intent on the executing of his orders at home, especially in reference to the *Jews*; concerning whom the King's command left with him was ^c utterly to extirpate that people out of their countrey, and to place strangers in all its quarters, and divide the land by lot among them. And the progress which *Judas* made with his forces, in bringing all places under him wherever he came, hasten'd *Lysias* to a speedy execution of what the King had commanded in reference to them. For *Philip*, ^d whom *Antiochus* had left at *Jerusalem* in the government of *Judæa*, seeing how *Judas* grew and increased, ^e wrote hercof to *Ptolemy Macron*, then governor of the provinces of *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, to which the government of *Judæa* was an appendant, pressing him to a speedy care of the King's interest in this matter, and *Ptolemy* communicated it to *Lysias*; whereon it being resolved forthwith to send an army into *Judæa*, ^f *Ptolemy Macron* was appointed to have the chief conduct of the war; who chusing *Nicanor*, one of his especial friends, for his lieutenant, ^g sent him before with twenty thousand men, ^h joining with him *Gorgias* an old soldier greatly experienced in matters of war for his assistant. These having enter'd the countrey, were speedily followed thither by *Ptolemy* with the rest of the forces designed for this expedition; which, when all joined together, ⁱ encamped at *Emmaus* near *Jerusalem*, and there made up an army of ^j forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse; and thither resorted to them another army of merchants for the buying of the captives which they reckoned would be taken in this war: For ^k *Nicanor* proposing to raise great sums of money this way, even as much as would be sufficient to pay the debt of two thousand talents, which the King then owed the *Romans* for arrear of tribute due to them by the treaty of peace made with them by his father after the battel of mount *Sipylus*, he caused the sale to be proclaimed in all the neighbouring countries, promising to sell no fewer than ninety *Jews* for every talent. For it was resolved to slay all the full grown men, and sell all the rest for slaves; and an hundred and eighty thousand of the latter at the price promised would raise the sum proposed. Hereon ^l the merchants promising themselves great gains from so cheap a market, flocked thither with their silver and gold in great numbers, they being no fewer than a thousand principal merchants that came to the *Syrian* camp on this occasion, besides a much greater number of servants and assistants, whom they brought thither with them, to help them in carrying off the slaves they should purchase.

^a He was, when he succeeded his father two years after, a youth of nine years old.

^b Appian. in Syriacis. Porphyrius apud Hieronymum in Dan. xi. 44. ^c 2 Maccab. iii. 34, 35, 36. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 11. ^d 2 Maccab. v. 22. ^e 2 Maccab. viii. 8.

^f 1 Maccab. iii. 38. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 11. ^g 2 Maccab. viii. 9.

^h 1 Maccab. iii. 40. Josephus, ibidem. ⁱ 1 Maccab. iii. 39. Josephus, ibidem.

^k 2 Maccab. viii. 10, 11. ^l 1 Maccab. iii. 41. 2 Maccab. viii. 34. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 11.

JUDAS and his brethren ^m seeing the great danger which they were threaten'd with from this numerous army, (for they knew that they came with orders to destroy and utterly abolish the whole *Jewish* nation) resolv'd to stand to their defence, and fight for their lives, their law, and their liberties, and either conquer or die in the attempt. And ⁿ six thousand men being gathered together after them for this intent, ^o *Judas* divided them into four bands, each consisting of fifteen hundred men; one of these *Judas* himself took the command of, and committed that of the other three to three of his brothers, and then led them all to ^p *Mizpa*, there to offer up their prayers to God for his merciful assistance to them in the time of this great danger. For *Jerusalem* being at that time in the hands of the heathens, and the sanctuary trodden under foot, they could not assemble there for this purpose; and therefore *Mizpa* being the place ^q where men prayed aforetime in *Israel*, there they met together, and address'd themselves to God in solemn fasting and prayer for the imploring of his mercy upon them in this their great distress, and then march'd forth to fight the enemy. But when proclamation was made according ^r to the law, that ^s all such as had that year built houses, betroth'd wives, or planted vineyards, or were fearful, should depart, the six thousand men which *Judas* had at first, ^t were reduced to three thousand. However that valiant captain of God's people resolving even with these to fight this numerous army, and commit the event to God, ^u led forth this small company into the field, and pitched his camp very near that of the enemy, and there having encouraged them with what was proper to be spoken to them on such an occasion, did let them know that he purpos'd the next morning to join battel with the *Syrians*, and order'd them to provide for it accordingly. But having gotten ^v intelligence that evening, that *Gorgias* was march'd out of the *Syrian* camp with five thousand chosen foot, and a thousand of their best horse, and was leading them through by-ways under the guidance of some apostate *Jews*, upon a design of falling on him in the night for the cutting of him off and all there with him by a sudden surprize, he countermined his plot by another of the same kind, and executed it with much better success: For immediately quitting his camp, and leaving it quite empty, he march'd towards that of the enemy, and fell upon them while *Gorgias* was absent on his night project with their best men; by which they being surprized and put into great confusion, soon fled and left *Judas* master of their camp, and ^x three thousand of their men dead upon the spot. But *Gorgias* and his detachment being still entire, *Judas* ^y withheld his men from the spoil and the pursuit till these were also vanquish'd, and this was done without any farther fighting. For *Gorgias*, after having in vain sought for *Judas* in his camp, and also in the mountains, where he thought him fled, returning back, and finding on his return the camp on fire, and the main army broken and fled, he could no longer keep his men together, but they all flung down their arms and fled also; whereon *Judas*

^m 1 Maccab. iii. 42, 43, 44, &c. ² Maccab. viii. 12, 13, &c. Josephus, ibidem.

ⁿ 2 Maccab. viii. 16.

^o 2 Maccab. viii. 21, 22.

^p 1 Maccab. iii. 46, 47, &c.

^q Judges xx. 1.

¹ Sam. vii. 5.

^r Deuteron. 20. 5.

^s 1 Maccab. iii. 56.

^t 1 Maccab. iv. 6.

^u 1 Maccab. iii. 57, 58.

^v 1 Maccab. iv. 1, 2, &c.

² Maccab.

viii. 16, 17, &c. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 11.

^x 1 Maccab. iv. 15.

^y 1 Maccab.

iv. 18, 19, &c.

with all his men put himself on the pursuit, and therein flew great numbers more of the *Syrian* host, so that the slain in the whole amounted to ^z nine thousand men; and most of the rest were fore wounded and maimed that escaped from the battel. After this *Judas* ^a led back his men to take the spoils of the camp, where they found great riches, and got all that money for a prey which the merchants brought thither to buy them with, and several of them they sold for slaves, who came thither as to a market to have bought them for such. And ^b the next day after being their sabbath, they solemnized it with great devotion, rejoicing and giving praise to God for this great and merciful deliverance which he had now given unto them.

JUDAS and his followers being flush'd with this victory, and being also by the reputation of it much increased in their strength, through the numbers of those that resorted to them hereon, resolved to pursue the advantage they had gotten for the suppressing of all other their enemies; and therefore ^c understanding that *Timotheus* governor of the countrey beyond *Jordan*, and *Bacchides* another of *Antiochus*'s lieutenants in those parts, were drawing forces together to annoy them, they marched forthwith against them, and having overthrown them in a great battel, flew above twenty thousand of their men; and having taken their spoils, they thereby not only enriched themselves, but also got provisions of arms and many other necessaries for the future carrying on of the war. And in this victory they had the satisfaction of executing their just revenge on two very signal enemies of theirs, ^d the one called *Philarches*, who with *Timotheus* had done them much mischief, and ^e the other *Callisthenes*, who was the person that put fire to the gates of the temple, whereby they were burnt down. The first they flew in battel, and the other being driven in the pursuit into a little house, they set it on fire over his head, and there made him die in it such a death as well suited the crime whereby he deserved it. And as to *Nicanor*, tho' he escaped with life, yet it was in a very ignominious manner: For finding the army broken, and the expedition thereby defeated, he changed his ^f glorious apparel for that of a servant, and in this disguise made his escape through the midland of *Antioch*, where he was in great dishonour and disgrace by reason of his miscarriage in this enterprize, and losing thereby so great an army. For the excusing of himself in this case he was forced to acknowledge the great power of the God of *Israel*, alledging, that he fought for his people because they kept his law; and that as long as they did so, they would always have him for their protector, and no hurt could be done unto them. It's most likely *Ptolemy Macron* was not present in any of these battels, there being no mention made of him in any of them. Perchance the affairs of *Syria*, of which he was governor, then kept him otherwise employed: And therefore though he came at first to the camp at *Emmaus*, yet he was not present when the battel was there fought with *Judas*, but left it wholly to be conducted by *Nicanor* his deputy. And therefore the whole of it is in the history attributed to *Nicanor* without naming *Ptolemy* at all, unless only in the first appointment of that expedition.

^z 2 Maccab. viii. 24. ^a 1 Maccab. iv. 23, 24, &c. *Josephus* ibid. ^b 2 Maccab. viii. 26, 27. ^c 2 Maccab. viii. 30, 31. ^d 2 Maccab. viii. 32. ^e 2 Maccab. viii. 33. ^f 2 Maccab. viii. 34, 35, 36.

An. 165.
Judas
Maccabæus 2.

LYSIAS on the hearing of the ill success of the King's army in *Judæa*, and the great losses sustained thereby, ^g was much confounded at it. But knowing how earnest the King's commands were for the executing of his wrath upon that people, he made great preparations for another expedition against them; and having gotten together an army of sixty thousand foot, and five thousand horse, all choice men, he put himself at the head of them, and marched with them in person into *Judæa*, purposing no less than the utter destruction of that countrey, and all the inhabitants of it. With this design being entered into it, he pitched his camp at *Bethsura*, a town lying to the south of *Jerusalem* near the confines of *Idumæa*. There *Judas* met him with ten thousand men, and having through his great confidence in God's assistance with this much inferior force engaged the numerous army of *Lysias*, and having slain five thousand of them, he put all the rest to flight; whereby *Lysias* being much dismayed, and also equally astonished at the valour of *Judas's* soldiers, who fought as men ready prepared either to live or die valiantly, returned with his baffled army to *Antioch*, purposing to come again with greater force against them another year.

UPON this retreat of *Lysias* ^h *Judas* being left master of the countrey, proposed to his followers their going up to *Jerusalem* for the recovery of the sanctuary out of the hands of the heathen, and to cleanse and dedicate it anew for the service of the Lord their God, that his worship might be there again restored, and daily carried on as in former times; to which all consenting, he led them up thither, where they found all things in a very lamentable state; for the city was in rubbish, the sanctuary desolated, the altar prophaned, the gates of the temple burnt up, shrubs were in its courts as in a forest, and the Priests chambers pulled down. At the sight hereof the whole assembly fell into great lamentation, and pressed earnestly to have all these desolations and profanations removed out of the house of God, that so his worship might be again performed in it as in former times. And accordingly in order hereto *Judas* having chosen Priests of unblameable conversation, appointed them to the work, who having cleansed the sanctuary, pulled down the altars which the heathen had there erected, born out all the defiled stones of them into an unclean place, taken down the old altar which the heathens had prophaned, built a new one in its stead of unhewn stones, ⁱ according to the law, and hallowed the courts, made thereby the whole temple in all things again fit for its former service. But whereas *Antiochus* ^k had in his sacrilegious pillage of it taken away the golden altar of incense, the shew-bread table, which was all over-laid with gold, and the golden candlestick (which all three stood in the holy place) and had also robb'd it of all its other vessels and utensils, and the service of the temple could not be perfectly performed without them, *Judas* took care that all these defects should be supplied: ^l For out of the spoils which he had taken from the enemy he caused to be made a new altar of incense, and a new candlestick all of gold, and a new shew-bread table all over-laid with gold, all three formed in the same manner as they were before. And by his care all other vessels and utensils both of gold and silver, that were necessary for the divine service, were again provided, and a new veil was

^g 1 Maccab. iv. 26, 27, &c. Josephus, ibidem, cab. x. 1, 2, 3, &c. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 11. Joshua viii. 31.

^k 1 Maccab. i. 21, 22, 23.

^h 1 Maccab. iv. 36, 37, &c. 2 Mac-

ⁱ Exod. xx. 25. Deuteron. xxvii. 5.

^l 1 Maccab. iv. 49.

also made to separate between the holy place and the holy of holies, and there hung in its proper place. And when all these things were made ready, and all placed according to their former order each in the particular place, and each for the particular use which they were ordained for, a new dedication of the altar was resolved on. The day ^m appointed for it was the twenty fifth day of their ninth month called *Cisleu*, which fell about the time of the winter solstice. This was the very same day of the year, ⁿ on which three years before, it had been profaned in the manner as above related, ^o just three years and an half after the city and temple had been desolated by *Apollonius*, and ^p two years after *Judas* had taken on him the chief command of the *Jews* on his father's death. They ^q began the day early by offering sacrifices according to the law upon the new altar which they had made, having first ^r strucken fire for it by dashing two flints against each other, and from the same fire having lighted the seven lamps on the golden candlestick, that stood in the holy place beside the altar of incense, they went on in all the other service, restoring it according to their former rule in all the particulars of the divine worship which were there used to be performed; and so it continued to be there ever after celebrated without any other interruption, till the *Romans* finally destroyed the temple, and thereby put an end to all the ritual worship of that place.

THE solemnity of this dedication ^s was continued for eight days together, which they celebrated with great joy and thanksgiving for the deliverance which God had given unto them: And for the more solemn acknowledgment hereof they decreed the like festival to be ever after annually kept in commemoration of it: This was called the feast of dedication. It begun every year on the said twenty fifth day of *Cisleu*, and was continued to the eighth day after, in the same manner as were the passover and the feast of tabernacles, ^t during all which time they all illuminated their houses by setting up of candles at every man's door, from whence it ^u was called the feast of lights.

THIS festival ^v Christ honoured with his presence at *Jerusalem*, coming thither of purpose to bear a part in the solemnizing of it, which implies his approbation of it. And therefore from hence ^w *Grotius* very justly infers, that festival days in memorial of publick blessings may piously be instituted by persons in authority without a divine command, or (it may be added) the example of a person divinely directed observing the same. For the institution of this festival was without either, there being neither any divine precept, nor the example of any prophet for the observance of it. Neither can it be said that it was at the feast of any other dedication, that *Christ* was present at, save this only, which was instituted by *Judas Mac-*

^m 1 Maccab. iv. 52. 2 Maccab. x. 5. ⁿ 1 Maccab. i. 59. iv. 54. 2 Maccab. x. 5. ^o Josephus in præfatione ad librum de bello Judaico, & in ipso libro de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 1. & lib. 6 cap. 11. ^p 2 Maccab. x. 3. ^q 1 Maccab. iv. 52, 53. &c. 2 Maccab. x. 1, 2, &c. ^r 2 Maccab. x. 3. N. B. The sacred fire which came down from heaven at the dedication of Solomon's temple, was extinguished in the destruction of the temple by the Babylonians; till which time it had there been kept constantly burning. After that they used no other than common fire in the temple; but still they avoided the bringing thither of any culinary fire, which had been profaned by other uses, and therefore kindled it by dashing two stones one against the other as is here said. ^s 1 Maccab. iv. 56. ^t 2 Maccab. x. 6. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 11. ^u Maimonides in Chanucah. ^v Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 11. ^w John x. 22. ^x In comment. ad Evangelium St. Johannis x. 22.

cabæus. As to the two former dedications of the temple which were had before, first that of *Solomon*, and afterwards that of *Zerubbabel*, though they were very solemnly celebrated at that time on which they were performed, yet there was no anniversary feast in commemoration of either of them celebrated afterwards, as there was of this of *Judas Maccabæus*. And if there had, yet the text in the Gospel clearly pins down the dedication mentioned in it to the dedication of *Judas* only; for it tells us, that the time of its celebration was *in the winter*, which could be said only of this, and not of either of the other two. For that of *Solomon* was ¹ in the seventh month, then called *Ethanim*, afterward *Tizri*, which fell about the time of the autumnal equinox; and that of *Zerubbabel* was ² in their twelfth month called *Adar*, which fell in the beginning of the spring: But that of *Judas Maccabæus* being on the twenty fifth day of the month *Cisleu*, which fell in the middle of winter; this plainly demonstrates, that the feast of dedication, which *Christ* was present at in *Jerusalem*, could be no other feast, than that which was celebrated in commemoration of the dedication performed by *Judas Maccabæus*, and instituted by him for this purpose.

WHEN the old altar, which the heathen had polluted, was pulled down, a dispute arose how the stones of it were to be disposed of. The heathens having sacrificed on this altar to their idol gods, and some of those sacrifices having been of unclean beasts, the worshippers of the true God then looked on it, and all the stones of which it was built, as doubly polluted hereby, and therefore no more to be made use of in his service; and on the other side they having been for many ages sanctify'd by the sacrifices, which had been offered thereon to the true God, they were afraid after this of applying them to any prophane or common use: And therefore being in this doubt ^a they resolved to lay up these stones in some convenient place within ^b the mountain of the house, till there should a prophet arise, who should shew them what was to be done with them, so scrupulous were they in this case. The place in which according to the *Mishna* those stones were laid up, was ^c one of the four closets of the *Beth-Moked*, or the common fire room of the priests attending the service; that is that closet which lay on the north-west corner of that room. But that closet according to the description of it in the same *Mishna* could not be large enough to hold the tenth part of those stones: I cannot take upon me to solve this difficulty.

BUT though the *Jews* had recovered their temple, and restored it again to its former sacred use, yet still there remained one great thorn in their sides. For the fortress was still in the hands of the enemy, and strongly garrison'd by them; partly with heathen soldiers, and partly ^d with apostate *Jews*, which ^e were the worse of the two; from ^f whence they much annoyed those that went up to the temple to worship, often sallying

¹ 1 Kings viii. 2. ² 2 Chron. v. 3

^a Ezra vi. 15, 16, 17.

^b 1 Maccab. iv. 46.

^c All within the outer wall of the temple, which made the great square 500 cubits, on every side was called *Har Habbeth*, i. e. the mountain of the house. All that was within the wall, that included the court of the women and the inner court in which the temple stood, was called *Mikdash* i. e. The sanctuary. And the temple it self including the porch, the holy place, and the holy of holies, was called *Hecal*, i. e. The temple. This is to be understood strictly speaking; for often all these words are used promiscuously for the temple in general.

^d Middoth cap. i. sect. 6.

^e Josephus antiq.

lib. 12. cap. 7.

^f 1 Maccab. i. 36, 37.

from thence upon them, and slaying several of them. This ^s fortress was built by *Apollonius*, when he sacked and destroyed *Jerusalem*, as hath been above related, and stood upon an eminence over against the mountain of the temple, for which reason the place was called *mount Acra* from the *Greek* word *Ακρη*, which signifieth an eminence or fortress on the top of an hill, which eminence over-topping the mountain of the temple, as being then the higher of the two, had thereby the command of it, which gave the soldiers there in garrison the advantage, which I have mentioned, of annoying all those who went up thither to worship. For the preventing of this *Judas* at first ^h appointed part of his army to shut them up within their fortress, and to fight against all such as should sally out of it upon any of the people. But finding he could not spare so many of his men, as were necessary for this blockade, he caused the mountain of the house to ⁱ be fortified with strong walls and high towers built round about it, and placed there a strong garrison to defend it, and secure those that went up thither to worship from all future insults that might be made upon them either from the fortress, or any other place.

AND whereas the *Idumæans* were at that time great enemies to the *Jews*, to secure *Jerusalem* from all insults from that quarter ^k he fortified *Bethsura* to be a barrier against them. I have ^l formerly shewn that the *Idumæa* or land of *Edom*, in which those people now dwelt, was not the *Idumæa* or land of *Edom*, which is mentioned in the scriptures of the Old Testament. Wherever this name occurs in any of those ancient holy writings, it is to be understood of that *Idumæa*, or land of *Edom* only, which lay between the lake of *Sodom* and the *Red-sea*, and was afterwards called *Arabia Petraea*; nor are any other *Edomites* spoken of in them, than those which inhabited in that countrey, excepting only in one passage ^m in the prophet *Malachi*. But these *Edomites* ⁿ being driven thence by the *Nabathæans*, while the *Jews* were in the *Babylonish* captivity, and their land lay desolate, they then took possession of as much of the southern part of it as contained what had formerly been the whole inheritance of the tribe of *Simeon*, and also half of that, which had been the inheritance of the tribe of *Judah*, and there dwelt ever after, till at length going over into the religion of the *Jews*, they became incorporated with them into the same nation. And this only is the *Idumæa*, and the inhabitants of it the only *Edomites* or *Idumæans*, which are any where spoken of after the *Babylonish* captivity. After their coming into this countrey, *Hebron*, which had formerly been the metropolis of the tribe of *Judah*, thenceforth became the metropolis of *Idumæa*, and in the road between that and *Jerusalem* lay *Bethsura* at the distance of five furlongs

^s 1 Maccab. i. 33—35. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 7.

ⁱ 1 Maccab. iv. 60. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 11.

^h Part I. Book I.

^k 1 Maccab. iv. 41. Josephus ibid.

^l 1 Maccab. iv. 61. Josephus ibid.

^m Malachi. i. 3, 4. There God speaks *yr.* 3. of his having laid the mountains and heritage of *Esau* waste, which was done on their expulsion by the *Nabathæans* out of that mountainous countrey lying between the *Red-sea* and the lake of *Sodom*, where they formerly had their inheritance. The 4th verse contains their brag, that they would return again into this their ancient countrey, rebuild the desolated cities, which they formerly there possessed, and again dwell in them. But here:0 God by the mouth of his holy prophet denies them success, telling them that as fast as they should build, he would pull down again, and so it accordingly happen'd; For the *Edomites* could never again recover that countrey.

ⁿ See an account hereof in the first part of this history, Book I. under the year 740.

from the latter, saith the author of the second book ° of *Maccabees*, but others put it at a much greater distance; and these seem to be nearest to the truth of the matter.

An. 164.
Judas
Maccabæus 3.

WHEN the neighbouring nations round about heard that the *Jews* had again recovered the city and temple of *Jerusalem*, new dedicated the sanctuary, erected a new altar in it, and again restored the *Jewish* worship in that place, ^p they were much moved with envy and hatred against them hereon. And therefore taking counsel together against them, resolved to act in concert for their utter extirpation, and began to execute this resolution by putting all of them to death who were found sojourning any where among them; purposing to join with *Antiochus* for the effecting of all the rest in the utter destruction of the whole race of *Israel*.

BUT *Antiochus* dying in the interim, this broke all the measures which they had concerted together for this mischief. For on his passing into *Persia* to gather up the arrears of tribute which were there due to him, being told that ^q the city of *Elymais* in that countrey was greatly renowned for its riches both of gold and silver, and that there was in it a temple ^r of *Diana*, in which were vast treasures, he marched thither with intent to take the city, and spoil that, and the temple in it, in the same manner as he had done at *Jerusalem*. But on fore-notice had of this design, the people of the countrey round about, as well as the inhabitants of the city, joining together in defence of their temple, beat him off with shame and confusion; whereon ^s he retired to *Ecbatana* in *Media* greatly grieved for this battle and disappointment. On his arrival thither, ^t news came to him of what had happen'd to *Nicanor* and *Timotheus* in *Judæa*; at which being exceedingly enraged, he hasten'd back with all the speed he was able to execute the utmost of his wrath upon the people of the *Jews*, breathing nothing else but threats of utter destruction and utter extirpation against them all the way as he went. As he was ^u thus hastening towards the countrey of *Babylonia*, thro' which he was to pass in his return, he met on the road with other messengers, ^w which brought him an account how the *Jews* had defeated *Lysias*, recovered the temple of *Jerusalem*, pulled down the images and altars which he had there erected, and restored that place to its former worship; at which being enraged to the utmost fury, he commanded his charioteer to double his speed, that he might be the sooner on the place to execute his revenge upon this people; threatening as he went, that he would make *Jerusalem* a place of sepulture for the *Jews*, wherein he would bury the whole nation, destroying them all to a man. But ^x while these proud words were in his mouth, the judgments of God overtook him; for he had no sooner spoken them, but he was smitten with an incurable plague, a great pain seizing his bowels, and a grievous torment following thereupon in his inward parts, which no remedy could abate. However ^y he would not slacken his speed, but still continuing in the same wrath, he drove on in the same haste to execute it; till at length his chariot overthrowing, he was cast to the ground with such violence, that he was

° Chap. ii. §. 5. p 1 Maccab. v. 1, 2. q 1 Maccab. vi. 1, 2, &c. r Polybius
saith it was a temple of *Diana*, (in excerptis Valesii, p. 144.) and so saith Josephus antiq. lib. 12.
cap. 13. But Appian (in Syriacis) saith that it was a temple of *Venus*. s 2 Maccab. ix. 3.
t 2 Maccab. ibid. u 1 Maccab. vi. 4. w 1 Maccab. vi. 6. x 2 Maccab. ix. 5, 6.
y 2 Maccab. ix. 7.

forely bruised and hurt in all the members of his body; whereon he was put into a litter, but not being able long to bear that, he was forced to put in at a town^z called *Tabæ*^a lying in the mountains of *Paratacne*^b, in the confines of *Persia* and *Babylonia*, and there betake^c himself to his bed, where he suffered horrid torments both in body and mind: For in his body^d a filthy ulcer broke out in his secret parts, wherein were bred an innumerable quantity of vermin continually flowing from it; and such a stench proceeded from the same, as neither those that attended him, nor he himself could well bear; and in this condition^e he lay languishing and rotting till he died. And all this while the torments of his mind^f were as great as the torments of his body, caused by the reflections which he made on his former actions. *Polybius*^g tells us of this as well as *Josephus*, and the authors of the first and second book of *Maccabees*; and adds hereto, that it grew so far upon him as to come to a constant *delirium*, or state of madness, by reason of several specters and apparitions of evil spirits which he imagined were continually about him, reproaching and stinging his conscience with accusations of his past evil deeds which he had been guilty of. *Polybius* saith this was for the sacrilegious attempt which he made upon the temple of *Diana* in *Elymais*, overlooking that which he had actually executed upon the temple at *Jerusalem*; *Josephus*^h reproves him for this, and with much more reason and justice lays the whole cause of his suffering in this sickness, asⁱ did also *Antiochus* himself, to what he did at *Jerusalem*, and the temple of God in that place, and the horrid persecution which he thereon raised against all that worshipped him there. For the sacrilege at *Elymais* was only attempted, that at *Jerusalem* was fully committed with horrid impiety against God, and with as horrid cruelty against all those that served him there; and the former sacrilege, if it had been committed, had been only against a false deity, but the latter was against the true God, the great and Almighty Creator of heaven and earth. However it is a great confirmation of what is above related out of *Josephus* and the two books of the *Maccabees*, of the signal judgment of God which was executed upon this wicked tyrant, that *Polybius* an heathen author doth agree with them herein as to the matter of fact, tho' he differs from them in assigning a wrong cause for it. It seems *Antiochus* being at length awakened by his afflictions, became himself fully sensible that all his sufferings in them were from the hand of God upon him for what he had done against the temple at *Jerusalem*, and his servants that worshipped him there. For he^k acknowledged all this before his death, with many vows of what he would do for the repairing of all the evil which he had there done in case he should again recover. But his repentance came too late, God would not then hear him; and therefore after having languished out a while in this miserable condition, and under these horrid torments of body and mind, ^lhe at length

^z Polybius in excerptis Valesii, p. 144. ^a Q. Curtius, lib. 5. cap. 13.
^b Strabo, lib. 11. p. 522, & 524. ^c 1 Maccab. vi. 8. ^d 2 Maccab. ix. 9.
^e Appian. in Syriacis. 1 Maccab. vi. 9, 10. 2 Maccab. ix. 9, 10, 11.
^f 1 Maccab. vi. 8. — 13. ^g In excerptis Valesii, p. 144. ^h Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 13.
ⁱ 1 Maccab. vi. 12, 13. 2 Maccab. ix. 11 — 17. Josephus, ibid.
^k 1 Maccab. vi. 12, 13. 2 Maccab. ix. 11 — 18. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 13.
^l 1 Maccab. vi. 16. 2 Maccab. ix. 28. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 13. Appian. in Syriacis. Polybius in excerptis Valesii, p. 144. Hieronymus ad Dan. xi. 36. Eusebius in Chronico.

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An. 164.
Judas
Maccabæus 3.

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t 2 Maccab. ibid. u 1 Maccab. vi. 4. v 1 Maccab. vi. 6. x 2 Maccab. ix. 5, 6.
y 2 Maccab. ix. 7.

forely bruised and hurt in all the members of his body; whereon he was put into a litter, but not being able long to bear that, he was forced to put in at a town ² called *Tabæ* ^a lying in the mountains of *Parætacene* ^b, in the confines of *Persia* and *Babylonia*, and there betake ^c himself to his bed, where he suffered horrid torments both in body and mind: For in his body ^d a filthy ulcer broke out in his secret parts, wherein were bred an innumerable quantity of vermin continually flowing from it; and such a stench proceeded from the same, as neither those that attended him, nor he himself could well bear; and in this condition ^e he lay languishing and rotting till he died. And all this while the torments of his mind ^f were as great as the torments of his body, caused by the reflections which he made on his former actions. *Polybius* ^g tells us of this as well as *Josephus*, and the authors of the first and second book of *Maccabees*; and adds hereto, that it grew so far upon him as to come to a constant *delirium*, or state of madness, by reason of several specters and apparitions of evil spirits which he imagined were continually about him, reproaching and stinging his conscience with accusations of his past evil deeds which he had been guilty of. *Polybius* saith this was for the sacrilegious attempt which he made upon the temple of *Diana* in *Elymais*, overlooking that which he had actually executed upon the temple at *Jerusalem*; *Josephus* ^h reproves him for this, and with much more reason and justice lays the whole cause of his suffering in this sickness, as ⁱ did also *Antiochus* himself, to what he did at *Jerusalem*, and the temple of God in that place, and the horrid persecution which he thereon raised against all that worshipped him there. For the sacrilege at *Elymais* was only attempted, that at *Jerusalem* was fully committed with horrid impiety against God, and with as horrid cruelty against all those that served him there; and the former sacrilege, if it had been committed, had been only against a false deity, but the latter was against the true God, the great and Almighty Creator of heaven and earth. However it is a great confirmation of what is above related out of *Josephus* and the two books of the *Maccabees*, of the signal judgment of God which was executed upon this wicked tyrant, that *Polybius* an heathen author doth agree with them herein as to the matter of fact, tho' he differs from them in assigning a wrong cause for it. It seems *Antiochus* being at length awakened by his afflictions, became himself fully sensible that all his sufferings in them were from the hand of God upon him for what he had done against the temple at *Jerusalem*, and his servants that worshipped him there. For he ^k acknowledged all this before his death, with many vows of what he would do for the repairing of all the evil which he had there done in case he should again recover. But his repentance came too late, God would not then hear him; and therefore after having languished out a while in this miserable condition, and under these horrid torments of body and mind, ^l he at length

² Polybius in excerptis Valefii, p. 144. ^a Q. Curtius, lib. 5. cap. 13.
^b Strabo, lib. 11. p. 522, & 524. ^c 1 Maccab. vi. 8. ^d 2 Maccab. ix. 9.
^e Appian. in Syriacis. 1 Maccab. vi. 9, 10. 2 Maccab. ix. 9, 10, 11.
^f 1 Maccab. vi. 8. — 13. ^g In excerptis Valefii, p. 144. ^h Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 13.
ⁱ 1 Maccab. vi. 12, 13. 2 Maccab. ix. 11 — 17. Josephus, ibid.
^k 1 Maccab. vi. 12, 13. 2 Maccab. ix. 11 — 18. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 13.
^l 1 Maccab. vi. 16. 2 Maccab. ix. 28. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 13. Appian. in Syriacis. Polybius in excerptis Valefii, p. 144. Hieronymus ad Dan. xi. 36. Eusebius in Chronico.

being half consumed with the rottenness of his ulcer gave up the ghost and died, after he had reigned ^m full eleven years. And I cannot forbear here remarking, that most of the great persecutors have died the like death, by being smitten of God in the like manner in the secret parts. Thus died *Herod* the great persecutor of *Christ*, and the infants at *Bethlehem*; and thus died *Galerius Maximianus* the author and the great persecutor of the tenth and greatest persecution against the primitive Christians; and thus also died *Philip the second* King of *Spain*, as infamous for the cruelty of his persecutions, and the numbers destroyed by it, as any of the other three. As to the manner of *Herod's* death, I shall have occasion to speak of it hereafter in its proper place; and as to the death of the other two, that of *Galerius* is described by ⁿ *Eusebius* and ^o *Lactantius*, and that of *Philip the second* by ^p *Mezeray*, and to these authors I remit the reader for an account of them.

ANTIOCHUS the Great having attempted the like sacrilege in the countrey of *Elymais*, as *Antiochus* his son did in the city of *Elymais*, and perished in it, ^q as hath been above related, this hath made some think that the parity of names hath been the cause of this parity of facts being attributed to both, and that only one of them was guilty of this sacrilegious attempt, which is related of both. And on this supposition ^r *Scaliger* chargeth *Jerome* with a blunder, for saying in his comment on the eleventh chapter of *Daniel*, that *Antiochus the Great* fighting against the *Elymæans*, was cut off by them with all his army. For he will have it, that this was not true of *Antiochus the Great*, but only of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; and yet many other authors attest the same thing with *Jerome*, that *Antiochus the Great* was thus cut off in the sacrilegious attempt, and none say it of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; for he escaped from the baffle, though he lost many of his men in it, and died afterwards: So saith ^s *Appian*, and so saith ^t *Polybius*, as well as *Josephus*, and both the authors of the first and second books of the *Maccabees*. And altho' both the sacrileges were attempted in the countrey of the *Elymæans*, yet it was not upon the same temple that the attempt was made: That of *Antiochus the Great* was upon the temple of *Belus*, the great god of the east, and that of *Epiphanes* was upon the temple of *Diana*; and that there was a *Persian Diana* ^u *Tacitus* tells us; and that this goddess had a temple among the *Elymæans* is attested by ^v *Strabo*, who tells us also of it, that it was very rich: For he saith, that it being afterwards plundered by one of the *Parthian* Kings, ^x he took from it ten thousand talents. This temple *Strabo* tells us was called *Azara*, or rather, as ^y *Casaubon* corrects it, *Zara*. Hence *Diana* was called ^z *Zaretis* among the *Persians*.

^m So say Porphyry, Eusebius, Jerome, and Sulpitius Severus. But the author of the first book of *Maccabees* saith, he begun his reign in the 137th year of the kingdom of the Greeks, and died the 149th year, which makes him reign twelve years. For the reconciling of this it must be said that he began his reign in the 137th year, and ended it in the beginning of the 149th year of that era.

ⁿ Hist. Eccl. viii. 16. ^o De mortibus persecutorum, cap. 33. ^p History of France under the year 1598. ^q Part II. book II. under the year 187. ^r In animadversionibus ad

Eusebii Chronicon. sub No. 1825. p. 140. ^s In Syriacis, ^t In excerptis Valesii, p. 144.

^u Annalium, lib. 3. cap. 62.

^v Lib. 16. p. 744.

^x Strabo ibidem.

^y In notis ad paginam 744.

^z Hesychius in voce Ζαρετις.

ANTIOCHUS Epiphanes having been a great oppressor of the Church of God under the *Jewish* œconomy, and the type of *anti-christ*, which was to oppress it in after-ages under the Christian, more is prophetically said of him in the prophecies of *Daniel* than of any other Prince, which these prophecies relate to; the better half of the eleventh chapter, that is from the 20th verse to the 45th, which is the last of that chapter, is wholly concerning him, and there are several passages also in the eighth and twelfth chapters which relate to him. The whole may be divided into two parts, whereof the first is concerning his wars with *Egypt*, and the second is concerning the persecutions and oppressions brought by him upon the *Jewish* Church and nation; and these were all fulfilled in the actions of his reign.

AND first as to his wars with *Egypt*, what is said chap. xi. v. 25, 40, 42, 43, was accomplished in his second expedition into that countrey, and the actions done by him therein, which are above related. What is in the 26th verse was fulfilled by the revolt of *Ptolemy Macron* from King *Philometor*, and the treachery and mal-administration of *Lenæus*, *Eulæus*, and other ministers and officers employed under him. What is in the 27th verse had its completion in the meeting of *Antiochus* and *Philometor* at *Memphis*, where the two Kings, both in the time of the second and of the third expedition of *Antiochus* into *Egypt*, did^a frequently eat at the same table, and conferred together seemingly as friends; *Antiochus* pretending to take upon him the care of the kingdom for the interest of *Philometor* his nephew, and *Philometor* pretending to confide in *Antiochus* as his uncle in all that he was thus doing. But both herein *spoke lies* to each other; for in reality they both intended quite the contrary, *Antiochus's* design being under the pretence above mentioned to seize all *Egypt* to himself, and *Philometor's* to take the first opportunity to disappoint him of it; as accordingly at length he did by his agreement with his brother and the *Alexandrians*, as is above related. Whereon followed what is foretold in the 29th and 30th verses of the same chapter. For *Antiochus* on his hearing of this agreement pulled off his vizard, and openly owned his design for the usurping of *Egypt* to himself; and for the full executing of it, *returned and came again towards the South*, that is into *Egypt*, in his last expedition into that countrey. But he did not then prevail, as in the former and the latter (i. e. in his two preceding) attempts upon that countrey, because of the ships that came from *Chittim* (i. e. the countrey of the *Grecians*) against him, which brought *Popilius Lænas*, and the other *Roman* ambassadors to *Alexandria*, who made him to his great grief return out of *Egypt*, and quit all his designs upon that countrey. However what is foretold in the 42^d and 43^d verses, of his stretching forth his hand upon the land of *Egypt*, and his having power over the treasures of gold and silver, and all other the precious things of that countrey, had its thorough completion. For he miserably harrassed and wasted the whole land of *Egypt* in all his expeditions into it, ^b carrying thence vast treasures of gold and silver, and other riches in the prey and spoils taken in it by him and his followers. And here ended all the prophecies of *Daniel* which relate to the wars that were between the Kings of *Syria* and the Kings of *Egypt*. For in those prophecies the Kings of the North were the Kings of *Syria*, and the Kings of the South the Kings of *Egypt*, as hath been above related.

^a Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 27.

^b Vide Athenæum, lib. 5. p. 195. F.

As to the the other part of *Daniel's* prophecies of this King, which relate to the persecutions and oppressions, that he brought upon the *Jewish* church and nation, what is said chap. xi. v. 22. of the *Prince of the covenant being broken before him*, foreshewed what he did to *Onias* the High-priest, who was deposed and banished by him, and at length murdered by one of his lieutenants. For the High-priest of the *Jews* was the Prince of the *Mosaic* covenant. What is said in the 28th verse, of *his heart being set against the holy covenant on his returning from Egypt*, and of the *exploits which he did thereon*, foreshewed what he did to *Juda* and *Jerusalem* on his return from his second expedition into the said countrey of *Egypt*; when without a cause he murdered and enslaved so many of the *Jewish* nation, and robbed the city and temple of *Jerusalem* of all their riches and treasure. What is said in the 30th verse, foretold the *grief with which he returned* from his fourth and last expedition into *Egypt*, by reason of the baffle which he then met with from the *Romans* of all his designs upon that countrey; and the indignation and wrath, which then in his irrational fury he vented upon the *Jewish* church and nation, in sending *Apollonius* to destroy *Jerusalem*, and make to cease the *Jewish* worship in that place. What is contained in the 31st verse, and those that follow to the 40th agreeable to what was before prophesied, chap. viii. v. 9—12. and v. 23—25. foretold *his taking away the daily sacrifice*; and all else, that he did for the suppressing of the *Jewish* worship, and the destroying of the whole *Jewish* nation, which is above related. The 44th verse, and the 45th of the same xith chapter, foretold his last expedition which he made first into *Armenia*, and from thence into the east, and *his there coming to an end*, and perishing in that miserable manner as hath been related, having first *planted the tabernacles of his palace*, that is his absolute regal authority, *in the glorious holy mountain between the seas*, that is in *Jerusalem*, which stood in a mountainous situation between the *Mediterranean* sea and the sea of *Sodom*; for it was built in the midway betwixt both on the mountains of *Judæa*.

NEVER were any prophecies delivered more clearly, or fulfilled more exactly, than all these prophecies of *Daniel* were. *Porphyry*, who was a great enemy to the holy Scriptures, as well of the Old Testament as the New ^c acknowledged this. And therefore he contends that they were historical narratives, written after the facts were done, and not prophetic predictions foretelling them to come. This *Porphyry* ^d was a learned heathen born at *Tyre* in the year of Christ 233, and there called ^e *Malchus*, which name on his going among the *Greeks*, he changed into that of *Porphyry*, that signifying the same in the *Greek* language, which *Malchus* did in the *Phœnician*; the language then spoken at *Tyre*. He being a bitter enemy to the christian religion ^fwrote a large volume against it containing fifteen books, whereof the twelfth was wholly against the prophecies of *Daniel*. These concerning the *Persian* kings and the *Macedonian* that reigned as well in *Egypt* as in *Asia*, having been all according

^c Apud Hieronymum in procœmio ad comment. in Danielelem.

Porphyrii & Iosium de Historicis Græcis, lib. 2. c. 16.

^d Vide Holstenium in vitâ *Porphyrii* & *Iosium* de Historicis Græcis, lib. 2. c. 16. ^e Malchus from the Phœnician or Hebrew word Melec, signifieth King, and πορφύρεος did the same in Greek, that is one that wore purple, which none but Kings and royal persons then did.

^f Hieronymus in procœmio ad comment. in Danielelem.

to the best historians exactly fulfilled, he could not disprove them by denying their completion, and therefore for the overthrowing of their authority he took the quite contrary course, and laboured to prove their truth, and from ^s hence alledged, that being so exactly true in all particulars, they could not therefore be written by *Daniel* so many years before the facts were done, but by some one else under his name, who lived after the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For the making out of which, his main argument was, that all contained in the prophecies of *Daniel* relating to the times preceding the death of *Antiochus Epiphanes* was true, and that all that related to the times which followed after, was false. The latter proposition he belaboured, thereby to overthrow all that the Christians alledged from these prophecies for the *Messiah*, which he would have thought to be all false; and the other proposition he endeavoured to clear, thereby to make out, that the whole book was spurious, not written by *Daniel*, but by some one else after the facts therein spoken of were done, as if that could not be prophetically foretold, which was so exactly fulfilled. And for this reason was it, that he took upon him to prove those facts to be so exactly true, as in those prophecies contained: For which purpose he made use of the best *Greek* historians then extant. ^h Such were *Callinicus Sutorius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Hieronymus*, *Polybius*, *Posidonius*, *Claudius Theon* and *Andronicus Alypius*, and from them made evident proof, that all that is written in the eleventh chapter of *Daniel* was truly in every particular acted and done in the order as there related, and from this exactness of completion endeavoured to infer the assertion mentioned; that these prophecies were written after the facts were done, and therefore are rather historical narratives relating things past, than prophetic predictions foreshewing things afterwards to come. But *Jerom* turns the argument upon him, and with more strength of reason infers, that this way ⁱ of opposing these prophecies gives the greatest evidence of their truth, in that what the prophet foretold is hereby allowed to be so exactly fulfilled, that he seemed to unbelievers not to foretel things to come, but to relate things past. *Jerom* in his comments on *Daniel* makes use of the same authors that *Porphyry* did; and what is in these comments are all the remains, which we now have of this work of that learned heathen, or of most of those authors, which he made use of in it; for this whole work of *Porphyry* is now lost, as are also most of the histories above-mentioned, which he quotes in it; and the histories of *Callinicus Sutorius*, ^k *Hieronymus*, ^l *Posidonius*, ^m *Claudius Theon*, and ⁿ *Andronicus Alypius*, are wholly perished; as is also the greatest part of *Polybius* and *Diodorus Siculus*. Had we all these extant, we might from them be enabled to make a much clearer and fuller explication of these prophecies, especially ^o from *Callinicus Sutorius*, ^p who lived in the time of *Antoninus*

^s Hieronymus ibid. ^h Hieronymus ibid. ⁱ Jerom speaking of Porphyry as to this matter hath these words, — Cujus impugnatio testimonium veritatis est. Tanta enim dictorum fides fuit, ut propheta incredulis hominibus non videatur futura dixisse, sed narrasse præterita. In præmio ad comment. in Daniele. ^k This Hieronymus wrote an history of the successors of Alexander. See of him above Part I. Book VIII. under the year 311. ^l Posidonius was of Apamea in Syria, and wrote in LII books, a continuation of Polybius down to the wars of Cæsar and Pompey, in which time he flourished. ^m Who Claudius Theon and Andronicus Alypius were, or of what times they wrote, we have no account. ⁿ Hieronymus in Dan. xi. 22, 23, &c. ^o For he was contemporary with Galen, who lived in that time. Suidas in Καλλιμάχῳ.

Pius the Roman Emperor, and having ^p in ten books written an history of the affairs of *Alexandria* included therein much of the *Jewish* transactions. And it is to be lamented, that not only these authors, and this work of *Porphyry*, in which he made so much use of them, are now lost but that also the books of *Eusebius*, *Apollonarius*, and *Methodius*, ^q which they wrote in answer to this heathen adversary, have all undergone the same fate, and are in like manner to the great damage both of divine and humane knowledge wholly lost, excepting only some few scraps of *Methodius* preserved in quotations out of him by *John Damascen*, and *Nicetas*. For were these still extant, especially that of *Apollonarius*, ^r who wrote with the greatest exactness of the three, no doubt much more of those authors would have been preserved in citations from them, than we now have of them; there being at present no other remains of those ancient historians (excepting *Polybius* and *Diodorus Siculus*) but what we have in *Jerom's* comments on *Daniel*, and his proem to them.

Jerom and *Porphyry* exactly agree in their explication of the eleventh chapter of *Daniel*, ^s till they come to the 21st verse. For what follows from thence to the end of the chapter, was all explained by *Porphyry* to belong to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and to have been all transacted in the time of his reign. But *Jerom* here differs from him, and saith that most of this, as well as some parts of the viiith, and xiith chapters of the same book, relate principally to *Antichrist*; but altho' some particulars in these prophecies had a typical completion in *Antiochus Epiphanes*, yet they were all of them wholly and ultimately to be fulfilled only in *Antichrist*; and this he saith was the general sense of the Fathers of the christian Church in his time. And he explains it by a parallel taken from the 71st psalm, (i. e. the 72^d, according to the *Septuagint*) which in some parts of it was typically true of *Solomon*, and therefore it is called a psalm for *Solomon*, but was wholly and ultimately only so of *Christ*. And therefore he would have these prophecies, which are in the viiith chapter of *Daniel*, *ŷ*. 9—12. and *ŷ*. 23—26. and chap. xi. *ŷ*. 21—45, and chap. xii. *ŷ*. 6—13. to be fulfilled in the same manner; that is in part and typically in *Antiochus*, but wholly and ultimately only in *Antichrist*. The truth of the matter seems to be this, that as much of these prophecies as relate to the wars of the King of the North, and the King of the South (that is the King of *Syria*, and the King of *Egypt*) was wholly and ultimately fulfilled in those wars. But as much of these prophecies as related to the profanation and persecution which *Antiochus Epiphanes* brought upon the *Jewish* church, was all typically fulfilled in them; but they were to have their ultimate and thorough completion only in those profanations and persecutions which *Antichrist* was to bring upon the Church of *Christ* in after-times.

ONE particular mentioned in these prophecies of *Daniel*, and fulfilled under *Antiochus*, is especially taken notice of, as typifying in him, what was to happen under *Antichrist* in after-times, that is the profanation of the temple at *Jerusalem*, and the ceasing of the daily sacrifices in it. This *Daniel* ^t said was to continue *for a time, and times, and an half of*

^p Suidas in *Kaxivix*.

^q Hieronymus in proœmio prædicto.

^r Philostorgius lib. 8. cap. 14.

^s Hieronymus in comment. ad Danielelem, xi. 21. & in proœmio ad comment. prædict.

^t Daniel xii. 7.

time, that is three years and an half, a time in that place signifying an year, and times two years, and an half of a time an half year, as all agree; and so long " *Josephus* tells us the profanation of the temple, and the interrupting of the daily sacrifices in it lasted, that is, from " the coming of *Apollonius*, and his profanation of the said temple, to the purifying of it, and the new dedication of that and the new altar in it * by *Judas Maccabæus*. This prophecy therefore was primarily and typically fulfilled in that profanation and new dedication of the temple and altar at *Jerusalem*; but its chief and ultimate completion was to be in that profanation of the church of *Christ*, which it was to suffer under the reign of *Antichrist*, for the space of those 1260 days ^y mentioned in the revelations. For those days there signifie so many years, and three years and an half, reckoning them by months of thirty days length, make just 1260 days. These days therefore literally understood make the three years and an half, during which the profanation and persecution of *Antiochus* remained in the church of the *Jews*; and the same mystically understood make the 1260 years, during which the profanation and persecution of *Antichrist* was to remain in the church of *Christ*, at the end whereof the church of *Christ* is to be cleansed and purified of all the profanations and pollutions of *Antichrist*, in the same manner as at the end of three years and an half the temple at *Jerusalem* was cleansed and purified from all the profanations and pollutions of *Antiochus*. One objection against this is, that *Daniel*, chap. xii. ^v. 11. reckons the duration of this profanation by the number of 1290 days, which can neither be applyed to the days of the profanation of *Antiochus*, nor to the years of the profanation of *Antichrist*, for it exceeds both by the number of thirty. Many things may be said for the probable solving of this difficulty, but I shall offer at none of them. Those that live to see the extirpation of *Antichrist*, which will be at the end of those years, will best be able to unfold this matter, it being of the nature of such prophecies not thoroughly to be understood, till they are thoroughly fulfilled.

BUT in the death of *Antiochus Epiphanes* all the prophecies of *Daniel*, that were concerning him, or any other of the *Macedonian* Kings that reigned either in *Egypt* or *Asia*, having, as far as they related only to them, a full ending, I shall here also end this book.

^u In præfatione ad historiam de bello Judaico, & in ipsâ historiâ lib. 1. cap. 1, & lib. 6. cap. 11.

^w 1 Maccab. i. 29—40. 2 Maccab. v. 24.—26.

^x 1 Maccab. iv. 41—60.

^y Revelations xi. 3. xii. 6.





THE
Old and New TESTAMENT
Connected in the
HISTORY
OF THE
Jews and Neighbouring Nations,
FROM THE
Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
to the time of CHRIST.



PART II. BOOK IV.

An. 164.
Judas
Maccabæus 3.



ANTIOCHUS *Epiphanes* being dead, was succeeded in the kingdom ^a by *Antiochus* his son, a minor of nine years old. Before his death he called to him *Philip* a favourite of his, and one of those who had been brought up with him, and constituted him regent of the *Syrian* empire during the minority of his son; delivered to him his crown, his signet, and all other his ensigns of royalty, giving him in especial charge carefully to bring up his son in such manner as should best qualify him to

^a Appian. in Syriacis. Eusebius in Chron. 1 Maccab. vi. 17. 2 Maccab. ix. 29. and x. 10, 11. Joseph. antiq. lib. 12. cap. 14.

reign.

reign. But when *Philip* came to *Antioch*, he found this office there usurped by another. For ^b *Lysias*, as soon as he heard of the death of *Epiphanes*, took *Antiochus* his son, who was then under his care, and placed him on the throne, giving him the name of *Antiochus Eupator*, and assumed to himself the tuition of his person, and the government of his kingdom, without any regard had to the appointment of the dead King. And *Philip* finding himself too weak to contend with him about it ^c, fled into *Egypt*, hoping there to have such assistance as should enable him to make good his claim to that which *Lysias* had usurped from him.

At this time ^d *Ptolemy Macron* governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, from being a great enemy to the *Jews* becoming their friend, remitted of the rigour of his persecutions against them, and as far as in him lay, endeavoured to have peace made with them; which handle being laid hold of by some of the courtiers to accuse him before the King, they fate very hard upon him, calling him traitor at every word, because having been trusted by *Ptolemy Philometor* with the government of *Cyprus*, he had gone over to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and treacherously delivered up that island unto him: For it seems how beneficial soever the treason was, the traitor was still odious unto them for it. Whereon he was deprived of his government, and *Lysias* was placed in it in his stead; and no other station being assigned him where he might be supported with honour or sufficiency of maintenance suitable to his degree, he could not bear this fall, and therefore poisoned himself and died. And this was an end which his treachery to his former master, and the great hand he had in the cruel and unjust persecutions of the *Jews* sufficiently deserved.

In the interim *Judas Maccabæus* was not idle; for hearing ^e how the neighbouring nations of the heathens had confederated to destroy the whole race of *Israel*, and had already begun it, by cutting off as many of them as were within their power, (as hath been already mentioned) he marched out with his forces to be revenged on them; and whereas ^f the *Edomites* had been the forwardest in this conspiracy, and having joined with *Gorgias*, who was governor for the King of *Syria* in the parts thereabout, had done them much mischief, he began first with them; and ^g having fallen into that part of their Countrey which was called *Acrabattene*, he there slew of them no fewer than twenty thousand men. From thence he led them ^h against the children of *Bean*, another tribe of the *Edomites* that had been very troublesome to them; and having beaten them out of the field, shut them up in two of their strongest fortresses; and after having besieged them there for some time, at length took them both, and put all he found in them to the sword, who were above twenty thousand more. Some few were saved from this carnage by bribing some of the soldiers to let them escape; but *Judas* ⁱ having gotten knowledge of it, convicted them of the treachery before the rest of the people of the *Jews* that were with him, and caused them to be put to death for it.

^a ^b 1 Maccab. vi. 17. 2 Maccab. x. 11. Appian. & Josephus, ibid. ^c 2 Maccab. ix. 29.
^d 2 Maccab. x. 11, 12, 13. ^e 1 Maccab. v. 1, 2. ^f 2 Maccab. x. 14, 15.
^g 1 Maccab. v. 3. 2 Maccab. x. 16, 17. ^h 1 Maccab. v. 4, 5. 2 Maccab. x. 18—23.
ⁱ 2 Maccab. x. 21, 22.

AFTER this *Judas*^k passed over *Jordan* into the land of the *Ammonites*, where he had many conflicts with the enemies of the *Jews*, and having slain great numbers of them, took *Jazar* with the villages belonging thereto, and then returned again into *Judæa*.

TIMOTHEUS, who was governor for the King of *Syria* in those parts, the same whom *Judas* had overcome two years before, being much exasperated by this inroad made upon his province, ¹ gathered together all the forces he was able, even a very great army both of horse and foot, and with them invaded *Judæa*, purposing no less than utterly to destroy the whole nation of the *Jews*. Whereon *Judas* went forth with his army to meet him, and they having all with humble supplication and earnest prayer recommended their cause to God, in confidence of his merciful assistance engaged these numerous forces with such courage and vigour, that they overthrew them with a great slaughter, there being then slain of them twenty thousand five hundred foot, and six hundred horsemen. Whereon *Timotheus* fled to *Gazara*, a city of the tribe of *Ephraim* near the field of battle, where *Chareas* his brother was governor. *Judas* pursuing him thither beset the place, and having taken it on the fifth day, there slew *Timotheus*, *Chareas* his brother, and *Apollophanes* another prime leader of the army.

THE heathen nations^m that lived about the land of *Gilead* hearing of this overthrow, and the death of so many of their friends that were slain in it; for the revenge hereof gathered together, with purpose to cut off and destroy all the *Jews* in those parts. And falling first on those that dwelt in the land of *Tob*, which lay to the east of *Gilead*, slew a thousand men of them, took their goods for a spoil, and carried their wives and children into captivity. Whereon most of the other *Jews* that dwelt in those parts, for the avoiding of the like ruine, fled to a strong fortress in *Gilead* called *Dathema*, and there resolved to defend themselves; which the heathen hearing of, forthwith drew thither in a great body under the command of another *Timotheus*, the successor, and most likely the son of the former *Timotheus* that was slain at *Gazara*, to besiege them. At the same timeⁿ the inhabitants of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Ptolemais*, and the other heathens thereabout, were drawing together to cut off and destroy all the *Jews* of *Galilee*, in the same manner as had been attempted in *Gilead*. *Judas* being hereon sent to for help both from *Gilead* and *Galilee* on this exigency, ^o by the advice of the sanhedrim or general council of the *Jews*, whom he consulted on this occasion, divided his army into three parts; with the first part, consisting of eight thousand men, ^p he and *Jonathan* his brother marched for the relief of the *Gileadites*; with the ^p second, consisting of three thousand, *Simon* another of his brothers was sent into *Galilee*; and ^q the rest were left at *Jerusalem* under the command of *Joseph* and *Azarias*, two prime leaders, for the defence of that place and the countrey adjacent; to whom *Judas* gave strict charge not to engage with any of the enemy, but to stand wholly upon the defensive till he and *Simon* should be again returned.

^k 1 Maccab. v. 6—8.

ⁿ 1 Maccab. v. 13, 14.

^q 1 Maccab. v. 18, 19.

¹ 2 Maccab. x. 24—38.

^o 1 Maccab. v. 16, 17.

^m 1 Maccab. v. 9—13.

^p 1 Maccab. v. 20.

JUDAS and Jonathan^r passing over *Jordan*, in their way from thence to *Gilead*, marched thorough some part of the countrey of the *Nabathæans*; with whom having peace, they learn'd from them the great distress which their friends were then in: For not only those in *Dathema* were hardly pressed by a strict siege, but all the rest of the *Jewish* nation that were in *Bossora*, *Bosor*, *Casphon*, *Maked*, and the other cities of *Gilead*, were there closely shut up and imprisoned, with intention on the taking of the fortrefs of *Dathema* to have them all put to death in one day: Whereon *Judas* and *Jonathan* immediately falling on *Bossora*, surprized the city, and having slain all the males, taken their spoils, and freed their brethren who were there imprison'd for slaughter, set the city on fire; and then marching all night from thence towards *Dathema*, came thither the next morning just as *Timotheus* and all his forces were storming the place: Whereon falling on them behind, they put them all to the rout; for being surprized with this sudden and unexpected assault, and terrified with the name of *Judas*, they were seized with a panic fright, and therefore immediately flung down their arms and fled; and *Judas* slew of them in the pursuit about eight thousand men. After this *Judas* took *Maspha*, *Casphon*, *Maked*, *Bosor*, and all the other cities of *Gilead* where the *Jews* were oppressed; and having thereby delivered them from the destruction designed for them, he treated all those places in the same manner as he had *Bossora*, that is, slew all the males, took their spoils, and set the cities on fire, and then returned to *Jerusalem*.

AND *Simon's* success in *Galilee* was not much inferior; ^s for on his coming into that countrey he had there many conflicts and encounters with the enemy, in all which carrying the victory, he at length drove all those oppressors out of the countrey, and having pursued them to the very gates of *Ptolemais*, slew of them in that pursuit about three thousand men, and took their spoils. But finding that the *Jews* of those parts could not well be any longer there protected, by reason of the great number of their enemies in the regions round about them, and the difficulty of succouring them at so great a distance from *Jerusalem*, he gathered them all together, men, women, and children, with their stuff and all other their substance, to carry them with him into the land of *Judah*, where being nearer to the protection of their brethren, they might live under it in better security. And he having accordingly on his return brought them thither with him, they were disposed of for the repeopling those places which had been desolated by the enemy during the persecution of *Antiochus Epiphanes*.

THUS the two parties that were sent forth on the two expeditions mentioned had both full success in them, and returned with honour and triumph. But it did not so happen to the third party that was left at home; for ^r *Joseph* and *Azarias*, who were entrusted with the command of them, hearing of the noble exploits which *Judas* and *Jonathan* did in *Gilead*, and *Simon* in *Galilee*, thought to get them also a name by doing the like; and therefore contrary to the orders that had been strictly given them by *Judas* on his departure, not to fight with any till he and *Simon* should be again returned, led forth their forces in an ill-projected expedition against *Jamnia*, a sea-port on the *Mediterranean*, thinking to take the place. But *Gorgias*, who commanded in those parts for the King of *Syria*, falling upon

^r 1 Maccab. v. 24—36.

^s 1 Maccab. v. 21, 22, 23.

^r 1 Maccab. v. 55—62.

them,

them, put their whole army to flight, and slew of them in the pursuit about two thousand men. Thus this rash attempt, made contrary to orders given, ended in the confusion of those that undertook it; but " *Judas* and his brothers, for their noble deeds and many valiant exploits, grew greatly renowned in the sight of all *Israel*, and also among the heathens wherever their names were heard of.

DEMETRIUS the son of *Seleucus Philopator*, who had from the year in which his father died been an hostage at *Rome*, and was now grown up to the twenty third year of his age, hearing of the death of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and the succession of *Eupator* his son in the kingdom of *Syria*, which of right belonged to him as son of the elder brother of *Epiphanes*, ^v moved the senate for the restoring of him to his father's kingdom; and for the inducing them hereto alledged, that having been bred up in that city from his childhood, he should always look on *Rome* as his country, the senators as his fathers, and their sons as his brothers. But the senate having more regard to their own interest than to the right of *Demetrius*, judged it would be more for the advantage of the *Romans* to have a boy reign in *Syria* than a thorough grown man, and one of mature understanding, as *Demetrius* was then known to be, and therefore decreed for the confirming of *Eupator* in the kingdom, and sent *Cn. Octavius*, *Sp. Lucretius*, and *L. Aurelius* ambassadors into *Syria*, there to settle his affairs, and regulate them according to the articles of the peace which they had made with *Antiochus the Great* his grandfather.

An. 163.
Judas
Maccabæus 4.

LYSIAS having received an account of the exploits of the *Jews* in *Gilead* and *Galilee*, was thereby much exasperated against them; ^w and therefore for the revenging hereof having gotten together an army of eighty thousand men, with all the horse of the kingdom, and eighty elephants, marched with all this power to invade *Judæa*, purposing to make *Jerusalem* an habitation for the *Gentiles*, and to make a gain of the temple as of the other temples of the heathens, and to set the high-priesthood to sale; and being enter'd the country, he begun the war with the siege of *Bethsura*, a strong fortress lying between *Jerusalem* and *Idumæa*, which hath been before spoken of. But there *Judas* falling upon him, slew of his army eleven thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horsemen, and put all the rest to flight. Whereon *Lysias* growing weary of so unprosperous a war, came to terms of peace with *Judas* and his people, and *Antiochus* ratified the same, in which matter the *Jews* found *Q. Memmius* and *T. Manlius*, who were then ambassadors from the *Romans* in *Syria*, to be very friendly and helpful unto them. By the terms of this peace the decree of *Antiochus Epiphanes* for the obliging of the *Jews* to conform to the religion of the *Greeks* was wholly rescinded, and liberty was granted them every where to live according to their own laws. This treaty was managed on the part of *Judas* by two *Jews* named *John* and *Absalom*, whom he sent to *Lysias* with his demands. The letter which *Lysias* wrote back in answer hereto ^x bore date in the month *Dioscorinthius* (or as in the vulgar *Latin Dioscorus*) in the year 148. But there is no such name of a month to be found either in the *Syro-Macedonian*, or in any other kalendar of those times.

^u 1 Maccab. v. 63.
Syriacis.

^w 2 Maccab. xi. 1—38.

^v Polybius Legat. 107. p. 937. Justin. lib. 34. cap. 3. Appian. in

^x 2 Maccab. xi. 21.

^y *Scaliger* and ^z *Archbishop Usher* conjecture, that it was an intercalary month cast in between the months *Dystrus* and *Xanthicus* in the *Chaldaean* kalendar, in the same manner as the month *Veadar* was cast in between the months *Adar* and *Nisan* in the *Jewish* kalendar. And they are the more confirmed in this opinion, because the month *Xanthicus*, which seems to have followed immediately after the said month called *Dioscorinthius* or *Dioscorus*, (for all the other letters and instruments that after followed relating to this peace, are dated in the month *Xanthicus* in the same year) answered to the *Jewish* month *Nisan*, and beginning about the same time with it, was the first month of the spring among the *Syrians*, as *Nisan* was among the *Jews*. But neither the *Syrians*, *Macedonians*, nor *Chaldeans* having any such intercalary month in their year, it seems more likely that *Dioscorinthius* or *Dioscorus* was a corrupt writing for *Dystrus*, (the month immediately preceding *Xanthicus* in the *Syro-Macedonian* kalendar) made by the error of the scribes. If any one will say that the month *Dius* among the *Corinthians* did answer to the month *Dystrus* of the *Syro-Macedonians*; because ^a *Dius* among the *Bithynians* did so, and that for this reason it is in the place above cited called διῶ Κορινθίων, I have nothing to say against it, because it is not any where said, that I know of, what form the *Corinthians* framed their year by. And it is farther to be taken notice of, that whereas the dates of all the instruments concerning this peace, as registred ^b in the places cited, are in the 148th year of the *Seleucidae*, this is to be understood according to the style of *Chaldaea*, and not according to the style of *Syria*; for the style of *Chaldaea* began one year after the style of *Syria*, ^c as hath been before observed; and therefore what is here said to have been done in the 148th year of the *Chaldaean* reckoning, was in the 149th year of the *Syrian*. And whereas in the chronological table at the end of this book, the 150th year, and not the 149th year of the æra of the *Seleucidae*, is put over-against the 163^d year before *Christ*, under which I place this treaty, it is not to be understood that these two years run parallel with each other from beginning to end, so as exactly to answer each other in every part, but only that the said 150th year had its beginning in the said 163^d year before *Christ*, tho' not at the same time with it: For the *Julian* year, by which I reckon the years before *Christ*, begins from the first of *January*; but the years of the æra of the *Seleucidae*, according to the reckoning of the first book of *Maccabees*, did not begin till about the time of the vernal equinox three months after, and according to the reckoning of the second book of *Maccabees* not till about the time of the autumnal equinox, nine months after. And therefore the said three months of the 163^d year before *Christ*, which precede the beginning of the 150th year according to the reckoning of the first book of *Maccabees*, and the said nine months of the same 163^d year before *Christ*, which precede the beginning of the same 150th year according to the reckoning of the second book of *Maccabees*, are not to be accounted to the said 150th year, but to the year preceding; that is, to the 149th year according to the style of *Syria*, which was the 148th year according to the style of *Chaldaea*. And

^y De emendatione temporum, lib. 2. cap. de periodo Syro-Macedonum, p. 94.

^z In annalibus sub anno J. P. 4551.

^a Vide Jacobum Usserium Armachanum de Macedonum & Asianorum anno solari, cap. 4.

^b 2 Maccab. xi. 21, 33, 38.

^c Part I. book VIII. sub annis 312 & 311.

what is said in this place of this 163^d year before *Christ*, and of the said 150th year of the æra of the *Seleucidæ*, is to be understood of all the rest of the years of the said two æra's as placed against each other in the said tables; for they no otherwise answer each other than is here expressed.

BUT this peace granted the *Jews* was not long lived. ^d Those who governed in the neighbouring places round about them not being pleased with it broke it, as soon as *Lysias* was gone again to *Antioch*, and took all opportunities to renew their former vexations against them, among whom *Timotheus*, *Nicanor*, and *Apollonius* the son of *Gennæus*, were the most forward and active in troubling them. But ^e that war was first begun by the men of *Joppa*; for they having there drowned in the sea two hundred of the *Jews* that dwelt among them in that city, *Judas* for the revenging of this cruelty fell upon them by night, and burnt their shipping, slaying all those whom he found therein; and then ^f turning upon the *Jamnites*, who intended to do the like, he set fire to their haven, and burnt all their navy that was there laid up in it.

AFTER this he was ^g called again to help the *Jews* of *Gilead* against *Timotheus*. In his march thither he was ^h encounter'd by some of the *Nomad*, or wandering *Arabs*, but he having vanquished them, they were forced to sue for peace, which *Judas* having granted to them marched on against *Timotheus*, but ⁱ meeting with obstructions in his march from the men of *Caspis*, a city that lay in his way, he fell upon them, and having taken their city slew the inhabitants, took their spoils, and destroyed the place. After this ^k he came to *Caraca* in the land of *Tob*; but finding that *Timotheus* was gone from thence, leaving strong garrisons in the fenced places of that countrey, he sent *Dositheus* and *Sosipater* two of his captains with a detachment against those garrisons, and he himself marched with the main army to find out *Timotheus*. *Dositheus* and *Sosipater* soon made themselves masters of those fenced places, which they were sent against, and slew those that were garrison'd in them to the number of ten thousand men. In ^l the mean while *Timotheus* having drawn all his forces together to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse, sent the women and children, that followed the army, with the baggage into *Carnion*, a strong city in *Gilead*, and then pitched his camp not far from it at a place called *Raphon*, lying on the river *Jabboc*. There *Judas* having found him with his numerous army passed over the river, and fell upon him; and having gained the victory slew of his army thirty thousand men, and ^m *Timotheus* himself, as he fled, falling into the hands of *Dositheus* and *Sosipater* then returning from their conquests in the land of *Tob* to the rest of the army, was taken prisoner by them. But having promised for the saving of his life the release of many *Jews* then captives in the places under his command, who were several of them parents or brothers to some then present in the *Jewish* army, upon this condition they gave him both his life and his liberty, and permitted him to go freely off. A great part of the rest of the vanquished army fled to ⁿ *Carnion*, where *Judas* pursuing them

^d 2 Maccab. xii. 2—4.

^e 2 Maccab. xii. 5, 6.

^f 2 Maccab. xii. 8, 9.

^g 2 Maccab. xii. 10.

^h 2 Maccab. xii. 11, 12.

ⁱ 2 Maccab. xii. 13—16.

^k 2 Maccab. xii. 17—19.

^l 1 Maccab. v. 37—43. 2 Maccab. xii. 20—23.

^m 2 Maccab. xii. 24, 25.

ⁿ This city in the first book of Maccabees is called Carnaim. Strabo and Ptolemy make mention of it by the name of Carno a city in Arabia.

took the place, and whereas many of them thereon fled to the temple of ° *Atargatis*, which was in that city, thinking there to find safety, ^p he set fire to it, and burnt it with all that were therein, and then with fire and sword desolating the rest of the city there, slew in the whole twenty five thousand more of *Timotheus's* forces that had taken refuge in it. And then ^q gathering together all of the race of *Israel*, that were in the land of *Gilead*, or any of the parts adjoining, he carried them with him in his return to *Judea* in the same manner, and for the same reason, that *Simon* had the *Israelites* of *Galilee* the year before; and for the same end as he did, planted them in the desolated places of the land of *Judah*; but being in his way thither to pass through *Ephron*, which lay directly in the road, so as not to afford any other passage either to the right hand or the left, through which he might else march his army, he ^r was necessitated to take his way thorough the city it self; but it being a great and strong city, and well garrison'd by *Lysias*, they refused him passage, though he prayed it of them in a peaceable manner. Whereon he assaulted the place, and having taken it by storm put all the males to the sword to the number of twenty five thousand persons, took their spoils, and rased the city to the ground, and then marching over the bellies of the slain ^s repassed *Jordan* into the plains of *Bethsan* then called *Scythopolis*, and from thence returning to *Jerusalem* ^t he and all his company went up to the temple in great joy to give thanks unto God for the great success, with which he had been pleased to prosper this expedition, and especially for that they were all of them returned in safety without losing any one man of all their whole number, notwithstanding the hazardous march, and the many dangerous enterprizes they had been engaged in; which was a very extraordinary instance of God's merciful protection over them. This their return ^u happen'd about the time of Pentecost.

AFTER that festival was over, *Judas* ^w led forth his forces again to make war upon *Gorgias* and the *Idumæans*, who had been very vexatious to the *Jews*. In the battel which he fought with them, ^x several of the *Jews* were slain, but in the result *Judas* got the victory, and *Gorgias* difficultly escaping fled to *Marisa*. The ^y next day after being the sabbath, *Judas* withdrew with his forces to *Odollam* a city near the field of battel there to keep the day in all the duties of it. The ^z next day following going forth to bury such of their brethren as were slain in the battel, they found about every one of them some of the things that had been dedicated to the idols of the heathens, which, tho' taken by them among the spoils of that war, were ^a forbidden by the law to be kept by them; whereby perceiving for what cause God had given them up to be slain, *Judas* and all his company gave praise unto him, and humbly offered up their prayers

° This deity is by Strabo lib. 16. p. 748, said to be a Syrian Goddess. Pliny, lib. 5. cap. 23. saith, that she was the same with Derceto, and he tells us, cap. 13. that she was worshipped at Joppa in Phœnicia. Diodorus Siculus lib. 2. saith, that she was worshipped at Ascalon, and was there represented by an image having the form of a woman in the upper part, and that of a fish in the lower part. Hence this deity is conjectured to have been the same with Dagon of the Philistines. See Selden de Dis Syris syntag. 2. cap. 3.

^p 1 Maccab. v. 44. ^q 1 Maccab. v. 45. ^r 1 Maccab. v. 46—51. ^s 1 Maccab. v. 52. ^t 1 Maccab. v. 52. ^u 1 Maccab. v. 52. ^w 1 Maccab. v. 52. ^x 1 Maccab. v. 52. ^y 1 Maccab. v. 52. ^z 1 Maccab. v. 52.

^a 1 Maccab. v. 54. ^b 2 Maccab. xii. 31. ^c 1 Maccab. v. 65. ^d 2 Maccab. xii. 32, 33.

^e 2 Maccab. xii. 33—37. ^f 2 Maccab. xii. 38. ^g 2 Maccab. xii. 39—45.

^h Denton. vii. 25, 26.

for the pardon of the sin. And then making a collection through the whole camp, which amounted to two thousand drachms, sent it to *Jerusalem* to provide sin-offerings there to be offered up for the expiating of this offence, that wrath for it might not fall upon the whole congregation of *Israel*, as formerly it had in the case of *Achan*.

AFTER this ^b *Judas* carrying the war into the southern parts of *Idumæa* smote *Hebron*, and all the towns thereof, and after having dismantled this city, then the metropolis of *Idumæa*, he passed from thence into the land of the *Philistines*, and having taken *Azotus*, formerly called *Ashdod*, he pulled down their heathen altars, burnt their carved images, and took the spoils of the place; and having done the same to the rest of the cities of that countrey, over which he had prevailed, he led back his men loaded with the spoils of their enemies again into *Judæa*.

BUT the garrison of the *Syrians* still holding the fortrefs of *Acra* in *Jerusalem*, they were a great thorn in the sides of the *Jews*, often sallying out upon them as they passed up to the temple to worship, and cutting several of them off, as often as they had the advantage so to do. Wherefore *Judas* for the removal of this mischief ^c called all the people together, and laid siege to the place purposing to destroy it, and in order hereto having provided all manner of engines of war fit for the purpose he pressed on hard all the methods of assault, whereby he might take it. Hereon ^d some of the apostate *Jews*, who had lifted themselves in the garrison, knowing they were to have no mercy should the place be taken, found the means to get forth, and fleeing to *Antioch* there made known to the King and his council the distress, which this garrison at *Jerusalem* was in, and moved so effectually for their relief, that forthwith ^e an army was drawn together of an hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, with thirty two elephants, and three hundred armed chariots of war; and the King in person with his tutor *Lysias* having put himself at the head of them marched with them into *Judæa*, and passing on to the borders of *Idumæa* there begun the war with the siege of *Bethsura*. ^f *Judas* having gotten his forces together, though far inferiour to those of the enemy, there fell on them in the night, and having slain four thousand of them before they had light enough to see where to oppose him, and thereby put the whole camp into confusion, he retreated on break of day without suffering any loss in the attempt. But as soon as the morning was up ^g both sides prepared for an open battel, and *Judas* and his men with great fierceness begun the onset, but after having slain about six hundred of the Kings men, finding they must be overpowered at length by so great a number, ^h they withdrew from the fight, and made a safe retreat to *Jerusalem*. In this fight ⁱ *Eleazar* surnamed *Averan*, one of *Judas's* brothers, was lost by a very rash and desperate attempt which he made upon one of the King's elephants; for seeing it to be higher than all the rest, and armed with royal harness, he supposed that the King himself was upon it, and therefore thinking, that by slaying this elephant he might with the fall of it cause the death of the King also, and thereby deliver his people, and gain to himself a perpetual name, he ran furiously to the

^b 1 Maccab. v. 65—68.

^c 1 Maccab. vi. 19, 20.

^d 1 Maccab. vi. 21—27.

^e 1 Maccab. vi. 28.—31. 2 Maccab. xiii. 1, 2, 9.

^f 1 Maccab. vi. 32. 2 Maccab. xiii. 15—17.

^g 1 Maccab. vi. 33—42.

^h 1 Maccab. vi. 47.

ⁱ 1 Maccab. vi. 43—46.

beast flaying on each hand all that stood in his way, till being gotten under its belly he thrust up his spear and slew him; whereon the beast falling dead upon him crushed him to death with the weight thereof. After this *Antiochus*^k returned to the siege of *Bethsura*, and altho' the besieged defended themselves with great valour, and in several sallies beat back the enemy, and burnt their engines of battery, yet at length their provisions failing them, they were forced to yield, and surrender'd the place upon articles of safety to their persons and effects.

FROM thence^l *Antiochus* marched to *Jerusalem*, and there besieged the sanctuary, and when they within were almost reduced to the same necessity of surrendering that those of *Bethsura* had been, by reason of the like failure of provisions, they were relieved by an unexpected accident; for^m *Lysias* having received an account that *Philip*, whom *Antiochus Epiphanes* had at his death appointed guardian of his son, had in his absence seized *Antioch*, and there taken upon him the government of the *Syrian* empire, he found it necessary to make peace with the *Jews*, that he might thereby be at liberty to return into *Syria* for expelling of this intruder; and accordingly peace being granted to them upon honourable and advantageous conditions, and sworn to by *Antiochus*, he was admitted within the fortifications of the sanctuary: °But when he saw how strong they were, he caused them contrary to the articles he had sworn to, to be all pull'd down and demolish'd, and then returned towards *Syria*.

¶ *MENE LAUS* the High-priest in expectation not only of recovering his station at *Jerusalem*, but also of being made governor there, accompanied the King in this expedition, and was very forward and busy in offering him his service in it against his own people. But *Lysias* when he found what great inconveniences attended this war, and was by the ill consequences of it forced to make the peace I have mentioned, being much exasperated against this wretch, as the true and original author of all this mischief, accused him to the King for it; whereon he was condemned to death, and being carried to *Berbæa*^q a city of *Syria* was there cast headlong into a tower of ashes, which was in that place, and there miserably perished. This was a punishment then used for sacrilege, treason, and such other great crimes, which this wretch was very signally guilty of; in what manner it was executed hath been before described. On his death the office of High-priest was granted to^r *Alcimus*, who was called also *Jacimus*, a man altogether as wicked. Whereon^s *Onias*, the son of that *Onias* that by the procurement of *Menelaus* was slain at *Antioch*, whose right it was to have succeeded in this office, not being able to bear the injustice, whereby he was disappointed of it, fled from *Antioch*, where he had hitherto resided since his father's death, and went into *Egypt*; where having insinuated himself into the favour of *Ptolemy Philometor* and *Cleopatra* his Queen, he lived there all the rest of his life, and will hereafter more than once be again spoken of in the future series of this history.

THIS expedition into *Judæa* is said in the 'second book of *Maccabees* to have been begun in the 149th year, *i. e.* of the æra of the *Seleucide*,

^k 1 Maccab. vi. 49, 50. 2 Maccab. xiii. 18—22. ^l 1 Maccab. vi. 48. 51—54.

^m 1 Maccab. vi. 55, 56. 2 Maccab. xiii. 23. ⁿ 1 Maccab. vi. 57—61.

^o 1 Maccab. vi. 62. ^p 2 Maccab. xiii. 3—8. ^q The same that is now called Aleppo.

^r 2 Maccab. xiv. 3. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 15. & lib. 20 cap. 8. ^s Josephus ibid.

^t Chap. xiii. §. 1.

and in " the first book of *Maccabees* its beginning is placed in the 150th of the same æra. But what hath been before observed, that the first book of *Maccabees* reckons the beginning of these years from the time of the vernal equinox, and the second book of *Maccabees* from the time of the autumnal equinox, easily reconciles this difference; for the six months of this very same year which were between these two equinoxes, will be in the 150th year according to the reckoning of the first book of *Maccabees*, and in the 149th according to the reckoning of the second. And therefore all that can be inferred from hence is, that this expedition was first made within the time of these six months, and I reckon it was so towards the latter end of them.

ON the King's return to *Antioch* ^w *Philip* was driven thence, and suppressed. I have before mentioned the flight of this *Philip* into *Egypt*, in expectation there to be assisted against *Lysias*; but the two brothers who there jointly reigned at this time being then fall'n out, and at great variance with each other, he found nothing could be there done for him; and therefore returning again into the east, and having ^x there gathered together an army out of *Media* and *Persia*, took the advantage of the King's absence on this expedition into *Judæa* to seize the imperial city; but being on the King's return again expelled thence, he failed of success in this attempt, and perished in it.

THE variance between the two *Ptolemys* in *Egypt*, which I have last above mentioned, running to a great height, the senate of *Rome* ^y wrote to their ambassadors *Cneius Octavius*, *Spurius Lucretius*, and *Lucius Aurelius*, whom they had a little before sent into *Syria*, to pass from thence to *Alexandria* for the composing of it. But before they could go thither *Physcon* the younger brother prevailing over *Philometor* the elder, ^z had driven him out of the kingdom: Whereon ^a taking shipping for *Italy*, he landed at *Brundisium*, and from thence travelled to *Rome* on foot in a sordid habit, and with a mean attendance, there to pray the help of the senate for his restoration. ^a *Demetrius* the son of *Seleucus Philopator* late King of *Syria*, who was then an hostage at *Rome*, as hath been above mentioned, having gotten notice hereof, provided a royal equipage and royal robes for him, that he might appear at *Rome* as a King, and rode forth to carry all this to him; but on his meeting him on the road at twenty six miles distance from *Rome*, and presenting him with it, *Ptolemy*, tho' he very much thanked him for the kindness and respects hereby offered unto him, yet was so far from accepting any thing of it, that he would not permit him so much as to accompany him the remainder of the journey, but enter'd *Rome* on foot with no other than the same mean attendance, and the same sordid habit with which he first put himself on this journey, and took up his lodging in the private house of an *Alexandrian* painter then living at *Rome*. Thus he chose to do, that by his coming in so low and mean a manner he might the better express the calamity of his case, and the more effectually move the compassion of the *Romans* towards him. As soon as the senate heard of his arrival, they sent for him to the senate house, and

^u Chap. vi. §. 20.

^x 1 Maccab. vi. 56.

^y Polybius Legat. 107. p. 938. ^z Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri, p. 60, & p. 68.

^a Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valesii, p. 322. Valerius Maximus, lib. 5. cap. 1.

^w 1 Maccab. vi. 63. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 15.

^y Polybius Legat. 107. p. 938.

^z Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri, p. 60, & p. 68.

^a Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valesii, p. 322. Valerius

there excused themselves to him, that they had not provided him with lodgings, nor received him with those ceremonies which were usual in this case; telling him, that this was not from any neglect of theirs, but merely that his coming was so sudden and private, that they knew not of it till his arrival. And then having exhorted him to lay aside his sordid habit, and ask a day to be publicly heard concerning the matter he came thither about, they by some of their body conducted him to lodgings suiting his royal dignity, and appointed one of their treasurers there to attend him, and provide him with all things fitting at the publick charge as long as he should stay in *Rome*. And when he had a day of audience, and made known his case, they immediately decreed his restoration, and sent *Quintus* and *Canuleius*, two of their body, ambassadors with him to *Alexandria* there to see it executed; who on their arrival thither^b compounded the matter between the two brothers, by assigning to *Physcon* the countrey of *Libya* and *Cyrene*, and to *Philometor* *Egypt* and *Cyprus*, there to reign apart without interfering with each other in the government.

CN. Octavius, *Sp. Lucretius*, and *L. Aurelius* the *Roman* ambassadors above mentioned being come into *Syria*, and finding that the King had more ships in his navy, and more elephants in his army, than the treaty made with *Antiochus the Great*, after the battel of mount *Sipylos*, allowed him to have^c, they caused those ships to be burnt, and those elephants to be slain, that exceeded the number allowed; and settled all other things there according as they thought would best be for the *Roman* interest; which many not being able to bear, and great heart-burning and discontents being thereby caused among the people, one of them called *Leptines*, out of a more than ordinary indignation which he had conceived hereat, fell upon *Octavius*, while he was anointing himself in the *Gymnasium* at *Laodicea*, and there slew him. This *Octavius* had been a little before consul of *Rome*, and was^d the first that brought that dignity into his family. From him was descended *Octavius Caesar*, who under the name of *Augustus* was afterwards made Emperor of *Rome*. *Lysias* was thought under-hand to have excited this act: However, as soon as it was done, he took care that ambassadors were sent to *Rome* to purge the King with the senate from having had any hand in it. But the senate after having heard those ambassadors, sent them away without giving them any answer, seeming thereby to express their resentments for the murder of their ambassador by an angry silence, and to reserve their judgment as to the authors of it to a future enquiry.

DEMETRIUS thinking this murder of *Octavius* might so far have alienated the senate from *Eupator*, as that they would no longer for his sake retard his dismissal, e addressed himself the second time to them for it. *Apollonius*, a young nobleman of *Syria* who was bred up with him, and was son to that *Apollonius*^f, who was governor of *Cœle-Syria* and *Phœnicia* in the reign of *Seleucus Philopator*, advised him to this address contrary to the advice of his other friends, whose opinion it was, that he had nothing else to do for his getting away but to make his escape as privately as he

An. 162.
Judas
Maccabæus 5.

^b Polybius Legat. 113, & 114. p. 941, 943. Epitome Livii, lib. 46. Zonaras, lib. 2.

^c Appianus in Syriacis. Polybius Legat. 114. p. 944. & Legat. 122. p. 954. Cicero Philippic. 9.

^d Cicero, ibid. ^e Polybius Legat. 114. p. 943. Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 34. cap. 3-

^f 2 Maccab. iii. 5.

could.

could. And the second repulse which he had from the senate (for they still having the same reason from their interest to detain him, persisted still in the same resolution so to do) soon convinced him that this last was the only course he had to take for his return into his countrey, and the recovering of the crown which was there due unto him. And *Polybius* the historian, who was then at *Rome*, and with whom *Demetrius* consulted in all this matter, earnestly pressed him to the attempt. Whereon having, by the help of *Menithyllus* of *Alabanda*, hired passage in a *Carthaginian* ship then lying at *Ostia*, and bound for *Tyre*, he sent most of his retinue with his hunting equipage to *Anagnia*, making shew of following them the next day thither to divert himself in that countrey for some time in hunting. But as soon as he was risen from supper, getting privately that night to *Ostia*, he there went on board the *Carthaginian* ship, and causing it forthwith to set sail, made his escape therein: For it being thought that he had been at the place where he had appointed his hunting, it was the fourth day after he had sailed from *Ostia*, before his escape was known at *Rome*; and when on the fifth day the senate was met about it, they computed that by that time he had passed the streights of *Messina*, and got on from thence in his voyage too far to be overtaken, and therefore took no farther notice of it: Only some few days after they appointed *Tiberius Gracchus*, *L. Lentulus*, and *Servilius Glaucias* their ambassadors to pass into *Syria*, to observe what effect the return of *Demetrius* into that countrey would there produce.

THE occasion which brought *Menithyllus* of *Alabanda* to *Rome* at this time, was ^s an embassy on which he was thither sent by *Ptolemy Philometor* to defend his cause before the senate against *Physcon* his brother: For *Physcon* not being content with the share allotted him in the partition of the *Egyptian* empire between him and his brother, desired that besides *Libya* and *Cyrene* he might have *Cyprus* also assigned him: And when he could not obtain this of the ambassadors, he went himself to *Rome* there to solicit the senate for it. When he appeared before the senate with his petition, *Menithyllus* made it out that *Physcon* owed not only *Libya* and *Cyrene*, but his life also to the favour and kindness of his brother: For he had made himself so odious to the people by his many flagitious male-administrations in the government, that they would have permitted him neither to reign nor live, had not *Philometor* interposed to save him from their rage; and *Quintus* and *Canuleius*, who were the ambassadors that made the agreement between the two brothers, being then present in the senate, did there attest all this to be true; yet notwithstanding the senate having more regard to their own interest than the justice of the cause, decreed *Cyprus* to be given to *Physcon*, because they thought *Philometor* would be too potent with that and *Egypt* together. And therefore they appointed *Titus Torquatus* and *Cneius Merula* to go with him as their ambassadors for the putting him in possession of it, according as they had decreed.

WHILE *Physcon* was at *Rome* on this occasion, ^h he courted *Cornelia* the mother of the *Gracchi*, desiring to have her for his Queen; but she being the daughter of *Scipio Africanus*, and the widow of *Tiberius Gracchus*, who had been twice consul, and once censor of *Rome*, she despised the offer,

^s Polybius Legat. 113. p. 941. & Legat. 117. p. 950.

^h Plutarchus in Tiberio Graccho. thinking

thinking it to be a greater honour to be one of the prime matrons of *Rome* than to reign with *Phyſcon* in *Libya* and *Cyrene*.

IN the interim ⁱ *Demetrius* landing at *Tripolis* in *Syria*, made it believed that he was ſent by the *Roman* ſenate to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and that he would be ſupported by them in it. Whereon *Eupator's* cauſe being in the general opinion given for loſt, all deſerted from him to *Demetrius*; and *Eupator* and *Lyſias* his tutor being ſeized by their own ſoldiers, in order to be delivered up to the new-comer, were by his order both put to death. And ſo without any farther oppoſition he became thoroughly ſettled in the whole kingdom.

As ſoon as *Demetrius* was fix'd on the throne, ^k one of the firſt things he did was to deliver the *Babylonians* from the tyranny of *Timarchus* and *Heræclides*. Theſe being the two great favourites of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, he had made the firſt of them governor, and the other treaſurer of that province. *Timarchus* having added rebellion to his other crimes, *Demetrius* cauſed him to be put to death, and the other he drove into baniſhment. This was ſo acceptable a deliverance to the *Babylonians*, whom theſe two brothers had moſt grievouſly oppreſſed, that they from hence called him *Soter*, i. e. *the Saviour*, which name he ever afterward bore.

ALCIMUS, who on the death of *Menelaus* was by *Antiochus Eupator* appointed High-prieſt of the *Jews*, ^l not being received by them, becauſe he had polluted himſelf by conforming to the ways of the *Greeks* in the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes* ^m, got together all the other apoſtate *Jews* then living at *Antioch*, who had for their apoſtaſy been expelled *Judæa*, and went in the head of them to the new King to pray his relief againſt *Judas* and his brethren, accuſing them of ſlaying many of the King's friends, and driving others out of the countrey, as particularly they had them his petitioners, for no other reaſon but that they had obeyed the royal edicts of *Antiochus Epiphanes* his uncle, who had reigned before him. And hereby he ſo exaſperated *Demetrius* againſt *Judas* and the people with him, ⁿ that he forthwith ordered *Bacchides* governor of *Meſopotamia* with an army into *Judæa*; and having confirmed *Alcimus* in the office of High-prieſt, joined him in the ſame commiſſion with *Bacchides* for the carrying on of this war. On their firſt coming into *Judæa* they thought to have circumvented *Judas* and his brethren, and by fair words, under the ſhew of making peace with them, to have drawn them into their power, and ſo have taken them. But they being aware of the fraud kept out of their reach, which others not being ſo cautious of fell into their ſnare, and being taken in it, were all deſtroyed by them; among whom were fixty of the *Aſideans*, and ſeveral of the ſcribes or doctors of their law: For being fond of having an High-prieſt again ſettled among them, and thinking they could ſuffer no wrong from one that was of the ſons of *Aaron*, they took his oath of peace, and truſted themſelves with him. But he had no ſooner gotten them within his power but he put them all to death; with which the reſt being terrified durſt no more confide in him. After this *Bacchides* returned to the King, leaving with *Alcimus* part of his forces to ſecure him in the poſſeſſion of the countrey; with which ^o prevailing for

ⁱ 1 Maccab. vii. 1—4. ² Maccab. xiv. 1, 2. Joſephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 16. Appian. in Syriacis. Juſtin. lib. 34. cap. 3. ^k Appianus in Syriacis. ^l 2 Maccab. xiv. 3.

^m 1 Maccab. vii. 5—7. Joſephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 16.

ⁿ 1 Maccab. vii. 8—20.

^o 1 Maccab. vii. 21, 22.

a while, and drawing many deserters to him, he much disturbed the state of *Israel*. For the remedy whereof *Judas*, after *Bacchides* was fully gone, ^p coming out with his forces again into the field, went round the countrey, and took vengeance of those that had revolted from him, so that *Alcimus* and his party were no more able to stand against him. Whereon that wicked disturber of his people went again to the King ^q and having presented him with a crown of gold, and other gifts, renewed his complaints against *Judas* and his brethren, telling him, that as long as *Judas* lived, his authority could never be quietly settled in that countrey, or matters be there ever brought to a lasting state of peace. And all that were about the King out of hatred to the *Jews* saying the same thing, *Demetrius* was hereby so incensed, that ^r he sent another army against the *Jews* under the command of *Nicanor* their old enemy, commanding him, that he should cut off *Judas*, disperse his followers, and thoroughly establish *Alcimus* in his office of High-priest. But *Nicanor* knowing the prowess of *Judas*, as ^s having been vanquished by him in a former expedition, was loath to make another tryal of it for fear of another defeat; and therefore endeavoured to compose matters by a treaty, and accordingly articles of peace were agreed on between them. And after this *Judas* and *Nicanor* conversed in a friendly manner together. But ^t *Alcimus* not liking this peace, as thinking his interest not sufficiently provided for in it, went the third time to the King, and so possessed him against it, that he refused to ratify what was agreed, and sent his positive orders to *Nicanor* to go on with the war, and not to cease prosecuting it, till he should have slain *Judas*, or taken him prisoner, and sent him bound to *Antioch*: Whereon *Nicanor* was forced much against his will again to renew his former hostilities against *Judas* and his brethren.

PTOLEMY Physcon ^u having had the island of *Cyprus* assigned to him by the determination of the senate of *Rome* return'd thitherward with the two *Roman* ambassadors *Cneius Merula* and *Titus Torquatus*, who were sent to see him put in possession of it. On his coming ^v into *Greece* in his way to it, he hired a great number of mercenaries, thinking by them forthwith to possess himself of the island. But the ambassadors having acquainted him, that they were sent to introduce him into it, only by way of treaty with his brother, and not by arms, persuaded him again to dismiss all his forces; whereon taking *Merula* with him he returned into *Libya*, and *Torquatus* went to *Alexandria*. The purpose of these two ambassadors was to bring the two brothers to meet on the borders of their dominions, and there agree the matter between them according to the sentiments of the *Roman* senate. But when *Torquatus* came to *Alexandria*, he found *Philometor* not easily to be brought to comply with what the senate had decreed concerning this matter. He insisted upon the former agreement made between him and his brother by *Quintus* and *Canuleius* the former ambassadors, which assigned *Cyprus* to him, and therefore thought it very hard, that it should contrary to the tenour of that agreement be now taken from him, and given his brother. However he did not at first peremptorily refuse to yield to the decree of the senate

^p 1 Maccab. vii. 23, 24.

^q 1 Maccab. vii. 25. 2 Maccab. xiv. 3—11.

^r 1 Maccab. vii. 26—29. 2 Maccab. xiv. 12—25.

^s 1 Maccab. iv. 2 Maccab. viii.

^t 2 Maccab. xiv. 26—29.

^u Polybius legat. 113. p. 942.

^v Polybius legat. 115. p. 948.

but

but wiredrew the treaty to a great length, and between promising as to some things, and excusing himself as to others, he did artfully beat the bush at a distance, and so wasted away the time without coming to any determination about the matter in hand. In the interim *Physon* with the other ambassador lay at the port of *Apis* in *Libya* there expecting the result of *Torquatus's* agency; after long waiting receiving no intelligence from him to his content he sent *Merula* also to *Alexandria*, thinking that both the ambassadors together might act the more effectually with *Philometor* to bring him to their bent. But *Philometor* still observed the same conduct, treating them both with all manner of kindness and complaisance, flattering them with courtly words, and endeavouring in all things to please them with as courtly actions, and by this means drill'd on the matter with them for forty days together without coming to the point, which was the end of their embassy to him, detaining them all this while at his court rather by force than with their good liking, till at length finding they could be put off no longer he plainly declared, that he would stand by the first agreement, and would not yield to the making of any other. And with this answer *Merula* returned again to *Physon*, and *Torquatus* to *Rome*. In the interim the *Cyrenians* understanding how ill *Physon* had behaved himself while he reigned at *Alexandria*, entertained from hence such an aversion against having him for their King, that they rose in arms to keep him out of their countrey. Whereon *Physon* fearing, lest while he tarried at *Apis* in expectation of the investiture of *Cyprus*, he should lose *Cyrene*, he hasten'd thither with all his forces which he had then with him; but he had the misfortune at first to be overthrown by his rebel subjects; and it is not to be doubted, but that *Philometor* had an hand in the raising of this combustion, and that it was with a view hereto, that he had delayed so long to give an answer to the *Roman* ambassadors, that thereby he might give scope for these designs to ripen to execution. *Physon* being hereby involved in great difficulties, *Merula* found him under the pressures of them on his return to him; and they were not a little aggravated by the account which he brought him of his brothers final refusing to yield any more to him, than what was given him by the first agreement; he durst not himself go again to *Rome* to renew his complaint against his brother about this matter, till the troubles raised against him in *Cyrene* were again appeased. All therefore that he could at present do, * was to send two ambassadors with *Merula* in his stead to solicit his cause with the senate. These and *Merula* meeting with *Torquatus* on his return from *Alexandria*, they went all four together to *Rome*, and there all made their report of the case much to the disadvantage of *Philometor*; so that † when the cause came to be heard in the senate, tho' *Menithyllus*, *Philometor's* ambassador, spoke much in his behalf, he was not heard with any regard, the senators being generally prepossessed against him, because of his refusal to submit to their decree about *Cyprus*. And therefore to express the anger they had conceived against him on this account, they renounced all friendship and alliance with him, and ordered his ambassador to depart *Rome* within five days, and sent two ambassadors from them to *Cyrene* to acquaint *Physon* with what they had done.

* Polybius legat. 116. p. 950.

† Polybius legat. 117. p. 950, 951.

IN this year ² *Buchorius* placeth the beginning of the cycle of 84 years by which the *Jews* settled the times of their new moons, full moons, and festivals. I have before shewn in the preface to the first part of this history, how they anciently went by the phasis or appearance of the new moon for all this matter. And according hereto the new moons and festivals were then constantly settled by the sanhedrim at *Jerusalem*. Towards the end of every month they ^a sent out persons into places of the greatest height and eminence about *Jerusalem* to observe the appearance of the new moon, and as soon as they saw it appear, they returned, and made report thereof to that assembly, and according thereto they appointed their new moons or first days of every month, and immediately by signs from mountain to mountain gave notice thereof through the whole land of *Judea*; and according to their new moons and full moons, were all their other festivals fixed. And all this might well enough be done as long as the *Jews* lived within the narrow bounds of *Judea*. But when after the time of *Alexander the Great*, they became dispersed through all the *Grecian* colonies in the east, and had in great numbers settled at *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and other cities of *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Cyrene*, *Syria*, and lesser *Asia*, under the *Syro-Macedonian* and *Egypto-Macedonian* Kings, this method grew impracticable as to them. And therefore from that time they were necessitated to come to astronomical calculations, and the use of cycles, for the settling of this matter, that so they might know at all distant places, when to begin their months, when to make their intercalations, and when to solemnize their festivals all in an uniform manner at the same time. How the eastern *Jews*, who had ever since the *Assyrian* and *Babylonish* captivities been settled in *Babylonia*, *Persia*, *Media*, and other eastern provinces beyond the *Euphrates*, ordered this matter, is uncertain: But since they had in *Babylonia* ^b a prince of the captivity for the governing of them in all things according to their law, and a sanhedrim there to assist him herein, no doubt they had fixed methods for the settling of this matter according to the truest rules of astronomy, especially since that science was in those parts cultivated beyond what it was in any other countrey. Most likely it is, that they had an astronomical cycle, by which they fixed the new moons, and according to them regulated all the rest. But as to the other *Jews*, that they all made use of the cycle of eighty four years for this purpose is certain; for several of the ancient ^c Fathers of the christian Church make mention of it, as that which had been of ancient use among the *Jews*, and was afterwards borrowed from them by the primitive christians for the fixing of the time of their Easter, and was the first cycle which was made use of by them for

² De antiquo Judæorum paschali cyclo, cap. 5. p. 377. ^a Mishna in Rosh Hashana. Maimonides in Kiddush Hachodesh. Lightfoot's temple service, chap. xi. ^b The Jews anciently had in most countries of their dispersion a chief magistrate over them of their own, by whom they were governed in all matters relating to their law, and for whose superintendency they usually purchased a commission from the Kings under whom they lived. This magistrate in Babylonia was called in the Jewish language Rosh Golah; i. e. The head of the captivity; in Greek Ἐκκιστάτορεια, which is a name of the same signification; and it is pretended that all that bore this office there, were of the seed of David. And so in like manner the Jews of Alexandria had their Alabarcha; and the Jews of Antioch their Ethnarcha; and after this they had in most places of their dispersions their Patriarchas for the same purpose, and there are in the imperial laws edicts concerning them. ^c Anatolius, Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Epiphanius, Prosper, Victorius, Beda, aliique.

this purpose. It seems to have been made up of the *Calippic* cycle, and the *Octoeteris* joined together. For it contains just so many days as both these cycles do, when added to each other, reckoning the eight years of the *Octoeteris*, and the seventy six years of the *Calippic* cycle by *Julian* years; for eight *Julian* years contain 2922 days, and seventy six *Julian* years 27759 days, and these being added together make 30681, which is exactly the number of days that are contained in eighty four *Julian* years, which was the number of this cycle. And therefore it is most likely, that the *Jews* first began with the use of the *Calippic* cycle, or more properly speaking of the *Calippic* period (for in the language of chronologers a cycle is a round of several years, and a period a round of several cycles) and afterwards added the *Octoeteris* to it, both to render it the more proper for their purpose, and also to make it look as wholly their own: And it is possible so much might have been this year done. But that the *Jews* at this time, when after having newly recovered their temple, and restored the true worship of God in it, they were most zealously employed in extirpating all heathen rites from among them, should first introduce this cycle borrowed from the heathens, and employ it to a religious use, that is for the fixing of the times of their new moons, and festivals, seems utterly improbable. That which seems most probably to be conjectured concerning this matter (for nothing but conjecture can be had in it) is, that when the *Jews* in the dispersions after the time of *Alexander the Great* through the countries I have mentioned saw a necessity of coming to astronomical calculations, and settled rules for the fixing of their new moons and festivals, that so they might observe them all on the same day in all places, they borrowed from the *Greeks* the cycle or period of *Calippus*, which they found used among them for the same purpose. For the *Greeks* reckoning their months by the course of the moon, and their years by that of the sun, and thinking themselves also obliged for the reason which I have already mentioned, annually to keep all their festivals on the same day of the month, and on the same season of the year, in like manner, as the *Jews* were, had long been endeavouring to find out such a cycle of years, in which by the help of intercalations the motions of the sun and the moon might be so adjusted to each other, that both luminaries setting forth together at the same point of time, might come round again exactly to the same, and all the new moons and full moons come over again in every cycle in the same manner as they had in the former. For could such a cycle be once fixed, the observing how the new moons and full moons happen'd in any one of them, would be sufficient to direct where to find them for ever in all cycles after, and there would need no more to be done, than to know what year of the cycle it is, in order to know and discover the very moment of time, when every new moon and full moon should happen therein through each month of it; because in every year of the said cycle the new moons and full moons would all come over again at the same points of time, as they had in the same year of the former cycle, and so on in all following cycles for ever. Of the attempts which had been made to come at such a cycle by the *Dieteris*, *Tetraeteris*, *Octoeteris*, and *Enneadecaeteris*, and how they all failed hereof, mention hath been already made. The last came nearest to it of any; the author whereof was *Meton* an *Athenian*, who published it at *Athens* in the year before *Christ* 432, which was in the year immediately preceding the

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IN this year ^a *Bucherius* placeth the beginning of the cycle of 84 years by which the *Jews* settled the times of their new moons, full moons, and festivals. I have before shewn in the preface to the first part of this history, how they anciently went by the phasis or appearance of the new moon for all this matter. And according hereto the new moons and festivals were then constantly settled by the sanhedrim at *Jerusalem*. Towards the end of every month they ^b sent out persons into places of the greatest height and eminence about *Jerusalem* to observe the appearance of the new moon, and as soon as they saw it appear, they returned, and made report thereof to that assembly, and according thereto they appointed their new moons or first days of every month, and immediately by signs from mountain to mountain gave notice thereof through the whole land of *Judea*; and according to their new moons and full moons, were all their other festivals fixed. And all this might well enough be done as long as the *Jews* lived within the narrow bounds of *Judea*. But when after the time of *Alexander the Great*, they became dispersed through all the *Grecian* colonies in the east, and had in great numbers settled at *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, and other cities of *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Cyrene*, *Syria*, and lesser *Asia*, under the *Syro-Macedonian* and *Egypto-Macedonian* Kings, this method grew impracticable as to them. And therefore from that time they were necessitated to come to astronomical calculations, and the use of cycles, for the settling of this matter, that so they might know at all distant places, when to begin their months, when to make their intercalations, and when to solemnize their festivals all in an uniform manner at the same time. How the eastern *Jews*, who had ever since the *Assyrian* and *Babylonish* captivities been settled in *Babylonia*, *Persia*, *Media*, and other eastern provinces beyond the *Euphrates*, ordered this matter, is uncertain: But since they had in *Babylonia* ^c a prince of the captivity for the governing of them in all things according to their law, and a sanhedrim there to assist him herein, no doubt they had fixed methods for the settling of this matter according to the truest rules of astronomy, especially since that science was in those parts cultivated beyond what it was in any other countrey. Most likely it is, that they had an astronomical cycle, by which they fixed the new moons, and according to them regulated all the rest. But as to the other *Jews*, that they all made use of the cycle of eighty four years for this purpose is certain; for several of the ancient ^d Fathers of the christian Church make mention of it, as that which had been of ancient use among the *Jews*, and was afterwards borrowed from them by the primitive christians for the fixing of the time of their Easter, and was the first cycle which was made use of by them for

^a De antiquo Judæorum paschali cyclo, cap. 5. p. 377. ^b Mishna in Rosh Hashana. Maimonides in Kiddush Hachodesh. Lightfoot's temple service, chap. xi. ^c The Jews anciently had in most countries of their dispersion a chief magistrate over them of their own, by whom they were governed in all matters relating to their law, and for whose superintendency they usually purchased a commission from the Kings under whom they lived. This magistrate in *Babylonia* was called in the Jewish language Rosh Golah, i. e. The head of the captivity; in Greek Ἀρχιματρενς, which is a name of the same signification; and it is pretended that all that bore this office there, were of the seed of David. And so in like manner the Jews of *Alexandria* had their Alabarcha; and the Jews of *Antioch* their Ethnarcha; and after this they had in most places of their dispersions their Patriarchas for the same purpose, and there are in the imperial laws edicts concerning them. ^d Anatolius, Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Epiphanius, Prosper, Victorius, Beda, aliique.

this purpose. It seems to have been made up of the *Calippic* cycle, and the *Octoeteris* joined together. For it contains just so many days as both these cycles do, when added to each other, reckoning the eight years of the *Octoeteris*, and the seventy six years of the *Calippic* cycle by *Julian* years; for eight *Julian* years contain 2922 days, and seventy six *Julian* years 27759 days, and these being added together make 30681, which is exactly the number of days that are contained in eighty four *Julian* years, which was the number of this cycle. And therefore it is most likely, that the *Jews* first began with the use of the *Calippic* cycle, or more properly speaking of the *Calippic* period (for in the language of chronologers a cycle is a round of several years, and a period a round of several cycles) and afterwards added the *Octoeteris* to it, both to render it the more proper for their purpose, and also to make it look as wholly their own: And it is possible so much might have been this year done. But that the *Jews* at this time, when after having newly recovered their temple, and restored the true worship of God in it, they were most zealously employed in extirpating all heathen rites from among them, should first introduce this cycle borrowed from the heathens, and employ it to a religious use, that is for the fixing of the times of their new moons, and festivals, seems utterly improbable. That which seems most probably to be conjectured concerning this matter (for nothing but conjecture can be had in it) is, that when the *Jews* in the dispersions after the time of *Alexander the Great* through the countries I have mentioned saw a necessity of coming to astronomical calculations, and settled rules for the fixing of their new moons and festivals, that so they might observe them all on the same day in all places, they borrowed from the *Greeks* the cycle or period of *Calippus*, which they found used among them for the same purpose. For the *Greeks* reckoning their months by the course of the moon, and their years by that of the sun, and thinking themselves also obliged for the reason which I have already mentioned, annually to keep all their festivals on the same day of the month, and on the same season of the year, in like manner, as the *Jews* were, had long been endeavouring to find out such a cycle of years, in which by the help of intercalations the motions of the sun and the moon might be so adjusted to each other, that both luminaries setting forth together at the same point of time, might come round again exactly to the same, and all the new moons and full moons come over again in every cycle in the same manner as they had in the former. For could such a cycle be once fixed, the observing how the new moons and full moons happen'd in any one of them, would be sufficient to direct where to find them for ever in all cycles after, and there would need no more to be done, than to know what year of the cycle it is, in order to know and discover the very moment of time, when every new moon and full moon should happen therein through each month of it; because in every year of the said cycle the new moons and full moons would all come over again at the same points of time, as they had in the same year of the former cycle, and so on in all following cycles for ever. Of the attempts which had been made to come at such a cycle by the *Dieteris*, *Tetraeteris*, *Octoeteris*, and *Enneadecaeteris*, and how they all failed hereof, mention hath been already made. The last came nearest to it of any; the author whereof was *Meton* an *Athenian*, who published it at *Athens* in the year before *Christ* 432, which was in the year immediately preceding the

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Peloponnesian war, where I have at large treated of it. But *Meto* having reckoned that the nineteen years of his cycle contained just 6940 days, it was found after an hundred years usage of it, that in this computation he had overshot what he aimed at by a quarter of a day: For nineteen *Julian* years contain no more than 6939 days and 18 hours; and therefore to mend this fault *Calippus* invented his cycle or period of 76 years, which consisting of four *Metonic* cycles joined together, he thought to bring all to rights, by leaving out one day at the end of this cycle, making it to consist of no more than 27759 days, whereas four *Metonic* cycles joined together make 27760 days. This *Calippus* was a famous astronomer of *Cyzicus* in *Mysia*, and published his cycle in the year before *Christ* 330, beginning it from the summer solstice of that year, which was the same year in which *Alexander* overthrew *Darius* at the battel of *Arbela*. And this being the cycle which was most in reputation among the *Greeks*, for the bringing of the reckonings of the sun and moon's motions to an agreement at that time, when the *Jews* wanted such a cycle for the settling the time of their new moons, and full moons, and festivals by certain rules of astronomical calculations, it's most likely they then borrowed it from them for this use; and that they might not seem to have any thing among them relating to their religion, which was of heathen usage, they added the *Octoeteris* to this period of seventy six years, and thereby making it a cycle of eighty four years, by this disguise render'd it wholly their own: For no other nation but the *Jews* alone used this cycle, till it was borrowed from them by the primitive Christians for the same use, that is, to settle the time of their *Easter*. But the *Jews* by this addition rather marred than any way mended the matter. For altho' the period of *Calippus* fell short of what it intended, that is, of bringing the motions of the two greater luminaries to an exact agreement, yet it brought them within the reach of five hours and fifty minutes of it. But the addition of the *Octoeteris* did set them at the distance of one day six hours and fifty one minutes. However, this they used till *Rabbi Hillel's* reformation of their kalendar, which was about the year of our Lord 360; during all which time they must necessarily have made some interpolations for the correcting of those excesses, whereby one of those luminaries did over-run the other according to that cycle: For otherwise the *Phasis's* or appearances of the new moons, and full moons, would have contradicted the calculations of it to every man's view. But what these interpolations were, or how or when used, we have no account any where given us. *Prosper* placeth the beginning of the first of those cycles, which was used by the Christians, in the year of our Lord 46; and if we reckon backward from thence, we shall find one of them to have its beginning in the year before *Christ* 291, which was the first year of the Pontificate of *Eleazar* at *Jerusalem*, and the seventh before the reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*. And then it seems most probable that the *Jews* begun the use of this cycle: For about this time their dispersions, especially in *Egypt*, made it necessary for them to settle the times of their new moons, full moons and festivals by astronomical calculations, because at such distances they could not have the order of the sanhedrim at *Jerusalem* for the directing of them in this matter. But had they then taken the period of *Calippus*, without disguising it by the adding of the eight years of the *Octoeteris* to make it look as their own, it would much better have served their purpose.

purpose. Tho' I have above said it's possible that the eight years might have been added where *Bucherius* placeth the first use of this cycle, yet I mean no more thereby than a bare possibility, and not but that I think it most probable that it was otherwise; for it seemeth to me most likely, that as the *Jews* first began the use of this cycle at the time I have mentioned, that is, *anno ante Christum* 291, so also doth it, that from that very beginning they fixed it to be a cycle of 84 years, and no otherwise used the *Calippic*, but with the addition of eight years after it to make up that number. If we place the beginning of the first cycle of these 84 years at the year before *Christ* 291, the second cycle will begin *anno* 207, the third cycle *anno* 123, the fourth cycle *anno* 39, and the fifth cycle at the year after *Christ* 46, and there it will meet with the beginning of the first cycle of *Prosper*; that is, the first of these 84 years cycles which was used by the primitive Christians for the finding out and settling the time of their *Easter*. The second of these cycles, according to the same *Prosper*, began *anno Domini* 130, the third *anno* 214, the fourth *anno* 298, the fifth *anno* 382, (which was the last of these cycles mentioned by *Prosper*) the sixth *anno* 466, the seventh *anno* 550, the eighth *anno* 634, the ninth *anno* 718, and the tenth *anno* 802, and about that time the use of it, wholly ceased.

IN the first age of the Church, Christians generally followed the *Jews* in the settling the time of their *Easter*, some beginning their observance of it^d at the same time the *Jews* did their Passover, that is, on the fourteenth day of their first vernal moon, or month called *Nisan*, on what day of the week soever it happen'd to fall, but others not till the *Sunday* after. Those who were for the first way alledged that they followed therein St. *John* and St. *Philip* the Apostles; and those who followed the other way, urged for it the practice of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, who they said always begun this festival, not on the 14th day of the first vernal moon, as the *Jews* did their Passover, but on the *Sunday* after. And as long as those who came out of the circumcision into the Church of *Christ*, and observed the law of *Moses* with that of the Gospel, held communion with the Church, this made no difference in it; but when they separated from it, then the Church began to think it time to separate from them in this usage; and after several meetings and councils held about it, they came to this resolution, that *Easter* should always be kept, not on the 14th day of the moon, as the *Jews* did their Passover, but every where on the *Sunday* after; and all conformed hereto except the *Asian* Churches, who pretending for the other usage the example of St. *John* and St. *Philip* the Apostles, and the holy martyr St. *Polycarp*, would not recede from it. Whereon *Victor* Bishop of *Rome* sent out a libel of excommunication against them for it; so early did the tyranny of that see begin: For this happen'd in the year of our Lord 197. But *Irenæus*, and most other Christians of that time, condemned this as a very rash and unjustifiable act in *Victor*. However the controversy still went on, and the Christians of the *Asian* way being thenceforth called *Quartadecimani*, for their observing of the festival at the same time with the *Jews* *quartâ decimâ lunâ*, i. e. on the 14th day of the moon, persisted in their former practice, till at length in the *Nicene* council *anno Domini* 325 they all gave up into the other way, and an end was put to this contro-

^d Eusebius hist. ecclesiast. lib. 5. cap. 23, 24. Socrates hist. eccles. lib. 5. cap. 22.

verly. And from that time the first day of the week, in commemoration of the resurrection of *Christ* thereon, hath been among all Christians every where the first day of their *Easter* solemnity. But in the interim both parties still made use of the 84 years cycle, till that also was put under another regulation by the same council of *Nice*. In the year of *Christ* 222 this 84 years cycle being found faulty, ^c *Hippolytus* Bishop of *Portus* in *Arabia* invented a new one by joining two *Oetoeteris*'s together; but this soon appearing more faulty than the other, ^e *Anatolius* Bishop of *Laodicea* in *Syria* did in the year 276 propose another way. All that was commendable in it was; that he first introduced the use of the nineteen years cycle for this purpose; but he applied it so wrong, that it was in his method by no means useful to the end intended. In the year 325 fate the *Nicene* council, wherein as to *Easter* these following particulars were agreed: First, That *Easter* should every where be begun to be observed on the first day of the week, that is *Sunday*: Secondly, That it should be on the *Sunday* that should follow next immediately after the fourteenth of the moon that should happen next after the vernal equinox (which was then on the twenty first of *March*.) And, thirdly, That it should be referred to the Bishop of *Alexandria* to calculate every year, on what day, according to these rules, the festival should begin.

The *Alexandrians* being then of all others most skilful in astronomy, for this reason the making of this calculation ^h was referred to the Bishop of that place; and they having applied the nineteen years cycle in a much better method to this purpose than *Anatolius* had before done, found it the best rule that could be made use of for the settling of this matter; and accordingly went by it for the discharge of what was referred to them by the council. And therefore they having every year hereby fixed the day, the custom was for the Bishop of that Church to write of it to the Bishop of *Rome*, who having the day thus signified unto him, first caused it by his Deacons to be published in his patriarchal Church on the day of *Epiphany* preceding the festival, and then by paschal epistles notified it to all Metropolitans through the whole christian world, and they by like epistles to their Suffragans; and by this means the day was every where known, and every where observed in an exact uniformity of time by Christians all the world over. But the pride of the see of *Rome* not bearing long their being directed in any thing from abroad, after some years observance of this order, they returned again to their old cycle of eighty four years; and the use of it was thereon again resumed all over the western Church. But this again making the same fault as formerly, by reason of the one day six hours and fifty one minutes; by which the eighty four lunar years in this cycle with its intercalated months did over-run the solar years in it, *Victorius* a Presbyter of *Limoges* in *Aquitain* ^k was employed by *Hilarius* (who was first Archdeacon, and afterwards Bishop of *Rome*) to make a new cycle; who following the *Alexandrians*, first introduced into the western Church the rule

^c *Anatolius* in prologo ad canonem paschalem. Euseb. hist. eccl. lib. 6. cap. 22. Isidorus originum lib. 6. cap. 17.

^e Euseb. hist. eccles. lib. 7. c. 32.

^g Socrates schol. histor.

eccl. lib. 1. cap. 9.

^h Leo magnus Papa in epistola 94.

ⁱ Ambrosius in epistola ad

Episcopos Æmilianos.

^k Synodus Aureliantensis 4. can. 1.

Gennadius de viris illustribus

cap. 88. Sigebertus Gemblacensis de scriptoribus ecclesiasticis, cap. 20. Isidorus orig. lib. 6. cap. 17.

of fixing the time of *Easter* by the nineteen years cycle, called the cycle of the moon; and having multiplied it by the twenty eight years cycle of the dominical letters called the cycle of the sun, hereby made the period of 532 years, called from him the *Victorian period*; after the expiration of which he reckoned that the same new moons, the same full moons, and the same dominical letters, and the same times of *Easter*, would all come over again in the same order of time, as in the former cycle, and so on in all following cycles for ever. And accordingly they would have done so, had the same new moons and full moons come over again at the same point of time in every cycle of the moon with the same exactness as every dominical letter did again in every cycle of the sun. But the nineteen lunar years, and seven intercalated lunar months, of which this cycle consisted, ¹ falling short of nineteen *Julian* years by one hour twenty seven minutes and forty seconds, hence it hath followed, that in every one of the years of these nineteen-years-cycles, the new moons and full moons have happen'd just so much sooner each month than in the same years of the cycle immediately preceding. And hereby it hath come to pass, that after the elapsing of so many rounds of that cycle as have revolved from the time of the *Nicene* council to the present year 1716, the new moons and full moons in the heavens have anticipated the new moons and full moons in the kalendar of our common-prayer-book four days ten hours and an half, because the new moons and full moons are there stated not according to the present times, but according to the times of that council. However, a better cycle for this purpose than the nineteen years cycle not being to be found, because none other can bring the course of the sun and moon to a nearer agreement, the *Alexandrians* for this reason pitched on it for the fixing of their *Easter* as the best rule they could follow for it. And ^m *Theophilus* and ⁿ *Cyrillus*, who were both Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, and made each of them periods for the determining the times of this festival, the first of an hundred years, and the other of ninety five years, founded all their calculations hereon. And ^o *Victorius*, when he undertook to form a like period for this end for the use of the western Christians, as the other had done for the use of the eastern, built it all upon the same foundation. For fixing all the first vernal fourteen moons (which were the paschal terms) according to the cycle of the moon, and the next *Sunday* after in every year (which was the day when the festival begun) according to the cycle of the sun, he compounded out of both these cycles by multiplying them into each other his period of 532 years, beginning it from the 28th year of our Lord according to the vulgar æra; and herein according to both these cycles he fixed the times of *Easter* in every year throughout that whole period, and so in all succeeding periods on the same days over again in each of them for ever. This after several years labour in it he finished and published in the year of our Lord 457; which *Dionysius Exiguus* a Roman

¹ ¹ For whereas 19 Julian years contain 6939 days and 18 hours, 19 Lunar years, with their seven intercalated months, contain only 6939 days, 16 hours, 32 minutes, and 20 seconds.

^m Beda hist. eccles. lib. 5. cap. 22. videas etiam Bucherium de doctrinâ temporum, Petavium, aliosque chronologos. ⁿ Beda ibid. Bucherius, Petavius, aliique. *Cyrillus* was nephew to *Theophilus*, and succeeded him in the see of *Alexandria*. He abolished his uncle's cycle, and substituted his of 95 years in its stead, which was truly a cycle, for it consisted of five Metonics. But the other was rather a table, in which *Easter* was calculated for an hundred years, than a cycle.

^o Beda hist. eccl. lib. 5. cap. 22. Bucherius in canonem paschalem *Victorii*.

abbot ^phaving in the year of our Lord 527 corrected in some particulars, and fixed the equinox and new moons at the same points of time, in which they were at the holding of the council of *Nice*, the whole western Church went hereby for many ages, till *Gregory* the 13th, Bishop of *Rome* in the year 1582 reduced it by his corrections to that form, in which it is now used under the name of the *New Style* in foreign countries. And it is to be wished that this Church would reform all things else, that are amiss among them, as well as they have done this; however we in *England*, and all the dominions belonging thereto, still retain the old form: And as we are the last to recede from this form, so were we anciently the last to receive it. For although *Dionysius* published his form in the year of our Lord 527, it was not till the year 800 that it was universally received by all the Churches of *Britain* and *Ireland*, and great controversies were in the interim raised among them about it, the occasion of which was as followeth.

TILL the *Saxons* came into this island (which was *anno Dom.* 449) the *British* Churches having always communicated with the *Roman*, and received all its usages, as having been till about that time a province of the *Roman* empire, they agreed with it in the use of the same rule for the fixing of the time of their *Easter*; and the *Irish*, who had not long before been converted by ^q*St. Patrick*, who was sent to them from *Rome*, followed the same usage. But afterwards when the *Saxons* having made themselves masters of all the eastern and southern coasts of this island had thereby cut off all communication with *Rome*, all that correspondence which till then the *British* and *Irish* Churches had held with the *Roman*, thenceforth ceased, and was wholly interrupted, till the coming hither of *Austin* the Monk to convert the *English Saxons*, which was ^rabout one hundred and fifty years after. And therefore neither the *British* nor the *Irish* knowing any thing of the reformation, that had in the interim been made in this rule concerning *Easter*, either by *Victorius* or *Dionysius*, went on with the observing of the said festival according to the old form of the 84 years cycle, which they had received from the *Romans*, before the *Saxons* came into this land. And in this usage *Austin* found them on his arrival hither; and they having been long accustomed to it could not easily be induced to alter it for the new usage of the *Romanists*, which *Austin* ^sthen proposed to them. And hence arose that controversy about *Easter*, which from that time was between the old Christians of *Britain* and *Ireland*, and the new Christians which were here converted by the *Romanists*, and lasted full two hundred years, before it was fully suppressed. The difference between them about this matter was in two particulars; for 1st, whereas the *Romanists* according to the rule of *Dionysius* fixed the time of *Easter* by the nineteen years cycle of the moon, and the 28 years cycle of the sun, the first shewing them the paschal term, and the other what day was the next *Sunday* after; the ^t*Britains* and *Irish* adhered to the use of the old cycle, that of 84 years for this matter. And

^p Videas de hac re duas ejus epistolas in fine operis Bucherii de doctrinâ temporum.

^q *St. Patrick was sent by Coelestin Bishop of Rome to convert the Irish, anno Dom. 432. He was then 60 years old when he first undertook the work of this Apostleship, and continued in it 60 years after, and with such success that he converted the whole island, and died at the age of an hundred and twenty.*

^r *Austin first landed in Kent, Anno Dom. 597.*

^s *Beda hist. eccl. lib. 2. cap. 2.*

^t *Beda hist. eccl. lib. 2. cap. 2. & cap. 4.*

^{2th}, whereas

2^{dly}, whereas the *Romanists* observed the beginning of the festival from the 15th day of the first vernal moon to the 21st inclusive, according as the *Sunday* happen'd within the compass of those days, the *Britains* and the *Irish* observed it from the 14th to the 20th. That is the *Romanists* laying it down for a principle in this case never to begin the paschal festival at the same time with the *Jews*, for the avoiding of it would never begin the solemnity on the 14th day of that moon, though it happen'd to be on a *Sunday*, but deferred it to the next *Sunday* after, tho' in this case that *Sunday* did not happen till the 21st day of the said moon. But the *Britains* and *Irish* if that fourteenth day happen'd to be on a *Sunday* did then begin the festival without making any such scruple, as the *Romanists* did in this case, and so proceeded to observe it in the following years on the 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th, according as the next *Sunday* after fell on any of those days of that moon. But the *Romanists* not beginning the festival on any *Sunday* till the fifteenth of the said moon observed it in the following years on the 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, and 21st of the moon, according as the next *Sunday* fell on any of them in any of the said years. So that as the former never carried the beginning of this festival beyond the 20th day of the first vernal moon, so the latter never commenced it till the 15th day of the same. And they were so zealously set this way, that they would not hold communion with those of the *British* and *Irish* Churches, that did otherwise, but looking on them as hereticks called them by way of reproach *Quarta-Decimans*; whereas the ancient *Quarta-Decimans* were only those, who begun the festival on the fourteenth day of the moon at the same time with the *Jews*, on what day of the week soever it happen'd. But the *Britains* and the *Irish* never begun it on that day, but when it happen'd to be a *Sunday*.

ON the receding of *Paulinus* from the archbishoprick of *Tork* after the death of *Edwin* King of the *English Saxons* beyond the *Humber* (which happen'd in "the year of our Lord 633,) the Churches of those parts having had their bishops from the monastery of *St. Columbus* in the island of *Hy* (which was then the chief university of the *Irish* for the educating and breeding up of their divines) and " *Aidan*, * *Finan*, and † *Colman*, who had been all three monks of that monastery, having in succession to each other governed those Churches thirty years, they during that time had introduced into them the *Irish* usage for the observing of *Easter*; whereby the controversy being brought among the *English* christians, and a schism made among them about it, for ‡ the putting of an end to it a council was called to meet at the monastery of the abbess *Hilda* at *Whitby* in *Yorkshire*, then called *Streonshale*. And there a long disputation being had before *Oswy* King of † the *Northumbrians* (who presided in that council) and *Alfred* his son, and the main stress of the arguments on both sides turning upon this, that the *Irish* and *Britains* urged the authority of *St. John* for their usage, and the *Romanists* that of *St. Peter* for

u Beda hist. eccles. lib. 2. cap. 20. cap. 17, 25.

y Beda hist. lib. 3. cap. 25, 26.

w Beda hist. lib. 3. cap. 3.

* Beda hist. lib. 3.

z Beda hist. lib. 3. cap. 25. Heddius in vita Wilfridi cap. 10. † All were then called Northumbrians, that lived north of the river Humber from that river to Graham's Dike, which did run from Dunbritton Frith to the Forth for all this country was the ancient kingdom of the Northumbrians, and was divided into two parts, Deiria, and Bernicia; the former extended from the Humber to the Tine, and the other from the Tine to Graham's Dike.

theirs, which they said was preferable to the other, because he was the Prince of the Apostles, and had the keys of heaven committed to his keeping, *Oswy* asked those who disputed on the side of the *Irish* and *Britains* whether they agreed that the usage of the *Romanists* had been the usage of *St. Peter*? And on their agreeing hereto, he asked them again, whether they held that *St. Peter* had the keeping of the keys of heaven? And they having answered to this also in the affirmative; he hereon declared, that he would then be for *St. Peter's* way, lest when he should come to heaven's gates, *St. Peter* should shut them against him, and keep him out. Whereon this ridiculous controversy receiving as ridiculous a decision, all the christians of those parts came over to the *Roman* way, and *Colman*^b being much displeased with this deciding, or rather ridiculing of the controversy, returned with as many of his *Irish* clergy, as were of his mind, again to the monastery of *Hy*, from whence they came, and the *Northumbrians* had another Bishop appointed over them in his stead. This happen'd in the year of our Lord 664.

AFTER this the old way began to wear off both in *Britain* and *Ireland*, tho' but by slow degrees. ^c*Adamnanus* abbot of *Hy* being sent on an embassy from ^dthe *British Scots* (that is the *Irish* who had settled in *North-Britain*) to *Alfred* King of the *Northumbrians*, and having while he continued on that occasion in those parts made a visit to the united monasteries of *Jarrow* and *Wormouth* near *Durham*, was there by *Ceolfred* then abbot of them so thoroughly convinced of the reasonableness of the *Roman* way before the other, that on his return to *Hy*, he endeavoured to bring all there to conform to it; but not being able to prevail with them herein he went into *Ireland*, and there brought over almost all the northern parts of that island to this way. This happen'd about the year of our Lord 703. And he had the easier success herein, for that ^ethe southern parts of that island had some years before conformed hereto, being induced to it by an epistle from *Honorius* Bishop of *Rome*, written to them about it in the year 629. In the year 710, the same *Ceolfred* above-mentioned ^fhaving written to *Naitan* King of the *Picts* an epistle for this way, thereby brought him and all of his nation with him into a conformity to it. This epistle is very learnedly and judiciously written, and no doubt was penned by *Bede*, who was then a monk under him in these two united monasteries. It is still extant in *Bede's* ecclesiastical history, and gives us the best view of this controversy of any thing now remaining, that hath been written about it. In the year 716, ^g*Ecgbert* a pious and

^b Beda hist. lib. 3. cap. 26. ^c Beda hist. lib. 5. cap. 16. ^d Scotia in this age was only Ireland, and the Scoti none other than the Irish. For Ireland only was the ancient Scotia, and the Irish the ancient Scots. But about the year of our Lord 500 a colony of the Irish having under the leading of Fergus the son of Erc settled in that part of North-Britain now called Argile-shire, first brought with them the name of Scots into that countrey, and there began the kingdom of the British Scots, from whom this embassy came. But afterwards having in process of time conquer'd both the North and the South Picts, and also received from the Saxon Kings of England all the Lowlands from Graham's Dike to the river Tweed (which formerly belonged to those Princes) they thenceforth gave the name of Scotland to that countrey, and Ireland the ancient Scotia assumed the name which it now bears. This was done about the year of our Lord one thousand. For Archbishop Usher tells us, who fully examined the matter, that there is not any one writer, who lived within a thousand years after Christ, that mentions the name of Scotland, and means any other than Ireland by it. Vide Britannicarum ecclesiarum antiquitates, cap. xvi. p. 383. ^e Beda hist. lib. 2. cap. 19. & lib. 3. cap. 3.

^f Beda lib. 5. cap. 22.

^g Beda lib. 5. cap. 23.

learned presbyter of the *English* nation, after having spent many years in his studies in *Ireland*, (which was in that age the prime seat of learning in all christendom) coming from thence to the monastery of *Hy* proposed to them anew the *Roman* way, and having better success herein, than *Adamnanus* their late abbot had in that attempt, which he had before made upon them for this purpose, brought them all over to it. And after this none but the *Welch* persisted in the old form, who out of the inveterate hatred they had against all of the *English* nation, were hard to be brought to conform to them in any thing. However at length about the year 800, the errors of the old way by that time growing very conspicuous by reason of the many days, which according to the 84 years cycle the lunar account must then have over-run the solar, the *Welch* of North *Wales*^h were by the persuasion of *Elbodius* their bishop prevailed with to give an ear to those reasons, which were alledged for the *Roman* form, and being convinced by them, that it was the better of the two, came into it; and not long after the *Welch* of South *Wales* followed their example, and did the same; and thenceforth the cycle of 84 years, which had lasted for so many ages, became wholly abolish'd all Christendom over, and was never more brought into use.

THERE was indeed another controversy between the old christians of *Britain* and *Ireland*, and the new ones of the *Roman* conversion, which was all along at the same time brought upon the stage with that about *Easter* during the whole contest, that is ⁱ that of the clerical tonsure, which was always debated with it, and was every where ended at the same time when the other was. But my purpose being to treat only of what related to the *Jewish* affairs, I have only meddled with this contest thereby to give the history of the *Jewish* cycle of 84 years; and thus far it is within my theme; but it being out of it to treat of the other, for this reason I do not here trouble the reader with it.

ON the abolition of the 84 years cycle, the paschal rule of *Dionysius* became the rule of the whole western Church for several ages after; and it being still the rule of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and all the dominions belonging to them, it will be useful for the *English* reader to know the particulars of it. They are as followeth. 1. That *Easter* is a festival annually observed in commemoration of *Christ's* resurrection. 2. That *Sunday* being the day on which it is weekly commemorated, that day of the week is the fittest always to be the day on which the annual commemoration of it is to be solemnized. 3. That therefore this festival be alway on a *Sunday*. 4. That it be on the *Sunday* next after the *Jewish* Passover. 5. That the *Jewish* Passover being always slain on the fourteenth day of the first vernal moon, by them called *Nisan*, the christian *Easter* is always to be on the next *Sunday* after the said fourteenth day of that moon. 6. That to avoid all conformity with the *Jews* in this matter, though the fourteenth day of the said moon be on a *Sunday*, this festival is not to be kept on that *Sunday*; but on the next *Sunday* after. 7. That the first vernal moon is that whose fourteenth day (commonly called the fourteenth moon) is either upon the day of the vernal equinox, or else is the next fourteenth moon after it. 8. That the vernal equinox according to the council of *Nice* (to the times

^h Humphredi Lhuid Fragmenta Britannica. Winn's *History* of Wales, p. 18.

ⁱ Beda hist. lib. 3. cap. 25. & lib. 5. cap. 22.

of which this rule is calculated) is fixed to the twenty first day of *March*. 9. That therefore the first vernal moon, according to this rule, is that whose fourteenth day falls upon the twenty first of *March*, or else is the first fourteenth moon after. 10. That this fourteenth day of the first vernal moon being the limit or boundary which bars and keeps *Easter* always beyond it, so that it can never happen before or upon that day, but always after it, for this reason it is called the paschal term. 11. That the next *Sunday* after the paschal term is always *Easter* day. 12. That therefore the earliest paschal term being the twenty first of *March*, the twenty second of *March* is the earliest *Easter* possible; and the eighteenth of *April* being the latest paschal term that can happen, the seventh day after, that is the 25th of *April*, is the latest *Easter* possible; all other *Easters* are sooner or later, as the paschal terms and the next *Sundays* after them fall sooner or later within the said limits. 13. That the earliest paschal term or fourteenth day of the said first vernal moon being according to this rule on the twenty first of *March*, the fourteenth day before, that is the eighth of *March*, must be the earliest first day of this moon that can happen; and the latest paschal term being the eighteenth of *April*, the fourteenth day before that, that is the fifth of *April*, is the latest first day of this moon that can happen. All other first days of this moon fall sooner or later between the said eighth day of *March* and the fifth of *April* following. 14. That the cycle of the moon which points to us the golden number, always shews us which is the first day of the paschal moon, and consequently which is the 14th day of the same; and the cycle of the sun, which points to us the dominical letter, always shews us which is the next *Sunday* after. And therefore when you know what is the golden number, and what is the dominical letter of the year, the following scheme will fully serve to tell you, when *Easter* will fall according to this rule in any year for ever.



| March | | | | | April | | | | |
|-------|----|----|---|---------------------------|-------|----|----|---|---------------------------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5. |
| 3 | I | | D | Kalendæ | | I | 15 | G | Kalendæ |
| | 2 | | E | VI | 11 | 2 | 4 | A | IV |
| 11 | 3 | | F | V | | 3 | | B | III |
| | 4 | | G | IV | 19 | 4 | 12 | C | Prid. Non. |
| 19 | 5 | | A | III | 8 | 5 | 1 | D | Nonæ |
| 8 | 6 | | B | Prid. Non. | 16 | 6 | | E | VIII |
| | 7 | | C | Nonæ | 5 | 7 | 9 | F | VII |
| 16 | 8 | | D | VIII | | 8 | | G | VI |
| 5 | 9 | | E | VII | 13 | 9 | 17 | A | V |
| | 10 | | F | VI | 2 | 10 | 6 | B | IV |
| 13 | 11 | | G | V | | 11 | | C | III |
| 2 | 12 | | A | IV | 10 | 12 | 14 | D | Prid. Id. |
| | 13 | | B | III | | 13 | 3 | E | Idus |
| 10 | 14 | | C | Prid. Id. | 18 | 14 | | F | XVIII |
| | 15 | | D | Idus | 7 | 15 | 11 | G | XVII |
| 18 | 16 | | E | XVII | | 16 | | A | XVI |
| 7 | 17 | | F | XVI | 15 | 17 | 19 | B | XV |
| | 18 | | G | XV | 4 | 18 | 8 | C | XIV |
| 15 | 19 | | A | XIV | | 19 | | D | XIII |
| 4 | 20 | | B | XIII | 12 | 20 | | E | XII |
| | 21 | 16 | C | XII Nicene equinox | | 21 | | F | XI |
| 12 | 22 | 5 | D | XI First Easter possible. | | 22 | | G | X |
| | 23 | | E | X | 9 | 23 | | A | IX |
| | 24 | 13 | F | IX | | 24 | | B | VIII |
| 9 | 25 | 2 | G | VIII | 17 | 25 | | C | VII Last Easter possible. |
| | 26 | | A | VII | 6 | 26 | | D | VI |
| 17 | 27 | 10 | B | VI | | 27 | | E | V |
| 6 | 28 | | C | V | 14 | 28 | | F | IV |
| | 29 | 18 | D | IV | | 29 | | G | III |
| 14 | 30 | 7 | E | III | 3 | 30 | | A | Prid. Kalend. |
| 3 | 31 | | F | Prid. Kalend. | | | | | |

In this scheme the first column contains the numbers that in the kalendar of our common-prayer-book are called the primes, which are the golden numbers that point out to us the new moons: The second column gives the days of the month: The third contains the golden numbers, which point out to us the paschal terms, or the 14th day of the first vernal moon; (*i. e.* the day on which the *Jews* flew their Passover :) The fourth column gives the dominical letters; and the last the old *Roman* kalendar. Every number of the primes shews, that in the year when that is the golden number, the new moon is according to the calculation of this form on the day of the month over-against which it is placed; and every number in the third column shews, that in the year when that is the golden number, the paschal term is on the day of the month over-against which it is placed. The dominical letters tell us when is the first *Sunday* after the paschal term on which *Easter* begins; and the *Roman* kalendar shews us on what day thereof each particular above mentioned happens.

And therefore observing these particulars, when you would find out in any year on what day *Easter* falls in it, run down your eye in the first column from the 8th of *March* (which is the earliest first day that can happen of the first vernal moon) till you come to that number in it, which is the golden

golden number of the year, and that number tells you that the day of the month over against which it is placed is the first of that moon; and then running down your eye in the third column, till you come to the same golden number in that column, that number tells you that the day of the month over against which it is placed is the paschal term, that is the fourteenth day of that moon (as by numbring from that which is the same golden number in the first column you will find,) and then running down your eye from thence in the fourth column (which is the column of the dominical letters) till you come to the dominical letter of the year, that letter tells you, that the day of the month over against which it is placed is the next *Sunday* after the said paschal term, and that *Sunday* is the *Easter Sunday* of the year. As for example: If you would know on what day *Easter* falls in this present year 1716, run down your eye in the first column till you come to the number seven, (which is the golden number of that year) which being placed over against the seventeenth of *March*, it tells you thereby that this seventeenth of *March* is the first day of the first vernal moon of this year; and from thence run down your eye in the third column, till you come to the same number of seven in that column, which being placed over against the thirtieth of *March*, it tells you thereby that this is the 14th day of that moon (as you will find by numbring from the said 17th day, which was the first of this moon) or the paschal term of the year; and then run down your eye from thence in the fourth column (which is the column of the dominical letters) till you come to the letter G, (which is the dominical letter of the year) which being placed over against the first of *April*, it tells you thereby that this day is the first *Sunday* after the said paschal term, and therefore is the *Sunday* on which *Easter* is to be solemnized this year. And so in like manner if you would know when *Easter* will fall in the year 1787, eight being the golden number of the year, and placed in the column of the primes over against the fifth of *April*, it shews that to be the first day of the first vernal moon of that year; and the same number in the third column being placed over against the 18th of *April*, it shews that to be the paschal term of the year: And the letter F being the dominical letter of the year, and the next F after in the fourth column being placed over against the twenty first of *April*, this shews that the twenty first of *April* is the first *Sunday* after the said paschal term, and therefore is the *Sunday* on which *Easter* is to be observed in that year. And so by the like method may be found out when *Easter*, according to this form, will fall in any year for ever; and hereby not only the rule, but also the reason of the thing, may be seen both together at the same time. And the same may be done by the kalendar in the common-prayer-book, though the third column of this scheme be there wanting: For you having there found by the method mentioned the first day of the first vernal moon, number down from thence to the fourteenth day after, and there you have the paschal term, and the next *Sunday* after (which you will know by the dominical letter of the year) is *Easter Sunday*.

BUT it is to be observed that the twenty first of *March* is not the true equinox, but only that which was the true equinox at the time of the *Nicene* council, (which was held *anno Domini* 325) since that time the true equinox hath anticipated the *Nicene* equinox eleven days: For the *Julian* solar year, which we reckon by, exceeding the true tropical solar year eleven minutes, this excess in 130 years makes a day; and almost eleven times 130 years

years having happen'd since the time of that council to this present year 1716, the true equinox now falls eleven days before the *Nicene* equinox. And so in like manner it hath happen'd to the primes, that is the golden numbers, or the numbers of the nineteen years cycle of the moon in the first column of the kalendar in our common-prayer-book: For they are placed there to shew, that the days of the months over against which they stand in that kalendar, are the new moons in those years in which they are the golden numbers, and they truly did so at the time of the council of *Nice*. But in every one of the nineteen years cycles of the golden numbers, called the cycles of the moon, the *Julian* solar reckoning exceeding the true Lunar reckoning an hour and almost an half, this hour and an half in 304 years making a day, and four times 304 years and above half 304 years more having now passed since that council, this hath caused that the true new moons now happen four days and an half before the new moons marked by the primes in the said kalendar of our common-prayer-book. And therefore if you would have the true equinox by that kalendar, you must deduct as many days from the twenty first of *March*, as there hath been the number of 130 years since the council of *Nice*, and that will bring you back to the true time of the equinox in this or any other year wherein it shall be sought for. And so in like manner if you would have the true time of the new moon by the same kalendar in every month, you must deduct as many days from the days of the month, which the primes mark out for the new moons, as there are the number of 304 years in the number of years which are now from the time of the said council elapsed, that is four days and an half, and this will lead you back to the true time of the new moon in any month of the year wherein you shall seek to know it. As for example; in this year 1716, the number seven (which is the golden number of the year) as placed in the column of the primes in the month of *June* points out the thirteenth day of the month for the new moon, deduct from it four days and an half, and that will carry you back to the eighth of *June*, which is the true new moon. And so likewise in this method you may know by the same kalendar on what day the new moon shall happen in any month or year for ever. And thus far the explication of the *Jewish* cycle of 84 years, and the account of that controversy about it, which was raised in this land among our *English* ancestors, hath led me I fear into too long a digression. To return therefore to our history.

NICANOR having received orders from *Demetrius* again to renew the war against the *Jews*, as hath been above-mentioned, ^k came with his forces to *Jerusalem*, and there thought by craft and treachery to have gotten *Judas* into his power: For having invited him to a conference, *Judas* relying on the late peace complied with him herein, and came to the place appointed, but finding that an ambush was there laid treacherously to take him, he fled from his presence, and after this all confidence was broken, and the war was again begun between them; the first action hereof was at *Capbarsalama*, in which *Nicanor* having lost five thousand of his men, retreated with the rest to *Jerusalem*, where being much enraged by reason of the defeat, ^l he first vented his wrath on *Razis* an eminent and honourable senator of the *Jewish* senate called the *Sanhedrim*. For finding that he was much honoured and beloved by the *Jews*, not

^k 1 Maccab. vii. 27—32. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 17.

^l 2 Maccab. xiv. 37—46.

only by reason of his steady and constant perseverance in his religion thro' the worst of times, but also because of the good and kind offices which he was ready on all occasions to do his people, *Nicanor* thought it would be an act of great displeasure and despight to the *Jews* to have him cut off, and therefore sent out a party of five hundred men to take him with intent to put him to death. But *Razis* being at a castle of his, which he had in the countrey, there defended himself against them for some time with great valour, but at length finding he could hold out no longer, he fell upon his own sword; but the wound not killing him, he cast himself headlong over the battlements of the turret whereon he fought; and finding himself alive after that also, he thrust his hand into his wound, and pulling out his bowels, cast them upon the assailants, and so died. The *Jews* for this reckoned him a martyr, but ^m *St. Austin* in his epistle to *Dulcitius* condemns the fact as self murther, and there gives reasons for it that cannot be answered.

AFTER this *Nicanor* ⁿ went up into the mountain of the temple, and there demanded that *Judas* and his host should be delivered to him, threatening that unless this were done, he would on his return pull down the altar, and burn the temple, and instead of it build a temple to *Bacchus* in the same place; and at the same time spoke many other blasphemous words both against the temple and the God of *Israel* that was worshipped in it: Which sent all that wished well to *Sion* to their prayers against him, and they were heard with thorough effect. For immediately after ^o *Nicanor* marching out with his forces against *Judas*, and coming to a battel with him, was slain in the first onset; whereon the whole army cast away their arms and fled, and all the countrey rising upon them as they endeavoured to escape, cut them all off to a man, there not being of his whole army, which consisted of thirty five thousand men, so much as one left to carry the news of this defeat to *Antioch*. *Judas* and his forces returning from the pursuit again to the field of battel, took the spoils of the slain, and having found the body of *Nicanor*, they cut off his head, and also his right hand, which he had stretched out so proudly in his threatenings against the temple, and hanged them up upon one of the towers of *Jerusalem*. This victory was obtained on the thirteenth of the *Jewish* month *Adar*, and it being a day of great deliverance to *Israel*, they rejoiced greatly in it, and ordained that it should ever after be observed as an anniversary day of thanksgiving in commemoration of this mercy; and they so keep it even to this present time by the name of the day of *Nicanor*. And here endeth the history of the second book of the *Maccabees*.

JUDAS having some respite after this victory, ^p sent an embassy to the *Romans*; for having heard of their power, prowess, and policy, he was desirous of making a league with them, hoping thereby to receive some protection and relief against the oppression of the *Syrians*; and therefore for this end he made choice of *Jason* the son of *Eleazar*, and *Eupolemus* the son of that *John* ^q who in a like embassy to *Seleucus Philopator* obtained from him a grant of all those privileges for the *Jews*, which *Antiochus*

^m Epistola 61. vide etiam eundem in libro secundo contra Gaudentium.

vii. 33—38. 2 Maccab. xiv. 31—36. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. cap. 17.

vii. 34—50. 2 Maccab. xv. 1—36. Josephus ibid.

^q 2 Maccab. iv. 11.

ⁿ 1 Maccab.

^o 1 Maccab.

^p 1 Maccab. viii.

Josephus ibid.

Epiphanes would have afterwards abolish'd, and sent them to *Rome*, where they were kindly received by the senate, and a decree was made, that the *Jews* should be acknowledged as friends and allies of the *Romans*, and a league of mutual defence be thenceforth established between them. And a letter was written from them to *Demetrius*, requiring him to desist from any more vexing the *Jews*, and threatening him with war if he should not comply herewith. But before this letter was delivered, or the ambassadors returned with the decree of the senate to *Jerusalem*, *Judas* was dead.

FOR *Demetrius* having received an account of the defeat and death of *Nicanor*, sent *Bacchides* with *Alcimus* the second time into *Judea*, at the head of a very potent army, made up of the prime forces and flower of his militia. *Judas* on the coming of this army into *Judea* had no more than three thousand men with him to oppose them, who being terrified with the strength and number of the enemy, deserted their general all to eight hundred men; yet with these few *Judas*, out of an excess of valour and confidence, dared engage the numerous army of the adversary; but being overborn by their numbers, was slain in the conflict; for which all *Judah* and *Jerusalem* made great lamentation; and *Jonathan* and *Simon* his brothers taking up his dead body, buried him honourably at *Modin* in the sepulchre of his fore-fathers.

THE apostates and others who were ill affected to the true interest and peace of their countrey, took the advantage of this loss to lift up their heads again, and act according to their evil inclinations in all parts of the land, and hereby created great disturbances in it: And moreover a very grievous famine happen'd at the same time; and the prevailing faction having gotten most of the provisions of the land into their power, this caused great revoltings among the people, that so thereby they might come at bread. And by this means *Alcimus* and his party greatly increasing in strength, got the whole land into their power; and thereon the government being in all places put into the hands of wicked men, great inquisition and search was made for the friends and adherents of the *Maccabæans*; and such of them as could be taken being brought to *Bacchides*, were put to death with all manner of cruelty and indignity; by reason whereof there was sore affliction and great distress in *Israel*, such as had not been from the days of the prophets that returned from the *Babylonish* captivity to that time, not excepting even the persecuting times of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. Whereon for the remedy of this great evil and misery, all that wished well to *Sion* flocked to *Jonathan* and made him their captain; and he thereon taking the government upon him, rose up in the place of *Judas* his brother, and got forces together to resist the enemy: Which *Bacchides* hearing of, endeavoured to have gotten him into his power that he might put him to death; whereon *Jonathan* and *Simon* his brother, with those that

† 1 Maccab. viii. 41, 42. Justin. lib. 36. cap. 3. The words of Justin in this place are, A Demetrio cum defecissent Judæi, amicitia Romanorum petita, primi omnium ex orientalibus liberatam receperunt facile tunc Romanis de alieno largientibus; i. e. The Jews when they fled from Demetrius having sought the friendship of the Romans, were the first of the nations of the east that regained their liberty, the Romans at that time easily giving to others of that which was not their own. † 1 Maccab. ix. 1—22. Josephus lib. 12. cap. 19. † 1 Maccab. ix. 23—27. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 1. † 1 Maccab. ix. 28—33. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 1.

were with them fled into the wilderness of *Tekoa*, and there encamped near the river of *Jordan*, where being surrounded with a morass on the one side, and the river on the other, they could not be easily come at. But that they might the better secure their goods and baggage from all the events of war, * they sent all their carriages under the conduct of *John* the brother of *Jonathan* and *Simon* to their friends the *Nabathæans*, to be deposited with them till they should be in a better condition again to receive them. But while *John* was on his way thither, the *Jambrians*, a tribe of the *Arabs* then living at *Medaba* formerly a city of the *Moabites*, issued out from thence upon him, and having slain him and those that were with him, took all that they had and carried it away for a prey.

Not long after * *Jonathan* and *Simon* understanding that a great marriage was to be solemnized at *Medaba*, between one of the chief men of the *Jambrians* and a daughter of one of the prime nobles of *Canaan*, and having gotten notice of the day when the bride was to be conducted home to her bridegroom, way-laid them in the mountains; from whence having a full sight of the bride's being carried on with great pomp and attendance, and the bridegroom's marching out with like pomp to meet and receive her, as soon as they perceived both companies were joined together, they rose up against them from the place where they lay in ambush, and slew them all, excepting only some few that escaped by flying to the mountains, and took all their spoils; and having thus revenged the death of their brother returned again to their former camp. Of which *Bacchides* † having received intelligence marched thither against them, and having made himself master of the pass that led to their encampment assaulted them in it on the sabbath-day, expecting then to find no resistance from them, because of the religious veneration which he understood they had for that day. But *Jonathan* reminding his people of the determination that was made in this case in the time of *Mattathias* his father, exhorted them valiantly to resist the enemy when thus pressed to it by necessity, notwithstanding it was the sabbath-day, and all accordingly complied herewith, and in defence of themselves slew of the assailants about a thousand men; but finding, that they must at length be overpowered by their numbers, they cast themselves into the river *Jordan* and swam over to the other side and so escaped: For *Bacchides* pursuing them no farther returned again to *Jerusalem*, where having given order for the fortifying of several cities and strong holds throughout *Judæa* in places best convenient for it, he put strong garrisons in them that he might thereby the better keep the country in subjection, and the easier suppress all those of the contrary party that should rise up against him. And especially he took care to repair and fortify well the fortress of mount *Acra* in *Jerusalem*, and having fully furnished it with men and provisions, he took of the children of the chief men of the country and put them into it, ordering them there to be kept as hostages for the fidelity of their fathers and friends, and so ended the year.

An. 160.
Jona-
than 1.

IN the next year after ‡ died *Alcimus*, the great troubler of *Israel*. For after having by the power of *Bacchides* fully established himself in the pontificate, he set himself to make several alterations for the corrupting of

* 1 Maccab. ix. 35, 36. Josephus ibid.

* 1 Maccab. ix. 37—41. Josephus ibid.

† 1 Maccab. ix. 43—53. Josephus lib. 13. cap. 1.

‡ 1 Maccab. ix. 54—56.

the then well settled state of the *Jewish* religion, in order to the bringing of it to a nearer agreement with the heathen. And whereas round the sanctuary there was built by the order of the later prophets *Haggai* and *Zechariah* a low wall or enclosure called the *Chel*, to serve for the separating of the holy part of the mountain of the house from the unholy; and the rule was, that within this no uncircumcised person was ever to enter, *Alcimus* in order to take away this distinction, and give the Gentile equal liberty with the *Jews* to pass into the inner courts of the temple, ordered this wall of partition to be pulled down. But while it was a doing he was smitten by the hand of God with a palsy, and suddenly died of it.

WHEN ^b *Bacchides* saw that *Alcimus* was dead, for whose sake he came into *Judea*, he returned again to *Antioch*, and the land had quiet from all molestations from the *Syrians* for two years. It's most likely *Demetrius* had by this time received the letters that were sent to him from the *Romans* in behalf of the *Jews*, and thereupon gave *Bacchides* orders to surcease his vexations of that people, and that it was in obedience to those orders that on the death of *Alcimus* he took that occasion to leave that country.

FOR ^c *Demetrius* about this time labouring all he could to get the *Romans* to favour him, was now more than ordinary cautious not to give them any offence, and therefore was the more ready to comply with any thing they should desire. It hath been before related in what manner he fled from *Rome*, when he was an hostage there, and how contrary to the mind of the senate he seized *Syria* and slew *Antiochus Eupator*, whom they had confirmed in that kingdom, and there reigned in his stead; for which reason they being much displeased with him had not as yet saluted him King, nor renewed the league with him which they had made with his predecessors. This *Demetrius* was very solicitous to have done, and in order thereto was at this time making use of all methods to gain their favour. And therefore hearing that the *Romans* had then three ambassadors at the court of *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*, he sent *Menochares* one of his prime ministers thither to treat with them about this matter, and on his return finding by the report which he made him of what had passed in this treaty, that the good offices of these ambassadors were absolutely necessary for the gaining of his point, he sent again to them, first into *Pamphylia*, and after that again to *Rhodes*, promising every thing they should desire, and never leaving soliciting and pressing them, till at length by their interposition all was granted him that he solicited for, and the *Romans* acknowledged him for King of *Syria*, and renewed the leagues of his predecessors with him.

WHEREON the next year after ^d he sent the same *Menochares* with others in a solemn embassy to *Rome* for the farther cultivating of their friendship with him. They carried thither a crown of gold of the value of ten thousand gold peices of money for a present to the senate, in acknowledgment of the kind and free entertainment he had received from them, while he was an hostage at *Rome* with them. And they also brought with them *Leptines* and *Isocrates* to be delivered into their

^a See Lightfoot of the temple, chap. 17. ^b 1 Maccab. ix. 57. ^c Polybius legat. 120. p. 952.
^d Polybius legat. 122. p. 954, 955. Appian, in Syriacis. Diodorus Siculus legat. 25.

hands for the death of *Octavius*. I have above related how this *Leptines* slew *Octavius* at *Laodicea* in *Syria*, while he was in that countrey on an embassy from the *Romans*. *Isocrates* was a talkative *Greek*, and by profession a grammarian; he being then in *Syria* when this murder was committed, undertook on all occasions to speak in the justification of it; for which reason being taken into custody he grew distracted, and so continued ever after. But there was no occasion of seizing *Leptines*, he freely offered himself to go to *Rome* there to answer for the fact, and accordingly without any constraint accompanied the ambassadors thither, and altho' he constantly owned the fact, yet at the same time he as confidently assured himself, he should suffer no hurt from the *Romans* for it; and so it accordingly happen'd. As to the ambassadors, the senate received them with due respects, and kindly accepted of the present they brought, but would not meddle with the persons. The taking vengeance of these two men they thought was too small a satisfaction for the murder of their ambassador, and therefore they kept that matter still upon the same foot, reserving to themselves the farther enquiry into it, and the demand from the whole nation of the *Syrians* (on whom in general they charged the guilt) of such satisfaction, as on a full and thorough cognizance of the cause should be judged adequate to it.

ABOUT this time *Holophernes*, the pretended elder brother of *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*, laying claim to that kingdom came to *Demetrius* to solicit his help for the recovering of it. *Ariarathes* the father had to his wife *Antiochis* the daughter of *Antiochus the Great* King of *Syria*. She 'having lived some years without children, and therefore believing that she should never have any, to help the matter feigned her self to be with child, and thereon pretending to be delivered first of one son, and afterwards again of another by the same trick, she thus brought in two supposititious children to be heirs of the royal family, the first of which was called *Ariarathes*, and the other *Holophernes*. By which it appears, that the bringing in of false births for the inheriting of crowns is no new thing in the world. But after the Queen proving truly to be with child, and being delivered without fraud, first of one daughter, and next of another, and in the last place of a son, she confessed the whole deceit. Whereon that the false sons might not be heirs to the wrong of the true, they were sent away into foreign parts, the eldest of them to *Rome*, and the other, which was this *Holophernes*, into *Ionia*, with sums of money sufficient there to educate and maintain them. And the true son, at first called *Mitridates* thenceforth taking his father's name, was declared his true heir, and accordingly after his death succeeded him in the kingdom. And this is that *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*, of whom we now speak, and against whom *Holophernes* made the claim I have mentioned. *Demetrius* had not long before offered him his sister *Laodice* in marriage, but she having been widow to *Perseus* King of *Macedon* an enemy to the *Romans*, and *Demetrius* himself not being yet in good grace with them, *Ariarathes* feared he might by this match give them offence, and therefore rejected the offer. This *Demetrius* resented, and while he was under these re-

^e Polybius lib. 3. p. 161. Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 35. cap. 1. Epitome Livii lib. 47.

^f Diodorus Sic. lib. 31. apud Photium in bibliothecâ cod. 244. p. 1160. ^g Justin. lib. 35. cap. 11. Diodorus Siculus legat. 24.

sentments *Holophernes* came to him. And therefore having easily obtained his assistance, by the strength and power thereof ^bhe expelled *Ariarathes*, though assisted by *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus*, and reigned in his stead: But ⁱby his rapine, cruelty, and other male-administrations, he soon made himself odious to all the people of his kingdom.

THIS assistance, which *Eumenes* gave *Ariarathes*, was one of the last acts of his life, for ^khe died soon after, having reigned at *Pergamus* thirty eight years. By his will he bequeathed his kingdom ^lto *Attalus* his brother, who accordingly succeeded him in it. ¹He had a son by *Stratonice* his Queen, sister to *Ariarathes* the King of *Cappadocia* last mentioned, but he being an infant at the time of his father's death was then incapable of administering the government, and therefore *Eumenes* rather chose to put *Attalus* into the present possession of the crown reserving to his son the next succession after him. And *Attalus* deceived not his expectation herein; for after his brother's death he married his wife, and took care of his son, and left him his kingdom at his death, after he had reigned in it twenty years, preferring him herein to his own sons for the sake of that trust, which his brother had reposed in him, as will be hereafter related in its proper place.

JONATHAN having had two years quiet, and thereby brought his affairs to some settlement in *Judæa*, ^mthe adverse faction being hereby excited with envy against him sent to the *Syrian* court at *Antioch*, and there procured that *Bacchides* was again ordered into that land with a great army. The authors of this mischief proposed to seize *Jonathan*, and all those of his party in one and the same night throughout the land, as soon as the army should arrive to back them in the enterprize, and all things were accordingly laid in order to it. And therefore *Bacchides* on his entering the borders of *Judæa* sent them letters to appoint the time for the executing of the plot in the manner as had been concerted between them. But the design being discovered, *Jonathan* got his forces together, ⁿseized fifty of the conspirators, and having put them to death thereby quelled all the rest; and so the whole mischief, that was intended against him, was totally quash'd and defeated. But not being strong enough to stand against so great a force as *Bacchides* brought against him, ^ohe retired to *Bethbasi* a place strongly situated in the wilderness, and having well repaired its former fortifications, and furnished it with all things necessary, he there purposed to make defence against the enemy; whereon *Bac-*

An. 158.
Jona-
than 3.

^b Justin *ibid.* Polybius lib. 3. p. 161. Livii Epit. l. 47. Appian. in Syriacis excerptis Valesii p. 335, 337. Polybius *as cited by* Athenæus (lib. 10. p. 440) tells us, that *Holophernes* King of *Cappadocia* held his kingdom but a short time, because he neglected the laws of his country, and brought in the drunken songs, and the disorderly intemperance of the *Bacchanals*.

^k Strabo lib. 13. p. 624. He here saith that *Eumenes* reigned 49 years. But this is a manifest error in the copy from whence the book was printed; for reckoning the years, which are said in the Roman history to have elapsed from the beginning of the reign of *Eumenes* to the end of the *Pergamenian* kingdom, and deducting from them the years, which *Attalus* his brother, and after him *Attalus* his son (in whose death that kingdom ceased) reigned according to Strabo in *Pergamus* after him, there will remain only 39 years for the reign of *Eumenes*, in the beginning of the last of which he died, having reigned full 38 years, and entered only on the beginning of the 39th.

^l Strabo *ibid.* Plutarchus in libro περὶ Φιλαδέλφειας. ^m 1 Maccab. ix. 58—61. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. c. 1. ⁿ Josephus relates the matter, as if *Bacchides* had put these 50 men to death out of anger for the disappointment, but according to the first book of *Maccabees* it can be understood no otherwise, than as I have here related it.

^o 1 Maccab. ix. 62—68. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 1.

chides marched thither with all his army to besiege him, and called thither to him all the *Jews*, that were in the *Syrian* interest, to assist him herein. On his approach *Jonathan* left *Simon* his brother with one part of his forces to defend the place, and he with the other part took the field to harass the adversary abroad; and accordingly he did cut off several of their parties, as they went out to forage, smote and destroyed others that adhered to them, and sometimes made impressions upon the out-skirts of those that lay at the siege to the disturbing and disordering of the whole army. And at the same time *Simon* as valiantly did his part in *Bethbasi*, strenuously defending himself therein, making frequent sallies, and burning the engines of war provided against the place. By ^p which success of the two brothers *Bacchides* being made weary of the war grew very angry with those who had been the authors of bringing him to it, and having put several of them to death purposed to raise the siege and depart the country, of which *Jonathan* having notice took hold of the opportunity to send messages to him for an accommodation, which *Bacchides* gladly receiving made peace with *Jonathan* and his party, and all prisoners being thereon restored on both sides *Bacchides* swore, that he would never more do any harm to the *Jews* as long as he should live, which he accordingly made good; for as soon as the peace was ratified and executed on both sides, he departed, and never afterwards came any more into that country. Whereon *Jonathan* settled in peace at *Michmash*, a town lying to the north of *Jerusalem* ^a at the distance of nine miles from it, and there governed *Israel* according to the law, cut off all that apostatized from it, and restored again justice and righteousness in the land, and reformed, as far as he could, all that was amiss either in church or state.

An. 157.
Jona-
than 4.

ARIARATHES being driven out of his kingdom of *Cappadocia* by *Demetrius* and *Holophernes*, in the manner as hath been above related, came to *Rome* for relief; and thither came also ambassadors from *Demetrius* and *Holophernes*, to justify what they had done against him. Who being able speakers, and making their appearance with great splendor and show of riches, as coming from Princes in possession of their kingdoms, easily overbore by the power of their oratory, and the power of their interest, a poor exiled prince, who had no one else to speak for him, or any other interest to support him in his cause, save only the justice of it; and therefore they obtained the determination of the senate on their side against him. However ^s seeing *Ariarathes* had been formerly declared, and often owned as a friend and ally of the *Romans*, they would not wholly dispossess him, but ordered him and *Holophernes* to reign together. But this partnership did not last long; for *Holophernes* having by his many male-administrations utterly alienated the affections of the *Cappadocians* from him, they were all ready to declare against him for *Ariarathes* on the first occasion that should offer: Of which *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* being fully informed ^t sent *Ariarathes* such assistance, as enabled him to drive *Holophernes* out of the country, and again reinstate himself in the possession of the whole kingdom. Hereon *Holophernes* retreated to *Antioch*, carrying thither with him a treasure sufficient to support him; for

^p 1 Maccab. ix. 69—73. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 1 & 2.

^a Eusebius & Hieronymus.

^t Polybius legat. 126. p. 958.

^s Appian. in Syriacis. Zonaras ex Dione Livii Epitome lib. 47.

^c Polybius in excerptis Valestii p. 169. Zonaras ex Dione.

before this turn of his affairs suspecting that which happen'd, " he got together a great sum of money to the value of four hundred talents of silver, and depoted it with the " *Prienians*, among whom he was bred, as a reserve for all events. This money *Ariarathes* after the recovery of his kingdom demanded of the *Prienians*, as that which of right belonged to him, because raised out of the revenues of his crown. But the *Prienians* being of old famous for their justice, resolved to make good that character on this occasion, and therefore would not be induced by any sollicitations or threats to pay him the money; but tho' they suffered much both from *Attalus* as well as from *Ariarathes* for the refusal, continued true to their trust, and restored the whole sum to *Holophernes*; and with this money he might have lived in plenty and ease at *Antioch*, could any thing less than reigning have there contented him.

PTOLEMY Physcon, King of *Libya* and *Cyrene*, having by his ill and cruel management of the government, and his very wicked and vicious conduct, justly incurred the general dislike and odium of his subjects, it happen'd * that some of them lying in wait for him, fell upon him and wounded him in several places, thinking to have slain him. This he charged upon King *Philometor* his brother, and as soon as he was recovered he went again to *Rome* with his complaint against him; shewing the senate the scars of his wounds, and accusing him of having employed the assassins from whom he received them. And altho' King *Philometor* was ¹ a person of so great benignity and good nature, that of all men living he was the most unlikely ever to have given the least countenance to such a fact; yet the senate, by reason of the disgust which they had conceived against him for his not submitting to their decree about *Cyprus*, yielded so easy an ear to this false accusation, that taking it all to be true, they would not so much as hear what the ambassadors of *Philometor* had to say on the other side for the refutation of this charge, but ordered them forthwith to be gone from *Rome*; and then sent five ambassadors to conduct *Physcon* to *Cyprus*, and put him in possession of that island, and wrote letters to all their allies in those parts to furnish him with forces for this purpose.

By which means *Physcon* having gotten together an army which he thought sufficient for the compassing of his design, landed with them on the island for the possessing of himself of it; but being there ² encounter'd by *Philometor*, he was vanquished in battel, and forced into *Lapitho* a city in that island; where being pursued, shut up, and besieged, he was at length taken prisoner in the place, and delivered into the hands of *Philometor*, who out of his great clemency dealt much better with him than he deserved: For altho' his demerits were such as might justly have provoked from him the utmost severities, yet he remitted all; and not only pardoned him when his offences against him were such as every body else would have

* Polybius in excerptis Valesii, p. 171, 173.

^w Priene was a city of Ionia situated on the north side of the river Mæander over against Myus. It was the city of Bias the philosopher, and from the justice there practised in his time justitia Priensis became a proverb, Strabo lib. 14. p. 636.

^x Polybius Legat. 132. p. 961.

^y Polybius in excerptis Valesii, p. 197. gives this character of him, that he was a Prince of so much clemency and benignity, that he did never put to death any of his nobles, or so much as any one citizen of Alexandria during all his reign. And altho' his brother had many times provoked him by offences in the highest degree deserving of death, yet he always pardoned him, and treated him at no time otherwise than with the affection of a kind brother.

^z Polybius in excerptis Valesii, p. 197. Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valesii, p. 334, 337.

judg'd unpardonable; but also restor'd to him *Libya* and *Cyrene*, and added some other territories to them to compensate for his detaining *Cyprus* from him; and hereby the war between the two brothers was wholly ended, and never after again revived, the *Romans* being ashamed it seems any more to oppose themselves against so generous a clemency: For there is no more mention from this time of their farther interposal in this matter.

PHILOMETOR having thus finished the *Cyprian* war against his brother, left the command of that island on his return to *Alexandria* to *Archias* one of the chief of his confidents. But he was deceived in the man; for he had not been long in this trust, 'e're he agreed with *Demetrius* King of *Syria* for five hundred talents to betray the island to him: But discovery being made hereof, he hanged himself to avoid the punishment which that treachery deserved. He had formerly with great fidelity adhered to his master when he was driven out of his kingdom, and ^b accompanied him to *Rome*, when he went thither for help in his distress. But tho' his fidelity was of proof in that case, it was not so in this other; for being a greedy man, he could not hold out against money, and therefore sold himself for the sum I have mentioned, and perished in the bargain.

An. 154.
Jona-
than 7.

DEMETRIUS giving himself wholly up to luxury and ease, lived at this time a very odd and slothful life; for having ^c built him a castle near *Antioch*, and strongly fortified it with four towers, he there shut himself up, and casting off all care of the publick, devoted himself wholly to his ease and his pleasure; the chief of which last was drinking, which he indulged to that excess; ^d that he was usually drunk for the major part of every day that he there liv'd. Whereby it came to pass, that no petitions being admitted, no grievances redressed, nor any justice duly administred, the whole business of the government was at a stand; which justly giving disgust to all his subjects, they entered into a conspiracy for the deposing of him. And *Holophernes* then living at *Antioch*, joined with them in it against his benefactor, hoping on the success thereof to ascend his throne, and there reign in his stead. Of which discovery being made, *Holophernes* was thereon clapp'd up in prison; for *Demetrius* thought fit not to put him to death, that he might still have him in reserve to let loose upon *Ariarathes*, as future occasions should require. However, notwithstanding this detection the conspiracy still went on: For *Ptolemy* being disgusted by *Demetrius's* late attempt upon *Cyprus*, and *Attalus* and *Ariarathes* being alike provoked by the wars which he had made upon them on the behalf of *Holophernes*, they all three joined together for the encouraging of the conspirators against him, and employed *Heraclides* to suborn one to take on him the pretence of being son to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and under that title to claim the crown of *Syria*. This *Heraclides* was, as ^e I have before related, a great favourite of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and his treasurer in the province of *Babylon*, while *Timarchus* his brother, another like favourite of that King's, was governor of it. But on the coming of *Demetrius* to the crown, these two brothers being found to have been guilty of great misdemeanors,

^a Polybius in excerptis Valesii, p. 170.

^b Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valesii, p. 322.

^c Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 3.

^d Athenæus, lib. 10. p. 440.

^e Justin. lib. 35. cap. 1.

^f Part II. book III. under the year 175. and book IV. under the year 162.

Timarchus

Timarchus was put to death ; but *Heracledes* making his escape out of the kingdom, took up his residence at *Rhodes*, ^g where being put on work to form this plot, and having accordingly found out in that place a youth of very mean and obscure condition called *Balas*, that was every way fit for the purpose, he dressed him up, and thoroughly instructed him for the acting of his part in it.

AND when he had thus exactly formed him for the imposture, he first procured him to be owned by the three Kings above mentioned, and then ^h carried him to *Rome*, taking along with him *Laodice*, who was truly the daughter of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, thereby to give the better colour to the fraud: And on his arrival thither, by his craft and sedulous sollicitation gained him to be owned there also, and ⁱ procured from the senate a decree in his behalf, not only to permit him to return into *Syria* for the recovery of that kingdom, but likewise to have their assistance in order to it. For the senators, though they plainly enough discerned all to be fiction and imposture that was alledged on the behalf of *Balas*, yet out of disgust to *Demetrius* they struck in with it, and made this decree in favour of the impostor; by virtue whereof he raised forces, and with them sailing to *Ptolemais* in *Palestine*, ^k seized that city, and there by the name of *Alexander* the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes* took upon him to be King of *Syria*, and great numbers out of their disaffection to *Demetrius* flocked thither to him.

THIS brought *Demetrius* out of his castle to provide for his defence; in order whereto ^l he got all the forces together that he could, and *Alexander* armed as fast on his part. And the assistance of *Jonathan* being like to carry great weight with it to that side he should declare for, both courted his friendship. And first ^m a letter was wrote to him from *Demetrius*, constituting him the King's general in *Judæa*, and authorizing him to raise forces, and provide them with arms to come to his assistance; and commanding that the hostages which were in the fortrefs at *Jerusalem* should be delivered to him. *Jonathan* on the receiving of this letter went up to *Jerusalem*, and caused it there to be read in the hearing of those in the fortrefs, and then by virtue of it demanded the hostages; which they accordingly delivered to him: For finding him invested with such authority from the King, they were afraid and durst not withstand him in this matter. And therefore all the hostages which *Bacchides* had taken of the *Jews* and shut up in that fortrefs, for the securing of the fidelity of their fathers and friends to the *Syrian* interest, being restored to those from whom they were taken, and the restraint put upon them hereby again removed, great numbers flocked to *Jonathan* for the strengthening of him; whereby he grew to such power, that ⁿ those forces which *Bacchides* had placed in garisons all over the countrey, finding themselves not strong enough to hold out against him, left their fortresses and fled away; only *Bethsura* and the fortrefs at *Jerusalem* still held out: For the garrison soldiers in both these two places being most of them apostate *Jews*, they had no where else to

^g That *Balas* was of *Rhodes* is said by Sulpitius Severus, lib. 2. cap. 22. that he was an impostor is said by all, vide Livii epitomen, lib. 52. Appianum in Syriacis. Athenæum, lib. 5. p. 211. Polybium Legat. 140. p. 968. & Justinum, lib. 35. cap. 1. ^h Polybius Legat. 138. p. 966.

ⁱ Polybius Legat. 140. p. 968.

^k 1 Maccab. x. 1. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 3.

^l 1 Maccab. x. 1.

^m 1 Maccab. x. 3—9. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 4.

ⁿ 1 Maccab. x. 10—14. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 4.

flee to, and therefore in this desperate case had nothing else to depend upon, but by standing out to defend themselves to the utmost. Hereon *Jonathan* settling at *Jerusalem* began to repair the city, and new fortify it on every side, and caused the wall round the mountain of the temple, which had been pulled down by *Antiochus Eupator*, to be again rebuilt.

ALEXANDER hearing what *Demetrius* had done to gain *Jonathan* on his side, ° sent also his proposals to him; whereby he granted to him that he should be High-priest of the *Jews*, and be ^p called the King's friend; and he sent him ^q a purple robe, and a crown of gold, as ensigns of the great dignity which he hereby invested him with (none but Princes and nobles of the first rank being allowed in those days to be clothed in purple.) Of which *Demetrius* having received notice, ^r resolved to outbid *Alexander* for the gaining of so valuable an ally, and therefore sent a second message to *Jonathan*, offering all that *Alexander* did, with the addition of many other extraordinary grants and privileges both to him and all his people, in case he would declare for him and come to his assistance. But it being remembered how bitter an enemy he had been to all that adhered to the true *Jewish* interest, and how much ruine and oppression he had brought upon that whole nation, they durst not confide in him; but looking on all his offers to be only such as were extorted from him by the necessity of his affairs, and which he would all immediately contravene and revoke whenever his fortunes should be again restored, they resolved rather to enter into league with *Alexander*: And therefore *Jonathan* ^s accepting of his grant of the High-priest's office, and having also for it the consent of all the people, did on the feast of tabernacles which soon after ensued put on the pontifical robe, and then officiated as High-priest, after that office from the death of *Alcimus* had been now vacant seven years. And from this time the office of High-priest of the *Jews* became settled in the family of the *Asmonæans*, and continued in it for several descents, till the time of *Herod*, ^t who changed it from an office of inheritance to that of arbitrary will and pleasure. For from that time those that were in power did put in and put out the High-priests as they thought fit, till at length the office was extinguish'd in the destruction of the temple by the *Romans*. From the time of the return from the *Babylonish* captivity the office of High-priest of the *Jews* had been in the family of *Jozadack*, and was transmitted down in it by lineal descent to *Onias* the third of the name that was in that office; who being outed of it by the fraud of *Jason* his brother, and he again by the like fraud of *Menelaus*, another of those brothers, *Alcimus* was next after the death of *Menelaus* put into this office by the command of the King of *Syria*. *Josephus* tells us, that he was not of the pontifical family, by which he means no more than that he was not of the descendants of *Jozadack*, tho' of the family of *Aaron*: For that he ^u is said to be, and that was enough to qualify him for the office, every

° 1 Maccab. x. 15—20. *Josephus* antiq. lib. 13. cap. 5. ^p Those that were the nobles under the Macedonian Kings were called the King's friends, in like manner as with us all that are of the nobility are called the King's cousins. ^q To wear a purple robe among the Macedonians was a mark of high nobility, and it was also the same among other nations. Hence *purpurati* signifies such as are noble. ^r 1 Maccab. x. 21—47. *Josephus* antiq. lib. 13. cap. 5.

^s 1 Maccab. x. 21. *Josephus* ibid. ^t *Josephus* antiq. lib. 15. cap. 3. *Eusebius* de demonstratione evangelicâ, lib. 8. ^u 1 Maccab. vii. 14.

descendant of *Aaron* being equally capable of it. Whether the *Asmonæans* were of that race of *Jozadack* or not is not any where said; only this is certain, that they were of the course ^w of *Joarib*, which was ^{*} the first class of the sons of *Aaron*: And therefore on the failure of the former pontifical family (which had then happen'd on the flight of *Onias* the son of *Onias* into *Egypt*) they had the best right then to succeed. And with this right *Jonathan* took the office, when nominated to it by the King then reigning in *Syria*, and also elected thereto by the general suffrage of all the people of the land.

BOTH Kings having with their armies taken the field, *Demetrius*, who ^{An. 152.} wanted neither courage nor understanding when out of his drunken fits, ^{Jona-} ^{than 9.} in the first battel had the victory, but he gained no advantage by it: For *Alexander* being ^z speedily recruited by the three Kings that first set him up, and strongly supported by them, and having also the *Romans* and *Jonathan* on his side, was enabled thereby still to maintain his cause: And the *Syrians* continued, out of the aversion they had to *Demetrius*, still to make great desertions from him. Whereon *Demetrius* fearing where all this might end, ^a sent his two sons *Demetrius* and *Antiochus* (who both afterwards reigned in *Syria*) to *Cnidus*, and there committed them with a great treasure to the care of a friend of his, which he had in that city; that so in case the worst should happen to him in this war, they might there be secured out of the reach of any fatal stroke from it, and be reserved for such future turn of affairs as fortune should afterwards offer in their favour.

ABOUT this time there appeared another impostor, one ^b *Andriscus* of ^{An. 151.} *Adramyttium* in *Mysia*, a young man of as mean condition in that place as ^{Jona-} ^{than 10.} *Alexander* had been at *Rhodes*; who thinking to play the same game for the kingdom of *Macedon*, that the other had for the kingdom of *Syria*, pretended to be son to King *Perseus*, who last reigned in *Macedon*; and taking on him the name of *Philip*, by virtue of this title claimed to reign in that countrey: But finding his pretence at that time to be but little regarded there, he applied himself to *Demetrius* at *Antioch*, hoping that since the *Romans* had encouraged one impostor against him, he might the easier be induced to encourage another against them. But *Demetrius* seeing plainly thorough the falseness of his pretence, caused him to be seized and sent to *Rome*. This he did, either that he thought hereby to ingratiate himself with the *Romans*, or else rather, that he would not countenance a fraud which was the same with that which he was then suffering under. But on this impostor's being delivered at *Rome*, the *Romans* despising and neglecting him, ^c he made his escape thence into *Macedonia*, where he kindled such a war as cost the *Romans* the expence of a great deal of time, and also a great deal of blood and treasure again to quench it.

IN the interim the two contenders for the crown of *Syria* having drawn ^{An. 150.} together all their forces, ^d committed the determination of their cause to a ^{Jona-} ^{than 11.}

^w 1 Maccab. ii. 1. ^x 1 Chron. xxiv. 7. ^y Justin. lib. 35. cap. 1. ^z Justin ibid.
^a Livii epitome, lib. 52. Justin. lib. 35. c. 2. ^b Epitome Livii, lib. 48, 49.
^c Epitome Livii, lib. 49, 50. L. Florus, lib. 2. c. 4. Eutropius, lib. 4. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 1.
^d 1 Maccab. x. 48—50. Justin. lib. 35. cap. 1. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 5. Appian. in Syriacis. Polybius, lib. 3. p. 161.

decisive battel. In the first onset *Demetrius's* left wing put the opposite wing of the enemy to flight, but pursuing them too far (a fault in war which hath lost many victories, and yet is still committed) by the time they came back the right wing, in which *Demetrius* fought in person, was overborn, and he slain in the rout. As long as he could face the enemy he omitted nothing either of valour or conduct for the obtaining of better success, but at length in the retreat his horse having plunged him into a bog, they that pursued him there shot at him with their arrows till he died, after having reigned in *Syria* twelve years.

ALEXANDER by this victory having made himself master of the whole *Syrian* empire ^c sent to *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*, to desire that *Cleopatra* his daughter might be given him in marriage, which *Ptolemy* consenting to, carried her to *Ptolemais*, and there married her unto him. *Jonathan* being invited to the wedding ^f went thither, and was received with great favour by both Kings, especially by *Alexander*, who to do him the greater honour caused him to be cloathed in purple, and ordered him to be enrolled among the chief of ^g his friends, and to take place near him among the first Princes of his Kingdom. And he constituted him also general of his forces in *Judæa*, and gave him the office of ^h *Meridarches* in his palace; and whereas many that maligned him came to *Ptolemais* there to prefer libels of accusation against him, *Alexander* would receive none of them, but caused it to be proclaimed all over the city, that no one should presume to speak evil of him, whereon all his enemies fled from thence, and *Jonathan* returned with honour again into *Judæa*.

An. 149.
Jona-
than 12.

ONIAS the son of *Onias*, who on his being disappointed of the High-priesthood on the death of his uncle *Menelaus* fled into *Egypt* (as hath been above related) there so far ingratiated himself with King *Ptolemy Philometor* and *Cleopatra* his Queen, that he ⁱ gained the chief of their confidence in all their affairs. For he was a great soldier, and a great politician; and thereby became advanced to the highest post both in the army, and in the court; and having by the strength of his interest introduced another *Jew* called *Dositheus* into the like favour, they two had the chief management of the government during the latter end of *Philometor's* reign, And *Onias* having this power and interest with the King, made use of it at this time ^k to obtain from him licence to build a temple for the *Jews* in *Egypt* like that at *Jerusalem*, with a grant for him and his descendants to be always High-priests in it. For the obtaining of the King's consent hereto he set forth to him, that the building of such a temple for the *Jews* in *Egypt* would be for the interest of his crown; that *Jerusalem* being within the territories of the King of *Syria*, the going of the *Egyptian Jews* thither annually to worship might give occasion for the seducing of them

^c 1 Maccab. x. 51—58. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 7.

^f 1 Maccab. x. 59—66.

^g i. e. of the nobles of his kingdom. For under the Macedonians the nobles had the style of the King's friends.

^h i. e. Chief Sewer, which is an office one of the electors bears in the German empire. Grotius thus explains the word in his comment on the Maccabees. 1 Macc. x. 65. xi. 27. & 3 Macc. p. 796. But in his comment on Matthew xix. 28. he expounds it rather to denote the governor of a tribe or province; and if it be so taken here, and be understood to mean, that *Jonathan* was rather made governor of some part of the *Syrian* empire, than governor and orderer of the parts and dishes of the feast at the royal table, perchance this interpretation may reach the truth nearer than the other.

ⁱ Josephus contra Apionem lib. 2.

^k Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 6. & lib. 20. cap. 8. & de bello Judaico lib. 7. cap. 30.

to the *Syrian* interest; that therefore it ought to be prevented; and that the building for them a temple in *Egypt* would not only most effectually do this but also draw many other *Jews* thither from *Judea*, and other parts, for the better peopling and strengthening of his kingdom. But his greatest difficulty was to reconcile the *Jews* to this new invention, their constant notion having hitherto been, that *Jerusalem* was the only place, which God had chosen for his worship; and that it was sin to sacrifice to him upon any altar elsewhere. To satisfy them as to this he produced to them the prophecy of *Isaiah*, where it is said *'In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of Hosts; one shall be called the city of destruction. In that day shall there be an altar unto the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof unto the Lord.* And having interpreted this place of holy scripture (which was truly meant only of the future state of the Gospel in that countrey) as if it respected the then present times, he prevailed with all of his nation in *Egypt* to understand it so too, and thus served his purpose by it. And therefore having thus gained the King and also the *Jews* that were in *Egypt* to approve of his project, ^m he immediately set about the building. The place, which he chose for it, was a plot of ground within the *Nomos* or prefecture of *Heliopolis*, at the distance of about 24 miles from *Memphis*, where had formerly stood an old temple of *Bubastis* (which was another name of *Isis* the great goddess of the *Egyptians*) but it was then wholly neglected and demolished, and therefore having rid the ground of its ruins and rubbish he there built upon the same spot his new *Jewish* temple. He made it exactly according to the pattern of that at *Jerusalem* tho' not altogether so high nor so sumptuous, and there he placed an altar for burnt-offerings, an altar of incense, a shew-bread table, and all other instruments and utensils necessary for the *Jewish* service in the same manner as in the temple at *Jerusalem*, save only that he had not there a golden candlestick of seven branches, in the holy place, as was in that other temple, but instead of it had one great lamp hung there in its place by a golden chain from the roof of the house. It is the opinion of a ⁿvery learned man, that he was led to the choice of the prefecture of *Heliopolis* for the erecting of his temple in it by the same prophecy of *Isaiah* above recited, as then reading in the *Hebrew* text the word *Hacheres* for the word *Haberes*; as if instead of *Air haberes yeamer Leachath* (i. e. *one shall be called the city of destruction*, as in our *English* translation) the reading then was *Air hacheres yeamer Leachath* (i. e. *one shall be called the city of the sun*, i. e. *Heliopolis*, for that name in Greek signifieth *the city of the sun*.) And so much must be said for this conceit that in the *Hebrew* alphabet the letter ח (i. e. Ch) and the letter ה (i. e. H) are so much alike, that they may by transcribers very easily be mistaken the one for the other, and thereby a various reading be made in that place. And it is certain that in the time of *Jonathan Ben Uzziel* the *Chaldee* paraphraiser of the prophets, who lived not much above an hundred years after the erecting of this temple, there was a doubt, whether *Cheres*,

^l *Isaiah* xix. 18, 19.

^m *Josephus* *ibid.*

ⁿ *Josephus Scaliger* in *animadversionibus ad*

chronologica Eusebii sub numero 1856. p. 144.

^o *This last reading Jerom follows; for he renders the place civitas solis vocabitur una, i. e. one of them shall be called the city of the sun.*

or *Heres*, was the true reading in that place, tho' there be no *Keri Cetib* at it, and therefore in paraphrasing of that text he took both in, and renders the place, *the city of the temple of the sun, which is to be destroyed, shall be said to be one of them*. For which interpretation no other reason can be given, but that it being then uncertain, which of the two readings was the true one, he solv'd the difficulty by taking in both. But the true reason why *Onias* built his temple in this place was, he had the government of this *Nomos* or Prefecture under the King, and had there given unto him a large territory, whereon he built a city, which from his name he called ^p *Onion*, and planted all that territory with *Jews*, and therefore he could not find a place more to the advantage and convenience either of himself or his people any where else for it. And after he had thus built his temple he surrounded the *Area*, within which it stood, with an high brick wall, and placed Priests and *Levites* to officiate in it, and from that time the divine service was therein daily carried on in the same manner, and order, as in the temple at *Jerusalem*, till at length after the destruction of *Jerusalem* and its temple, this temple also ^q was first shut up, and afterwards wholly demolished and destroyed with the city of *Onion*, in which it stood, by the command of *Vespasian* the *Roman* Emperor, about two hundred twenty four years after it had been first built.

IN favour of this temple of *Onias* the septuagint render the passage of *Isaiah* above-mentioned Πόλις Ασεδεκ κληθήσεται ἡ μία πόλις, i. e. *one of the Cities shall be called Asedek*, intimating thereby, as if the original were neither *Air haberes*, nor *Air Hacheres*, but *Air Hazedek*, i. e. *the city of righteousness*; which is a plain corrupting of the text to make it speak for the honour and approbation of the temple of *Onias*, which was there built. From whence these two inferences are plainly deducible. 1st, That the translation of the *Hebrew* scriptures, which we call the septuagint, was made by the *Jews* of *Egypt*, who worshipped God at the temple of *Onias*; and 2^{dly}, that this part of it, which gives us the version of *Isaiah* (and the same may be said as to the other prophets) was made after that temple was built; which agrees exactly with what I have above written of the original of this version, that is, 1. That it was first made for the use of the hellenistical *Jews* of *Alexandria*. 2. That it was not made all at the same time, but by parts at different times, as they needed it for the use of their synagogues. 3. That they needed it for that use, as soon as there was a necessity for the reading of the scriptures in the *Greek* language in the said synagogues. 4. That this necessity begun as soon as the *Greek* became the common language of the *Jews* in that place, and their own was worn out and forgot among them, which happen'd about the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*. 5. That till the time of the *Maccabees* the law only having been read in their synagogues, till that time they needed none other of the scriptures, but the law only, to have been translated for this use, and therefore till then no more of them than the

^p When Antipater and Mithridates were marching with forces to the assistance of Julius Cæsar in his Alexandrian war, Josephus tells us (antiq. lib. 14. c. 14.) that they were opposed in their passage by the Egyptian Jews, who were οἱ τῆς Ὀνίας λεγομένην χώραν κατοικοῦντες, i. e. inhabitants of the region or territory of *Onion*, i. e. of the city *Onian* built by *Onias*, and so called by his name: which region or countrey the same Josephus tells us *Onias* planted all over with Jews.

^q Josephus de bello Judaico lib. 7. c. 30.

law was put into the *Greek* language. 6. That when the *Jews* of *Jerusalem*, in the time of the *Maccabees* (that is, of the three brothers *Judas*, *Jonathan*, and *Simon*, whose history under the name of *Maccabees* is written in the apocryphal scriptures) had brought in the prophets also to be read in their synagogues on the occasion I have above-mentioned, and the *Jews* of *Alexandria*, *Egypt*, *Lybia* and *Cyrene*, thought fit to follow their example herein; this made it necessary for them to have the prophets also translated into *Greek* for this purpose: Which being most certainly not done till after the time of the *Maccabees* (for sooner we cannot suppose the usage to have been propagated from *Jerusalem* so far as into *Egypt*, and the thing there settled) it must from hence follow that it must not have been done till after the building of *Onias's* temple also, that having been built in the eleventh year of the government of *Jonathan* the second of those *Maccabees*, as I have here placed it.

ABOUT this time there arose a great sedition at *Alexandria* between the *Jews* and the *Samaritans* of that city; the former holding *Jerusalem*, and the other mount *Gerizim*, to be the place where according to the law God was to be worshipped: They did run their contentions about this point so high, that at length they came to open arms. Whereon for the quelling of this disturbance a day was appointed for the hearing and determining of the dispute before King *Ptolemy* and his council. The point in contest was, whether by the law of *Moses*, *Jerusalem* or mount *Gerizim* was the place where God was to be worshipped by *Israel*; and advocates were appointed on each side to argue and plead the cause; wherein the *Samaritans* failing of that proof which they pretended to, their advocates were put to death for making the contention, and so the whole disorder ceased.

ALEXANDER Balas having gotten into the possession of the crown of *Syria* by the means I have mentioned, thought now that he had nothing else to do but to glut himself in the enjoyment of all those vicious pleasures of luxury, idleness, and debauchery, which the plenty and power he was then invested with could afford him; and therefore giving himself wholly up to them, and spending most of his time with lewd women, which he had in a great number got about him, he took no care at all of the government, but left it wholly to the administration of a favourite of his called *Ammonius*: Who managing himself in it with great insolence, tyranny, and cruelty, put to death *Queen Laodice* sister of *Demetrius* (who had been wife to *Perseus* King of *Macedon*) and *Antigonus* a son of his, that had been left behind when the other two were sent to *Cnidus*, and all others of the royal family that he could get into his power; thinking this the best means of securing to his master the possession of the crown, which by fraud and imposture he had usurped from them. Whereby he soon made both *Alexander* and himself very odious to all the people. Of which *Demetrius* the son of *Demetrius* (who had by his father been sent to *Cnidus* in the beginning of the late war, and was now grown up to years of puberty) having received notice, thought

An. 148.
Jona-
than 13.

^r Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 6. cap. 2.

^s Livii epitome lib. 50. Athenæus lib. 5. Justin. lib. 35.

^r Josephus lib. 13. cap. 8. Livius ibidem.

this a proper time for him to recover his right; and therefore "having by the means of *Lasthenes* his host hired a band of *Cretans*, landed with them in *Cilicia*, and there soon growing to a great army took possession of all that countrey; whereby *Alexander* being rouzed up from his sloth, was forced to leave his seraglio of concubines which he had got about him, to look after his affairs; and therefore having committed the government of *Antioch* to ^u*Hierax* and *Diodotus*, who was also called ^x*Tryphon*, he took the field with as many forces as he could get together; and hearing that *Apollonius* governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnicia* had declared for *Demetrius*, he called in King *Ptolemy* his father-in-law to his assistance.

BUT the name of *Apollonius* often occurring in the history of these times, before we proceed farther herein, it is necessary to give an account who the persons were that bore this name, that so this part of the history may be cleared from that confusion and obscurity, which otherwise it must lye under. For *Apollonius* being a very common name among the *Syro-Macedonians* as well as the *Greeks*, it was not always the same person whom we find mentioned by this name in the occurrences of those times. The first that we meet with of this name in the history of the *Maccabees* is *Apollonius* the son of *Thraseas*, ^zwho was governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnicia* under *Seleucus Philopator*, when *Heliodorus* came to *Jerusalem* to rob the temple; and afterwards by his authority in that province ^asupported *Simon* the governor of the temple at *Jerusalem* against *Onias* the High-priest. The same was also chief minister of state to the said King *Seleucus*: But on the coming of his brother *Antiochus Epiphanes* to the crown after him, *Apollonius* being some way made obnoxious to him left *Syria*, and ^bretired to *Miletus*. At the same time while he resided at *Miletus* ^che had a son of the same name at *Rome*, there bred up and residing with *Demetrius* the son of *Seleucus Philopator*, who was then an hostage in that place. This *Apollonius* being a prime favourite and confident of *Demetrius's*, was on his recovering of the crown of *Syria* made governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, the same government which his father was in under *Seleucus Philopator*. And this I take to be the *Apollonius*, who ^dbeing continued in the same government by *Alexander*, now revolted from him to embrace the interest of *Demetrius* the son of his old master. Another *Apollonius* is spoken of ^eas favourite and chief minister of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; but he being said to be the son of *Menestheus* is sufficiently distinguished by that character from the other two above-mentioned. He ^fwent ambassador from *Antiochus* first ^gto *Rome*, and afterwards to ^h*Ptolemy Philometor* King of *Egypt*; and him I take to be the same who in the history of the *Maccabees* is said ⁱto be over the tribute, and who on *Antiochus's* return from his last expedition into *Egypt* was sent with a detachment of twenty two thousand men to destroy *Jerusalem*, and build that fortress or citadel on mount *Acra*, which held the *Jews* there by the throat for many years after. Besides these there are two other *Apollonius's* mentioned in the history of the *Maccabees*; the first ^jwho be-

^u 1 Maccab. x. 67. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8. Justin. lib. 35. cap. 2. ^w Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valesii p. 346. ^x 1 Maccab. xi. 39. Josephus lib. 13. cap. 9.
^y Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8. ^z 2 Maccab. iii. 5. ^a 2 Maccab. iv. 4.
^b Polybius legat. 114. p. 944, 945. ^c Polybius ibid. ^d 1 Maccab. x. 69.
^e 2 Maccab. iv. 21. ^f Livius lib. 42. cap. 6. ^g 2 Maccab. iv. 21. ^h 1 Maccab. i. 29.
ⁱ 2 Maccab. v. 24. ^j 1 Maccab. iii. 10. Josephus antiq. lib. 12. c. 7. & c. 10.

ing governor of *Samaria* in the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, was slain in battel by *Judas Maccabæus*; and the other ^k called the son of *Gennæus*, who being governor of some toparchy in *Palestine* under *Antiochus Eupator*, then signalized himself by being a great enemy to the *Jews*.

APOLLONIUS having embraced the party of *Demetrius*, as I have mentioned, his first attempt was to reduce *Jonathan*, who held firm to the interest of *Alexander*, according to the league which he had made with him. And therefore ^l having drawn together a great army, he encamped with it at *Jamnia*, and from thence sent to *Jonathan* a proud braggadocio message to challenge him to come to battel with him: Whereon *Jonathan* marching out of *Jerusalem* with ten thousand men, took *Joppa* in the fight of *Apollonius* and his army; and after this joining battel with him, vanquished him in the open field, and pursued his broken forces to *Azotus*, and having taken that town, set it on fire and burnt it down to the ground, with the temple of *Dagon* that was in it, consuming all those with it that fled thither to save themselves; so that there perished that day of the enemies forces, what by the sword, and what by fire, about eight thousand men: After this treating other towns of the enemy in the countrey round after the same manner, he returned to *Jerusalem* with their spoils. Whereon ^m *Alexander* hearing of this victory gained in his interest, sent to *Jonathan* a buckle of gold, such as used only to be given those to wear who were of the royal family; and he gave him also the city of *Ecron* with the territory thereto belonging, and ordered him to be put in possession of it.

ABOUT this time ⁿ flourished *Hipparchus* of *Niçæa* in *Bithynia*, the most celebrated astronomer of all the ancients. He gave himself up to this study for thirty four years, making through all that time continual observations of the positions and motions of the heavenly bodies, which are still preserved in the works of *Ptolemy* the astronomer. These observations he began in the year before *Christ* 162, and ended them anno 128, soon after which year we suppose he died. The *Jews* call him ^o *Abrachus*, and his name is of great renown among them, and that very deservedly: For *Rabbi Samuel*, *Rabbi Adda*, and *Rabbi Hillel*, the authors of that form of the year, which they now use, were mostly beholden to him for the observations and calculations by which they made it.

PTOLEMY Philometor having been called to the assistance of his son-in-law *Alexander* King of *Syria*, ^p marched into *Palestine* with a great army for this purpose; and all the cities, as he passed, opening their gates to him, as being ordered by *Alexander* so to do, he left of his soldiers in each of them to strengthen their garrisons. ^q At *Joppa* *Jonathan* met him, and although many complaints were made against him about the devastations made by him in those parts after his late victory over *Apollonius*, yet he would take no notice of any of them, but *Jonathan* was received very kindly by him, and marched on with him to *Ptolemais*. On *Ptolemy's* coming thither ^r discovery was made of snares that were there laid for his life: For ^s *Ammonius*, who managed all affairs under *Alexander*, fearing that

^k 2 Maccab. xii. 2.

^l 1 Maccab. x. 69—87. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8.

^m 1 Maccab. x. 88, 89.

ⁿ Ptolemæi magna syntaxis, lib. 3. cap. 2. Plinius lib. 2. c. 26.

^o David Ganz sub anno 3534.

^p 1 Maccab. xi. 1—5. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8.

^q 1 Maccab. xi. 6, 7. Josephus ibid.

^r 1 Maccab. xi. 10. Josephus ibid.

^s Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8. Epitome Livii, lib. 50.

Ptolemy came with so great a power rather to serve his own interest by seizing *Syria* to himself than to succour *Alexander*; or else having received intelligence that this was really his intent, formed a design of having him cut off on his coming to *Ptolemais*, which *Ptolemy* having gotten full discovery of, marched forward to demand the traitor to be delivered to him: And *Jonathan* attended on him as far as the river *Eleutherus* in *Syria*. From thence ^c *Ptolemy* marched to *Seleucia* on the *Orantes*, where finding that *Alexander* would not deliver up *Ammonius* to him, he concluded him to be a party to the treason, and therefore taking his daughter from him, he gave her to *Demetrius*, and made a league with him for the restoring of him to his father's kingdom. Hereon ^e the *Antiochians*, who bore great hate to *Ammonius*, thinking this a fit time for the executing of their resentments upon him, rose in a tumult against him, and having slain him, as he endeavoured to escape in woman's cloaths, declared against *Alexander* and opened their gates to *Ptolemy*, and ^w would have made him their King; but ^x he declaring himself contented with his own dominions, instead of accepting this offer recommended to them the restoration of *Demetrius* the true heir (which is a certain proof he had no design upon *Syria* for himself, tho' this be said ^y in the first book of *Maccabees*) upon which recommendation *Demetrius* being received into the city, was placed on the throne of his ancestors, and all the inhabitants of *Antioch* declared for him. Whereon *Alexander*, who was then in *Cilicia*, coming thence with all his forces ^z, wasted the countrey round *Antioch* with fire and sword. This brought the two armies to a battel, ^a in which *Alexander* being vanquished, fled with only five hundred horse to *Zabdiel* an *Arabian* Prince, with whom he had before entrusted his children; but he being there slain by those he most confided in, his head was carried to *Ptolemy*, who was much pleased with the sight of it, but his joy did not last long; for having ^b received a dangerous wound in the battel, he died of it within a few days after. And thus *Alexander* King of *Syria*, and *Ptolemy Philometor* King of *Egypt*, both ended their lives together, the former having reigned five, and the other thirty five years. *Demetrius* succeeding in *Syria* by virtue of this victory, from hence called himself *Nicator*, i. e. the conqueror. But the succession in *Egypt* was not so easily determined.

THIS same year was render'd famous, not only by the death of these two Kings, but also by the destruction of two celebrated cities, *Carthage* and *Corinth*. The former ^c was destroyed by *Scipio Africanus jun.* after a war of three years, which was called the third *Punic* war. And the other ^d was taken and burnt by *L. Mummius* the *Roman* consul for this year. In the burning of this city all their brass being melted down and running together with other metals, this mixture ^e made the *as Corinthiacum*, i. e. the famous *Corinthian* brass of the ancients.

^c 1 Maccab. xi. 8—12. Josephus ibid. Livii epitome, lib. 52. Josephus ibid. ^w 1 Maccab. ibid. Josephus ibid. ^a Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8. ^y 1 Maccab. xi. 1. ^z 1 Maccab. xi. 15. Josephus ibid. ^b 1 Maccab. xi. 15, 16, 17. Josephus ibid. Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Photii, cod. 244. ^d 1 Maccab. xi. 18. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8. Polybius in excerptis Valefii, p. 194. Epitome Livii, lib. 52. Strabo lib. 16. p. 751. ^e Livii epitome, lib. 51. L. Florus, lib. 2. cap. 16. Appian, in Libycis. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 1. ^d Livii epit. lib. 52. L. Florus, lib. 2. c. 16. Pausanias in Achaicis. Justin. lib. 34. c. 2. ^e Plinius, lib. 34. c. 2. L. Florus ibid.

AT this same year ended the famous history of *Polybius*, which he wrote in forty books, commencing it from the beginning of the second *Punic* war, and ending it at the close of the third. But of this great and celebrated work now only five books remain entire; of the rest we have only fragments and abstracts. He was by birth of *Megalopolis* in *Arcadia*, and the son of *Lycortas* the famous supporter of the *Achaean* commonwealth in his time.

THIS commonwealth, much resembling that of the *Dutch*, was made out of the confederacy of several states and cities of *Peloponnesus* united together in one common league. ^s *Aratus* first made it considerable; ^s *Philopæmen* brought it to its highest perfection, and *Lycortas* as long as he lived kept it up in the same state. And *Polybius* his son, who was a person very eminent for all military and political knowledge, would have continued to have done the same, but that he was overborn by the *Romans*: For they becoming jealous what this growing commonwealth might at length come to, resolved to suppress it; in order whereto^h they forced from them a thousand of their best men, and made them live in *Italy* in manner of hostages, but chiefly with design that their commonwealth being deprived of its principal men, might sink and come to nothing through want of them. Of these thousand hostages *Polybius* was one of the chiefest: While he was thus confined he lived at *Rome*, and there made use of the leisure which that confinement afforded him to write this history. He had much of the favour and friendship of *Scipio Africanus jun.* to whom by reason of his learning and wisdom he was very dear; and therefore when he went into *Africa* in the third *Punic* war, he carried *Polybius* with him; and it was chiefly owing to the assistance of his counsel and advice that *Scipio* ended that war with success; and in that end of it *Polybius* concluded his history, much grieving that at the same time ended also the *Achaean* commonwealth in the destruction of *Corinth*, and the subjecting thereon to the *Roman* yoke the rest of the cities and states of which that commonwealth did consist. He lived a long while after, for he reached the eighty second year of his age.

CLEOPATRA Queen of *Egypt*, on the death of King *Philometor* An. 145.
Jona-
than 16. her brother and husband, ^k endeavoured to secure the succession for her son which she had by him; but he being then young, others set up for *Phyſcon* King of *Cyrene* the brother of the deceased, and sent ambassadors to call him to *Alexandria*. This necessitating *Cleopatra* to provide for the defence of her self and her son, *Onias* and *Dositheus* came to her with an army of *Jews* for her assistance. But at that time *Thermus* an ambassador from *Rome* being present at *Alexandria*, by his interposal matters were compromised on the terms that *Phyſcon* should take *Cleopatra* to wife, and breed up her son under his tuition for the next succession, and reign in the interim. That the *Egyptians* were thus delivered from a civil war, and the differences then among them on this occasion all brought to a composition in this manner, *Josephus* tells us was wholly owing to the assistance which *Onias* and *Dositheus* then brought to the Queen. However the per-

^f Videas Vossium de historicis Græcis, lib. 1. cap. 19. & Casauboni epistolam dedicatorem editioni suæ Polybii præmissam. ^g Plutarchus in Arato & Philopœmenē. ^h Pausanias in Achaicis & Arcadicis. Plutarchus in Catone Censore & alibi.

^k Justin. lib. 38. cap. 8. Josephus contra Apionem, libr. 2. Valerius Maximus lib. 9. cap. 1.

fidy of *Physon* made all this turn very little to the service or content of *Cleopatra*: For as soon as he had married her, and thereby got possession of the crown, he murdered her son in her arms on the very day of the nuptials, and thereby acted over again the same tragedy which *Ptolemy Ceraunus*¹ had before on the marriage of his sister *Arfinoe*, and such incestuous conjunctions well deserve such a curse to attend them. This King was commonly called ^m *Physon* by reason of his great belly, but the name ⁿ which he affected to assume was *Euergetes*, i. e. *the benefactor*; this the *Alexandrians* turned into *Kakergetes*, i. e. *the malefactor*, by reason of his great wickedness; for he was ^o the wickedest and cruellest, and also the most vile and despicable of all the *Ptolemys* that reigned in *Egypt*. He begun his reign with the murder of his nephew in the manner I have mentioned, and continued it with the same cruelty and wickedness all his reign after, putting many others to death almost every day, some upon groundless suspicions, some for small faults, and others for none at all, as the humour took him, and some again for no other reason but that under the pretence of forfeiture he might take all that they had. And those who were the forwardest to call him to the crown, were many of them the first that suffered by him.

AND things went not much better in *Syria*. *Demetrius*^p being young and unexperienced committed the management of his affairs to *Lasthenes*, by whose agency he hired those *Cretan* mercenaries that brought him to the crown, who being a wicked and rash man, did soon run himself into those male-administrations that alienated from his master the affections of those who should have supported him: And *Demetrius* himself being naturally of an unhappy and perverse disposition did not mend the matter. The first false step he made was towards those soldiers which *Ptolemy* had placed in the maritim towns of *Phœnicia* and *Syria* for the strengthening of their garrisons, as he passed by them toward *Antioch* in his late expedition thither. These if continued there would have been a great strength and support to him; but upon some suggestions growing jealous of them, ^q he sent orders to the other soldiers garrison'd with them to put them all to the sword; which being accordingly executed, this so disgusted the rest of the *Egyptian* army that were in *Syria*, and had there placed him on the throne, that they all left him and returned again into *Egypt*. After this ^r he proceeded to make a severe inquisition after those who had been against him or his father in the late wars, and put them all to death as he could get them into his power. And then thinking he had no more enemies to fear, ^s he disbanded the greatest part of his army, reserving none other in his pay but his *Cretans* and some other mercenaries; whereby he not only deprived himself of those veterans who served his father, and would have been his chief support in the throne, but made them also his bitterest enemies, by depriving them of the only means which they had whereby to subsist. The mischief of which he severely felt in the revolts and revolutions that after happen'd.

¹ See above part II. book I. under the year 280.

Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valesii, p. 351, & 375.

^o Athenæus ibid. Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valesii, p. 351, & 375. Justin. lib. 38. c. 8.

^p Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valesii, p. 346.

lib. 13. cap. 8.

^r Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valesii, p. 346, 349.

Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8.

^m Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. cap. 1. Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valesii, p. 351, & 375.

ⁿ Athenæus, lib. 12. p. 549. & lib. 4. p. 184.

^q 1 Maccab. xi. 18. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8.

^r 1 Maccab. xi. 38.

^s 1 Maccab. xi. 38.

IN the interim *Jonathan* finding all quiet in *Judæa* set himself to besiege the fortrefs which the heathen still held in *Jerusalem*, that by expelling them thence he might remedy those mischiefs which the *Jews* there suffered from them. And accordingly he beset the place with an army and engines of war in order to take it; of which complaint being made to *Demetrius*, he came to *Ptolemais*, and there summoned *Jonathan* to him to give an account of this matter. Whereon ordering the siege to still go on, he went to *Ptolemais* taking with him some of the priests and chief elders of the land, and also many rich and valuable presents; by virtue of which and his wise management he so mollified the King, and ingratiated himself so far with him and his ministers, that he not only rejected all accusations against him, but also honoured him with many favours. For he confirmed him in the High-priest's office, admitted him into a chief place among his friends, and on his request agreed to add to *Judæa* the three toparchys of *Apherema*, *Lydda* and *Ramatha*, which formerly belonged to *Samaria*, and to free the whole land under his government of all manner of taxes, tolls and tributes whatsoever, for three hundred talents to be paid in lieu of them, and then returned again to *Antioch*; where "going on in the same methods of cruelty, folly and rashness, he daily alienated the people more and more from him, till at length he made them all ready for a general defection.

WHICH being observed by *Diodotus* afterwards called *Tryphon*, who formerly had served *Alexander* as governor of *Antioch* in conjunction with *Hierax*, he "thought this a fit time for him to play a gaining game for his own interest, aiming at nothing less than by the advantage of these disorders to put the crown upon his own head. And therefore going into *Arabia* to **Zabdiel*, who had the bringing up of *Antiochus* the son of *Alexander*, laid before him the then state of affairs in *Syria*; telling him how all the people, and especially the soldiery, were disaffected to *Demetrius*, and that thereby a favourable opportunity was offered for recovering to *Antiochus* his father's kingdom; and therefore he desired, that the youth might be put into his hands, that he might prosecute this advantage for him. For his scheme of treason was first to claim the crown for *Antiochus*, and when he should have gotten it by virtue of that claim, then to make away that youth and wear it himself; and so it afterwards accordingly happen'd. But *Zabdiel* either seeing through the design, or else disliking the project, would not immediately yield to the proposal; which detained *Tryphon* there many days farther to press and solicit the matter, till at length either by the force of his importunities, or the force of his presents, he brought over *Zabdiel* to comply with him, and obtained from him what he desired.

* 1 Maccab. xi. 20—37. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 8.

" Justin lib. 36. cap. 1.

^w 1 Maccab. xi. 39. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9. Appian. in Syriacis. Epit. Livii, lib. 52. Strabo lib. 16. p. 752. ^x In the Greek original this *Zabdiel* is called *ἑλμαλκῆαι* from the Arabic word *Almelec*. i. e. the King. The former was the name of his person, the other of his office; for he was King of that part of Arabia where he lived. In some Greek copies it is *σιμαλκῆαι*, as in Aldus's, the Alexandrian, and the Complutensian, and out of one of these copies the English version being made hence therein we read *Simalcue*. But in what copy soever *σιμαλκῆαι* is found, it is by the error of the transcribers for *ἑλμαλκῆαι*; for it's certain the latter only can be the true reading. This the Syriac and Jerom's versions justify; and the word so written signifieth something, the other nothing.

IN the mean while *Jonathan* pressed hard on the siege of the fortress at *Jerusalem*, but finding no success in it he sent an embassy to *Demetrius*, to desire of him the withdrawing of this garrison, which he could not expel. *Demetrius* being then very much embarrassed by the tumults and seditions of the *Antiochians*, whom he had provoked to the utmost aversion both against him and his government, promised *Jonathan* that he would do this and much more for him, provided he would send him some forces for his assistance against the present mutineers; whereon *Jonathan* immediately dispatched away to him three thousand men. On their arrival *Demetrius* confiding in the strength of this recruit would have disarmed the *Antiochians*, and therefore commanded them all to bring in their arms; which they refusing to do rose all in a tumult, to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand men, and beset the palace with intent to slay the tyrant. Hereon the *Jews* coming to his assistance fell on them with fire and sword, burning a great part of the city, and slaying of the inhabitants about an hundred thousand persons; this brought the rest to pray for peace; which being granted them, the tumult ceased, and the *Jews* having thus retaliated upon the *Antiochians* what they had formerly suffered from them in *Judab* and *Jerusalem*, especially in the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, returned with vast spoils and great honour to their own countrey.

BUT *Demetrius* still going on with the same methods of cruelty, tyranny and oppression, put many to death for the late sedition, confiscated the goods of others, and drove great numbers into banishment: Whereon the whole kingdom being every where fill'd with hatred and anger against him, they only wanted an opportunity for their revenge for the executing of it upon him to the utmost. And notwithstanding his promises to *Jonathan*, and the great obligations which he owed to him for his late assistance, his conduct towards him was no better than to all the rest. For thinking now he should have no more need of him, he broke the bargain he had made with him at *Ptolemais*, of freeing him and his people from all taxes, tolls and tribute, for three hundred talents to be paid him for the redemption of them; and notwithstanding he had received the money, demanded that all the said taxes, tolls and tribute should be still paid in the utmost rigor as formerly, and threatened him with war unless this were done whereby he alienated the *Jews* as much from him; as he had all others.

An. 144.
Jona-
than 17.

WHILE things were in this state, *Tryphon* having at length obtained of *Zabdiel* to have *Antiochus* the son of *Alexander* delivered unto him, came with him into *Syria*, and there laid claim to the kingdom for him; whereon all the soldiers whom *Demetrius* had disbanded, and multitudes of others whom he had by his ill conduct made his enemies, flocked to the pretender, and having declared him King marched under his banner against *Demetrius*; and having vanquished him in battel, forced him into *Seleucia*, took all his elephants, and made themselves masters of *Antioch*, and there placed *Antiochus* upon the throne of the Kings of *Syria*, giving him the name of *Theos* or the Divine.

^a 1 Maccab. xi. 41—52. Josephus lib. 13. cap. 9. Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valesii, p. 347, 348. ^b Diodorus Siculus ibidem. ^c 1 Maccab. xi. 53. ^d Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9. ^e 1 Maccab. xi. 54—56. Epit. Livii. lib. 52. Josephus ibid. Appian. in Syriacis.

AND *Jonathan* being provoked by the ill return, *Demetrius* had made him for his great services to him, accepted of the invitation, which he had received from the new King of coming into his interest. For as soon as *Antiochus* had gained *Antioch*, there ^d was sent from him an embassy to *Jonathan* with letters written in his name, whereby the High-priest's office was confirmed to him, the grant of the three toparchies renewed, and a fourth added to them, and he was allowed to wear purple, and the golden buckle, and to have place among the chief of the King's friends; and many other privileges and advantages were moreover added. And *Simon* was made chief commander of all the King's forces from ^e the ladder of *Tyre* to the borders of *Egypt*, on condition that these two brothers and the *Jews* would declare for him; which *Jonathan* readily consented to, having just reason for it, from the ill conduct of *Demetrius* towards him. Whereon ^f a commission was sent him to raise forces for the service of *Antiochus* through all *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, by virtue whereof having gotten together a great army ^g he marched round the countrey even as far as *Damascus* to secure all in those parts to the interest of *Antiochus*. For ^h the diverting of *Jonathan* from this purpose, the forces which *Demetrius* had in *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnicia* drew together and invaded *Galilee*; whereon ⁱ *Jonathan* marched thither to oppose them, ^k leaving *Simon* to command in *Judæa*. On ^l his first coming into *Galilee* being drawn into an ambush he had like to have been over-born by the enemy, and most of his forces falling into a panick fear fled from him, excepting a very few of the valiantest of them. But these few making a resolute stand the rest rallied, and coming on again to the fight won the victory. And ^m *Simon* in the interim laying siege to *Bethsura* forced it to a surrender, and thereby expelled the heathen, who had long kept a garrison there to the great annoyance of all the countrey round it.

JONATHAN on his return into *Judæa* finding all things there in quiet ⁿ sent ambassadors to the *Romans* to renew with them the league, which they made with *Judas*, who being introduced into the senate were there received with honour, and dismissed with their full satisfaction. On their return from *Rome* their orders were to address themselves to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the other allies of the *Jews* in those parts for the like renewing of their leagues with them; which they having accordingly done, they returned to *Jerusalem*, bringing back with them full success in all the negotiations, on which they were sent.

THE ^o captains of *Demetrius's* forces, whom *Jonathan* had lately vanquished in *Galilee*, having by new reinforcements much encreased their number and strength came the second time against him, whereon he marched out to meet them as far as *Amathis* in the utmost confines of *Canaan*, and there encamped against them; where being informed by his spies, that their intent was to storm his camp the next night, he took care to be in full readiness to receive them; which the enemy finding on their approach,

^d 1 Maccab. xi. 57—59. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9
so called, lying on the sea coast between Tyre and Ptolemais.

^e The ladder of Tyre is a mountain
^f Josephus ibid.

^g 1 Maccab. xi. 60. 62. Josephus ibidem.

^h 1 Maccab. xi. 63.

ⁱ 1 Maccab. xi. 64.

Josephus ibid. ^k 1 Maccab. & Josephus ibidem.

^l 1 Maccab. xi. 67—74.

^m 1 Maccab. xi. 65, 66. & chap. xiv. 7. & 33. Josephus ibidem.

ⁿ 1 Maccab. xii. 1—23.

Josephus ibidem.

^o 1 Maccab. xii. 24—34. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9.

they were so discouraged at the disappointment, that returning to their camp and lighting fires in it to make it believed that they were still there, they marched off in the night, and were got so far by the time *Jonathan* found they were gone, that tho' he immediately on the discovery of it pursued after them, yet it was all in vain: For they had passed the river *Eleutherus*, and were thereby got out of his reach before he could come up thither. After this he led back his army against the *Arabs* that were of *Demetrius's* party, and having smitten them and taken their spoils, turned his course towards *Damascus*, and passing over the countrey thereabout, made strict inquiry after all that were adversaries to the interest of *Antiochus*, and suppressed them every where. And while he was thus employed beyond *Jordan*, *Simon* his brother was not idle in *Judæa*: For marching thence into the land of the *Philistines* he made all there submit to him, and having taken *Joppa* he placed a strong garrison in it.

AFTER this both brothers being returned to *Jerusalem*,^p they called the great council of the nation together to consult about the repairing and new fortifying of *Jerusalem*, and other strong holds in *Judæa*, so that they might be made tenable against any enemy that should come against them. And it being then agreed that the walls of *Jerusalem* where they were broken down or decayed should be repaired, and where too low should be built higher, and every thing else done that was necessary thoroughly to fortify the place, all this was immediately set about and carried on with the utmost expedition. And at the same time they built a wall or mount between the fortress and the rest of the city, that the heathen who were in garrison there might receive no relief of provision, or of any thing else that way, which soon reduced them to great distress, and very much forwarded that necessity, whereby at last they were forced to surrender the place. *Jonathan* took on himself the oversight of all these works at *Jerusalem*, and while he was there thus employed, *Simon* went into the countrey, and did the same as to all the other fortresses and strong holds that were in the land, and thereby the whole countrey became well fortified against any enemy that should come to make war against it.

TRYPHON^q thinking his plot for the making away of *Antiochus*, and seizing the crown of *Syria* to himself, now ripe for execution in all other particulars save only that he foresaw *Jonathan* would never be brought to bear so great a villany, resolved at any rate to take him out of the way; and therefore marched with a great army towards *Judæa* in order to get him into his power, that so he might put him to death. On his coming to *Bethsan* there *Jonathan* met him with forty thousand men. *Tryphon* seeing him at the head of so great an army durst not openly attempt any thing against him, but endeavoured to deceive him by flattering words, and a false appearance of friendship; pretending that he came thither only to consult with him about their common interest, and to put *Ptolemais* into his hands, which he intended wholly to resign to him; and having deceived him by these fair pretences, he persuaded him to send away all his army except three thousand men, two thousand of which he sent into *Galilee*, and with the other thousand he went with *Tryphon* to *Ptolemais*, expecting according to the oath of that traitor to have the place delivered to him; but as

^p 1 Maccab. xii. 35—38. Josephus lib. 13. cap. 9. phus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 10.

^q 1 Maccab. xii. 39—52. Jose-

soon as he and his company were got within the walls the gates were shut upon them, and *Jonathan* was made a prisoner, and all his men were put to the sword; and immediately forces were sent out to cut off the two thousand also that were in *Galilee*: But they having notice of what had been done to *Jonathan* and his men at *Ptolemais*, encouraged each other to stand to their defence, and then joining close together put themselves in a posture resolutely to fight for their lives; which the enemy perceiving durst not attack them, but permitted them quietly to march off, and they all returned safe to *Jerusalem*, where was great lamentation for what had happen'd to *Jonathan*: For hereon^r all the heathen round about finding the *Jews* thus deprived of their captain were making ready to destroy them: And *Tryphon* drawing together all his forces for the same purpose reckon'd on this opportunity utterly to cut off and extirpate the whole nation. Whereon^s the people being in great fears, *Simon* went up to the temple, and then^t calling the people together to him, encouraged them to stand to their defence, and offered himself to fight for them, as his father and brothers had done before him. Whereon their hearts being again raised, and their drooping spirits revived, they unanimously made choice of *Simon* to be their captain in the place of *Jonathan*, and under his conduct and direction immediately set themselves hard at work for the finishing of the fortifications at *Jerusalem* which *Jonathan* had begun: And on *Tryphon's* approach to invade the land, "*Simon* led forth a great army against him; whereon *Tryphon* not daring to engage him in battel, sent to him a deceitful message, telling him that he had seized *Jonathan* only because he owed an hundred talents to the King, that in case he would send the money, and *Jonathan's* two sons to be hostages for their father's fidelity to the King, he would set him again at liberty. Tho' *Simon* well saw all this was fraud and deceit, yet he complied to avoid the ill report which otherwise might have been raised against him, as if he had wilfully caused his brother's death by the refusal; and therefore sent both the money and the young men. But the false traitor, according as *Simon* foresaw, when he had received all that he demanded, would do nothing of what he had promised, but still detained *Jonathan* in chains: And after having gotten together more forces, "*he* came again to invade the land with intent utterly to destroy it; but *Simon* coasting him wherever he marched, opposed and baffled him in all his designs. At this time the heathen garrison in the fortrels at *Jerusalem* being much distressed by reason of the blockade laid at it first by *Jonathan*, and now continued by *Simon*, pressed hard for relief; and *Tryphon* having accordingly formed a design of sending relief to them, ordered out all his horse one night for the executing of it: But they had not marched far e'er there fell so great a snow, as not only made their farther proceeding on this enterprize impracticable, but also forced *Tryphon* and all his army next day to decamp and be gone, as being able no longer to bear abroad in the field the severity of

^r 1 Maccab. xii. 53.

^s 1 Maccab. xiii. 1—11. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 11.

^t The outer court of the temple, which was called the court of the Gentiles, was the place where the people assembled on all occasions. It was called the court of the Gentiles because so far as into this court the Gentiles of what nation soever might come, but were not allowed to pass the Chel into the inner courts, unless they were circumcised and made thorough proselytes to the whole Jewish law.

^u 1 Maccab. xiii. 12—19. Josephus ibid.

^w 1 Maccab. xiii. 20—24.

the season. On his retreat from thence to his winter quarters, coming to *Bascama* in the land of *Gilead*, he there put *Jonathan* to death: And after that thinking he had no one else to fear for the obstructing of him in the ultimate execution of his designs, he * caused *Antiochus* to be secretly put to death, giving out that he died of the stone, and then assuming the crown, declared himself King of *Syria* in his stead.

AN. 143. *SIMON 1.* WHEN *Simon* heard of his brother's death, and that they had buried him at *Bascama*, he † sent thither and fetched his bones from thence, and buried them in the sepulchre of his father at *Modin*, over which he afterward erected a very famous monument of a great height, all built of white marble curiously wrought and polished, near which he placed seven pyramids, two for his father and mother, four for his four brothers, and the seventh for himself; and then encompassed the whole with a stately portico supported by marble pillars each of an whole piece: All which was a very excellent work, and being erected on an eminence was seen far off at sea, and was taken notice of as a remarkable sea-mark on that coast, whereby sea-faring men who sailed that way directed their course. *Josephus* ‡ tells us that it was remaining entire in his time, and then looked on as a curious and very excellent piece of architecture: And *Eusebius* also § speaks of it as still in being in his time, which was above two hundred years after the time of *Josephus*.

TRYPHON having usurped the crown of *Syria*, would gladly have himself † acknowledged King by the *Romans*, as thinking this would add great reputation both to himself and his affairs, and therefore sent a splendid embassy to them, with the present of a golden image of victory to the value of ten thousand pieces of gold, hoping to obtain both for the sake of so valuable a gift, and the good omen of victory which the image carried with it, to be owned by them as King of *Syria*. But the *Romans* cunningly eluding his expectations received the image, and ordered to be engraven on it the name of *Antiochus*, whom *Tryphon* had lately murdered, as if he had been the donor of it.

BUT the ambassadors of *Simon* were there received with much more respect; for as soon as *Jonathan* was dead, and *Simon* admitted to be his successor, both in the high-priesthood and government of the land, he sent ambassadors to notify it to the *Romans* and other allies. The *Romans* † were very sorry at the death of *Jonathan*, but when they heard that *Simon* was in his place, this was well pleasing to them; and therefore when his ambassadors approached *Rome*, they sent out ‡ to meet them, and received them with honour, § and readily renewed all their former leagues made with his predecessors; which being written in tables of brass, were carried to *Jerusalem* and there read before all the people. And the same ambassadors on their return from *Rome*, ¶ went also to the *Lacedæmonians*, and other allies

* 1 Maccab. xiii. 31, 32. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 12. Epit. Livii, lib. 55. Justin. lib. 36. cap. 1. The words of Josephus concerning the death of Antiochus are, that it was given out *ὡς χειρουργοῦντο δυνάμει*, i. e. as if he had died while under the hands of the surgeon for cure: For so the word *χειρουργοῦν* is used in Hippocrates; and Livy telling us that his pretended disease was the stone, it may from hence be inferred, that what was given out was that he died under the hands of the surgeon cutting him for the stone.

cap. 11.

† In libello *ἀπὸ τῶν τοπικῶν ὁνομασιῶν*.

‡ Diodorus Siculus legat. 31.

§ 1 Maccab. xiv. 16, 17.

¶ 1 Maccab. xiv. 40. Gr. *ἀπώστησαν*.

1 Maccab. xiv. 18, 19.

1 Maccab. xiv. 20—23.

of the *Jews*, and in the name of *Simon* renewed in like manner all former leagues with them, and returned with authentic instruments hereof to *Jerusalem*.

^f *SARPEDON* one of *Demetrius's* captains coming into *Phœnicia* with an army, a battel happen'd between him and the forces which *Tryphon* had in those parts. This battel was fought near the walls of *Ptolemais*, in which *Sarpedon* being vanquished, he retreated into the inland countrey: But the *Tryphonians* on their return from the pursuit marching back to *Ptolemais* on the beach of the sea, a sudden tide coming upon them, overwhelmed a great number of their men; and then going back again with as sudden an ebb as it had come on with a flow, left the dead bodies on the strand with a great quantity of fish mingled with them; whereon *Sarpedon's* men again returning took up the fish, and by way of thanksgiving for them, and the destruction that had befallen the enemy, offered sacrifices to *Neptune* before the very gates of *Ptolemais*, in the same place where the battel had been before fought.

BUT while *Demetrius's* soldiers were thus fighting for him in the field, he lay idle at *Laodicea*, glutting himself with all the vile pleasures of luxury and lewdness, without being made wiser by his calamities, or seeming at all to be sensible of them. However *Tryphon* having given sufficient reason for the *Jews* utterly to renounce him and his party, *Simon* ^h sent a crown of gold to *Demetrius*, and ambassadors to treat with him about terms of peace and alliance; who having obtained from that Prince a grant of confirmation of the high-priesthood and principality to *Simon*, and a release of all taxes, tolls, and tributes, with an oblivion of all past acts of hostility, on the condition of the *Jews* joining with him against *Tryphon*, they returned to *Jerusalem* with letters under the royal signature containing the same; which being accepted of and confirmed by all the people of the *Jews*, by virtue hereof *Simon* was made sovereign Prince of the *Jews*, and the land freed from all foreign yolk. And therefore the *Jews* from this time, instead of dating their instruments and contracts by the years of the *Syrian* Kings, as they had hitherto done, thenceforth dated them by the years of *Simon* and his successors.

SIMON having thus obtained the independent sovereignty of the land, ⁱ made a progress through it to see to, and provide for, its security, repairing the fortifications in those cities and places where they were decayed, and making new ones in those where they were wanting; and this he especially did at *Bethsura* and *Joppa*: The former he made a place of arms, and put a strong garrison in it; and the latter being the nearest maritim town to *Jerusalem*, tho' at the distance of forty miles from it, ^k he made it the sea-port to that city and all *Judæa*, it being the fittest place on all that coast for the carrying on of their trade through it to all the isles and countries in the *Mediterranean*; and it served them for this purpose for many ages after, as it still doth the inhabitants of that countrey even to this day, and it is there still known by the same name.

^f Strabo, lib. 16. p. 758. Athenæus, lib. 8. p. 333.

tesii, p. 353.

cap. 11.

^h 1 Maccab. xiii. 34—42. and chap. xiv. 38—41.

ⁱ 1 Maccab. xiii. 33. and chap. xiv. 7, 33.

^g Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Val-

Josephus antiq. lib. 13.

^k 1 Maccab. xiv. 5, 34.

AND whereas ¹*Gazara* on the death of *Jonathan* had revolted, he laid siege to the place and having reduced it, he cast out all the heathen out of the city, and planted it wholly with *Jews*, and having well fortified it built an house there for himself, wherein he might lodge, when his affairs should call him to that place.

An. 142.
Simon 2.

THE heathen in the fortrefs at *Jerusalem* since *Jonathan's* building of the wall against them, which did cut them off from all communication with the rest of the city, being much distressed for want of provisions, and all other necessaries, ^m were thereby at length brought to that necessity, as forced them to surrender the place and depart the land; whereon *Simon* took possession of it, and thereby delivered *Israel* from a great grievance; that garrison having been a terrible thorn in their side ever since *Antiochus Epiphanes* first placed it there. And that they might no more in like manner be annoyed from that place, ⁿ *Simon* demolished not only the fortrefs, but also the hill it self on which it stood; for it overtopping, and thereby commanding the mountain of the temple, if any other enemy should at any time after seize that place, they might from thence cause them the same mischief. And therefore *Simon* having called the people together, and fully laid before them what they had suffered from that place, and what they might again suffer, should it at any time after again fall into the hands of an enemy, proposed to them the digging down of the mountain it self to the level of the mountain of the temple, that so there might not be left a possibility of any more annoying the temple from that place; which they all readily consenting to immediately did set about the work; and carried it on with great assiduity, all taking their turns in it, till at length after three years constant labour employed herein, they fully finished all that was intended. And while this was a doing, ^o *Simon* new fortified the mountain of the temple, repairing the outer wall, and making it stronger than it was before; and provided habitations within it both for himself and company, and there he afterwards dwelt; and most likely his house stood where the castle *Antonia* was afterwards built.

SIMON ^p finding his son *John*, afterwards called *Hyrcaus*, to be a valiant man, and very expert in all military affairs, he made him general of all the forces of *Judaea*, and sent him to live at *Gazara*, that being a border which most wanted his presence; and *Joppa* being in the neighbourhood, perchance to be nigh that place for the supervising of those works, that were there carrying on by his order for the making of it a

¹ 1 Maccab. xiii. 43—48. Here in the Greek original as well as our English version it is *Gaza* (Ψ . 43.) but beyond all doubt it is here put for *Gazara* by the error of transcribers; for the taking of *Gazara* is spoken of among the good works of *Simon*, 1 Maccab. xiv. 7, 34. and also by *Josephus* lib. 13. cap. 11. but nothing is said in either of these histories of *Simon's* taking of *Gaza*. And *Gazara* is often mentioned in them as in the hands of *Simon*, but *Gaza* never (except alone in this place.) This city of *Gazara* is the same with the ancient *Gezer* so often mentioned in the scriptures of the Old Testament. And here most likely it was that *Simon* built him an house, 1 Macc. xiii. 48. and that this was the house wherein *John* his son dwelt, when he sent him to reside at *Gazara*, and there command his forces in those parts. *Strabo* calls this city *Gadaris*, and placeth it near *Azotus* (as the author of the first book of *Maccabees* doth xiv. 34.) and saith of it, that the *Jews* had taken possession of it, lib. 16 p. 759.

^m 1 Maccab. xiii. 49—52.

ⁿ *Josephus* antiq. lib. 13. c. 11.

^o 1 Maccab. xiii. 52.

^p 1 Maccab. xiii. 53.

convenient sea-port for all *Judæa*, might be another reason why he appointed him to have his residence in that place.

DEMETRIUS was at length roused up from his sloth by many ^{An. 141.} messages out of the east inviting him thither. For ^{Simon 3.} the *Parthians* having now over-run in a manner all the east, and subjugated to them all the countries of *Asia* from the river *Indus* to the *Euphrates*, those that were of the *Macedonian* race in those countries not bearing this usurpation, nor that pride and insolence, with which those new masters ruled over them, earnestly invited *Demetrius* by repeated embassies to come into those parts, promising him a general revolt from the *Parthians*, and such assistance of forces against them, as should enable him absolutely to suppress those usurpers, and recover again all the provinces of the east to his empire; with which hopes *Demetrius* being excited to undertake this expedition marched over the *Euphrates*, leaving *Tryphon* in possession of the greater part of *Syria* behind him; for he reckoned, that after he should have made himself master of the east, he should have such an augmentation of power, as would best enable him to suppress that rebel on his return. As soon as he came eastward, the *Elymeans*, the *Persians*, and the *Bactrians* declared for him, and by their assistance he overthrew the *Parthians* in many conflicts. But at last under the shew of a treaty of peace being drawn into a snare he was taken prisoner, and all his army cut in pieces; and hereby the *Parthian* empire became established with that greatness of power, and firmness of stability, as to make it last for several ages after to the terror of all within their reach, even to the rivalling of the *Romans* themselves in the strength of their arms, and the prowess and fame of their military exploits.

THE King that reigned in *Parthia* at this time was ¹ *Mithridates* the son of *Priapatus*, a very valiant and wise prince. How *Arsaces* first founded the kingdom of the *Parthians*, and how *Arsaces* his son after settled and established it by a treaty of peace with *Antiochus the Great*, hath been ² already related. The son and successor of the second *Arsaces* ³ was *Priapatus* called also *Arsaces* (that being the family name of all the Kings of this race;) he having reigned fifteen years left the crown at his death to ⁴ *Phrakates* his eldest son; after whose death succeeded this ⁵ *Mithridates* his brother, the *Parthian* King, into whose hands *Demetrius* fell. He was therefore from *Arsaces* the first founder of that kingdom the fourth in descent, and the fifth in succession of reigning, and not the sixth, ⁶ as *Orosius* saith. He having ⁷ subdued the *Medes*, the *Elymeans*, the *Persians*, and the *Bactrians*, extended his dominions into *India* beyond the boundaries of *Alexander's* conquests, and having vanquished *Demetrius* ⁸ finally secured *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia* also to his empire; so that thenceforth he had *Euphrates* on the west, as well as the *Ganges* on the east for the limits of his empire.

AFTER *Mithridates* had thus gotten *Demetrius* into his power ⁹ he carried him round the revolted provinces, and exposed him every where

¹ Justin. lib. 36. c. 1. & lib. 38. cap. 9. 1 Maccab. xiv. 1—3. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9. & cap. 12. Orosius lib. 5. cap. 4. ² Justin. lib. 41. cap. 5, & 6. Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valefii, p. 359, 360. ³ Part II. Book II. under the year 208. ⁴ Justin. lib. 41. cap. 5. ⁵ Lib. 5. cap. 4. ⁶ Diodorus Siculus ibidem. Orosius lib. 5. cap. 4. ⁷ Orosius ibid. Justin. lib. 41. cap. 6. ⁸ Justin. lib. 36. cap. 8.

to their view, that they by seeing the Prince, whom they confided in, reduced to this ignominious and low condition, might be the easier brought to submit again to their former yoke. But when this shew was over, he allowed him a maintenance suitable to the state of a King, ² and sending him into *Hyrkania* to reside gave him *Rhodaguna* one of his daughters in marriage. However he kept him still in captivity, though with as much freedom as was consistent with a captive state, and at his death left him in this condition ^a to *Phrabates* his son, who succeeded him in the kingdom. It is particularly related of *Mithridates*, ^b that having conquered several nations he gathered from every one of them whatsoever he found best in their constitutions, and then out of the whole collection made a body of most wholesome laws for the government of his empire.

IN ^c a general congregation of the priests and elders, and all the people of the *Jews* assembled together at *Jerusalem*, it was agreed by the unanimous consent of all present, that the supreme government of the nation, as well as the high-priesthood should be conferred on *Simon*, and settled both upon him and his posterity after him. This had before been personally settled on *Simon* by the grant of *Demetrius* the *Syrian* King, and the same was now granted also by the whole nation of the *Jews*, and the settlement made not only on the person of *Simon*, but upon him and his descendants for ever. And a publick act or instrument in writing was made hereof, wherein it being recited what good deeds *Simon* and his family had done for the people of the *Jews*, they in acknowledgement hereof constituted him their Prince, as well as their High-priest, and granted both dignities to him, and his posterity after him; a copy of which act they ordered to be engraven on tables of brass, and hung up in the sanctuary, and laid up the original in the sacred archives belonging to the treasury of the temple. And from that time *Simon* took on him the state, style, and authority of Prince, as well as High-priest of the *Jews*, and all publick acts thenceforth went in his name. And after him both these dignities descended together to his posterity, and continued among them thus united together for several descents, they being at the same time sovereign pontiffs, and sovereign Princes of the *Jewish* nation. This act bore date on the 18th day of the month *Elul* (which was the sixth of their months) in the 172^d year of the æra of the *Seleucidae*, and the third of *Simon's* pontificate.

AT this time the *Jews* tell us ^d *Simeon Ben Shetach* and *Jehudab Ben Tabbai* were the rectors and chief teachers of the divinity school at *Jerusalem*; the first of which, they say, was president, and the other vice-president of the *Sanhedrim*: Of these several fables are told in the *Talmud*, which are not worth troubling the reader with.

An. 140.
Simon 4.

QUEEN *Cleopatra* on her husband's captivity in *Parthia* ^e shut up her self with her children in *Seleucia* on the *Orontes*, and there many of *Tryphon's* soldiers revolted to her; for being naturally of a brutish and cruel temper he had artfully concealed this under the cloak of affability and good temper, as long as he was courting the favour of the people for the carrying on of his ambitious designs. But when he was possessed of the

² Justin. *ibid.* & lib. 38. cap. 9.

^a Justin. lib. 38. c. 9. & lib. 42. cap. 1.

^b Diodorus Sic. in excerptis Valesii, p. 361.

^c 1 Maccab. xiv. 26—49.

^d Juchasin Shalsheth Haccabbala. Zemach David.

^e Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 12.

crown, and *Demetrius* made a prisoner in *Parthia*, he cast of all guard and restraint, which till then he had put upon his inclinations, and let himself loose to his own natural disposition; which being such, as many about him could not bear, this caused many desertions from him to *Cleopatra*. But still her party alone was not strong enough to support her, and therefore fearing lest the people of *Seleucia* would rather give her up to *Tryphon* than suffer a siege for her sake, she ^fsent to *Antiochus Sidetes* the brother of *Demetrius* to join his interest with hers, offering him the crown and her self in marriage on this condition. For hearing of the marriage of *Demetrius* with *Rhodaguna* in *Parthia*, and being greatly provoked thereby, she cast of all regard for him, and resolved to seek a new interest for her support by disposing of her self in marriage elsewhere, and not seeing where she could do this more to her advantage, than to the next heir of the crown, she therefore sent for him, and made him her husband.

THIS *Antiochus* was ^hsecond son to *Demetrius Soter*, and on the wars which that Prince had with *Alexander Balas*, was sent to *Cnidus* with his brother *Demetrius* the now captive King of *Syria*, to be there kept out of harms way, as hath been already related. He seems to have still continued in those parts after his brother's recovering the crown; for ⁱhe is said to have been at *Rhodes*, when *Demetrius* was taken prisoner, and therefore no doubt in that place it was, that *Cleopatra's* message found him. For he having on the receiving of it accepted the offer, and thereon taken upon him the style and title of King of *Syria*, ^khe wrote a letter to *Simon* dated from the isles of the sea, and most likely this was from *Rhodes*, since he is said to have been there so lately before, as at the time of the first news of his brother's captivity.

THE substance of his letter to *Simon* was ^lto complain of the unjust usurpation of *Tryphon*, and to let him know, that he was preparing to come into *Syria* to take vengeance of that usurper; and recover his father's kingdom; and therefore to gain him over to his interest makes him many grants, and promiseth him many more, when he should be fully settled in the throne, as may be seen in that letter, 1 *Maccab.* xv. 2—9.

AND accordingly in the beginning of the next year ^mhe landed in *Syria* with an army of mercenaries, whom he had hired in *Greece*, lesser *Asia*, and the isles, and having married *Cleopatra* joined her forces to his own, and marched against *Tryphon*. Whereon ⁿmost of the usurper's forces now weary of his tyranny went over from him to *Antiochus*, which augmented his army to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse. This being a power *Tryphon* could not keep the field against, he retreated to *Dora*, a city near *Ptolemais* in *Phœnicia*, where being besieged by *Antiochus* with all his forces both by sea and land, and finding the place not capable of long holding out against so great a power, he made his escape by sea to *Orthosia*, another maritim town in *Phœnicia*, from whence flying to *Apamia* his own native city, he was there taken and put to death. And hereby an end being put to his

^f Josephus ibid. Appian. in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 36. cap. 1

^g Appian. ibid.

^h Justin. ibid. Appian. in Syriacis.

ⁱ Appian ibid.

^k 1 *Maccab.* xv. 1.

^l 1 *Maccab.* xv. 2—9.

^m 1 *Maccab.* xv. 10. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 12.

ⁿ 1 *Maccab.* xv. 11.—14.

Josephus ibid. Appianus in Syriacis.

usurpation, *Antiochus* became fully possessed of his father's throne, and sat in it nine years. He ^o being much given to hunting had the name *Sidetes* (i. e. *the hunter*) given unto him, from *Zidab* a word of that signification in the *Syriac* language.

SIMON being inflated in the sovereign command of *Judæa* by the general consent of all that nation in the manner as above related, thought it would be of great advantage to him for his firmer establishment in it to get himself acknowledged what they had made him by the *Romans*, and to have all their former leagues and allowances renewed with him under the style and title which he then bore of High-Priest and Prince of the *Jews*. And ^p therefore he sent another embassy to them for this purpose with a present of a large shield of gold weighing a thousand *Mine*, which according to the lowest computation of an *Attic Mina* amounted to the value of fifty thousand pound of our present sterling money. Both the present and the embassy were very acceptable to the senate, and therefore they not only renewed their league and alliance with *Simon* and his people in the manner he desired, but also ordered that *Lucius Cornelius Piso* one of the consuls should write letters to *Ptolemy* King of *Egypt*, *Attalus* King of *Pergamus*, *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*, *Demetrius* King of *Syria*, and *Mithridates* King of *Parthia*, and to all the cities and states of *Greece*, *lesser Asia*, and the isles that were then in alliance with them, to let them know that the *Jews* were their friends and allies, and that therefore they should not attempt any thing to their damage, or protect any traitors or fugitives of that nation against them, but should deliver up to *Simon* the High-priest and Prince of the *Jews* all such traitors and fugitives as should flee unto them whenever demanded by him.

THE letters to the *Syrian* King were directed to *Demetrius*, though then a prisoner in *Parthia*, because neither *Tryphon* nor *Antiochus Sidetes*, who were then contending for the crown at the time when these letters were written, were either of them acknowledged as King by the *Romans*; and therefore when these letters were brought into *Syria*, they were of no benefit to *Simon* or the *Jews*: For *Antiochus* having no regard to them, as not being written to him, as soon as he had driven *Tryphon* out of the field, took the first opportunity to quarrel with *Simon*. For although *Simon* ^q sent to *Antiochus* while he was besieging *Tryphon* at *Dora* two thousand chosen men for his assistance, with gold, and silver, and arms, and other instruments and engines of war, he would not receive any of them, but rescinding all that he had formerly granted or promised, sent *Athenobius* one of his friends to him to remand the restoration of *Gazara*, *Joppa*, and the fortrefs of *Jerusalem*, with several other places then held by *Simon*, which he claimed as belonging to the kingdom of *Syria*, or else five hundred talents in lieu of them, and five hundred talents more for the damages that were done by the *Jews* within the borders of his other dominions. On ^r *Athenobius*'s coming to *Jerusalem* with this message *Simon*'s answer was, that for *Gazara* and *Joppa* he was content to pay the King an hundred talents; but as to all the rest he told him it was the inheritance of their fore-fathers, which they had for a time been wrongfully deprived of, and that having now again gotten possession of it, they were resolved to keep it. This answer very much angring *Athenobius*, he without replying any thing thereto

^o Plutarchus in problem.

^p 1 Maccab. xiv. 24. & cap. xv. 25.

^q 1 Maccab. xv.

26—32.

^r 1 Maccab. xv. 32—36.

returned in great wrath to the King, and made report to him of what *Simon* had said, and also of what he had seen of the pomp and grandeur in which he lived. For being now sovereign Prince of the *Jews* he was served in much plate of gold and silver, had many attendants, and in all things else appeared in the same manner of splendor and glory as other Princes did; at all which the King being very much offended, resolved on a war against him: And therefore ^s having made *Cendebæus*, one of his nobles, captain and governor of the sea-coasts of *Palestine*, he sent him with one part of his army to fight against *Simon*, and in the mean time he with the other pursued after *Tryphon*, till he had taken and slain him in the manner as I have mentioned.

CENDEBÆUS forthwith ^r marched with his forces into the parts near *Jamnia* and *Joppa*, and having there, according to the orders which he had received from the King, fortified *Kedron*, he placed a strong party of his army in it, and from thence began to make inroads upon the *Jews*, and to kill, and plunder, and commit all manner of hostilities in their land. Whereon ^u *John* the son of *Simon*, who lived at *Gazara* in the neighbourhood, went from thence to *Jerusalem* to acquaint his father of these particulars. By which *Simon* perceiving that the intention of *Antiochus* was to make war upon him, got together an army of twenty thousand foot, with a proportionable number of horse. And because he himself being now broken with age could no more bear the fatigues of war, he committed the command of them to *Judas* and *John* his sons, and sent them forth to fight the enemy. The first night after they took the field they encamped at *Modin*, the original seat of their family, and from thence the next day after marched out against *Cendebæus*. This soon brought it to a battel between them, in which *Cendebæus* being overthrown, lost two thousand of his men, and the rest fled part to *Kedron*, and part to other strong holds near the field of battel, and part to *Azotus*. *Judas* being wounded in the fight was forced to stay behind; but *John* following the pursuit till he came to *Azotus*, and having there taken their fortresses and towers of defence burned them with fire. After this the two brothers having driven the *Syrians* out of those parts, and settled all matters there in quiet, returned in triumph to *Jerusalem*.

PTOLEMY *Physcon* had now reigned in *Egypt* seven years, during ^{An. 138.} all which time we find nothing else recorded of him but his monstrous vices ^{Simon 6} and his detestable cruelties, scarce ^w any other Prince having been more brutal in lusts, or more barbarous and bloody in the government of his people: And besides, in all his other conduct he appeared very despicable and foolish, usually both doing and saying very childish and ridiculous things in publick as well as in private; whereby he incurred to a great degree the contempt as well as the hatred and detestation of his people: And that he kept the crown upon his head under so general an odium and aversion of his subjects, was ^x wholly owing to *Hierax* his chief minister. He was by birth of *Antioch*, and the same who in the reign of *Alexander Balas* had in joint commission with *Diodotus* (afterwards called *Tryphon*) the government of that city. On the turn of affairs that afterwards happen'd in *Syria*

^s 1 Maccab. xv. 38, 39. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 13. ^r 1 Maccab. xv. 40, 41. Josephus ibidem. ^u 1 Maccab. xvi. 1—10. Josephus ibidem. ^w Justin. lib. 38. cap. 8. Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valesii, p. 361. Athenæus, lib. 4. p. 184. Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. cap. 1. & cap. 2. ^x Diodorus Sic. ibid.

he retired into *Egypt*, and there falling into the service of *Ptolemy Phylacon*, became the chief commander of his armies, and the chief manager of all his other affairs; and being a very valiant and wise man, he by taking care of well paying the soldiers, and balancing by his good and wise administration the male-administrations of his master, and remedying and preventing as many of them as he was able, had hitherto the success to keep all things quiet in that kingdom.

THIS year as a great monster of cruelty begun his reign at *Pergamus* ^y *Attalus Philometor* the son of *Eumenes*, who succeeded *Attalus* his uncle in that kingdom. He being a minor at the death of his father, the tuition of him with the crown was left to *Attalus* the uncle, who so faithfully discharged his trust, that he not only carefully bred up the pupil, but on his death, which happen'd this year, ^z left the crown to him, passing by the children which he had of his own; for he looked on the crown as left him by his brother to be no more than a *depositum* entrusted with him for his nephew; and therefore he accordingly restored it to him in the next succession, which is a procedure very rarely practised where a crown is the thing in possession. Another instance of such a restoration is scarce any where else to be found in history, Princes being usually no less solicitous to preserve their crowns to their posterity than to themselves. But this turned to the great plague and calamity of the whole kingdom; for this *Attalus Philometor* being more than half a madman, managed his government accordingly, in a very wild, irrational and pernicious manner: For he ^a had scarce been warm in his throne e'er he stained it all over with the blood of his nearest relations, and other the best friends of his family; putting to death most of those who with the greatest fidelity had served his father and his uncle, pretending against some of them that they had by evil arts caused the death of *Stratonice* his mother, who deceased an old woman; and against others, that they caused by the like evil arts the death of *Berenice* his wife, who died of an incurable disease which she happen'd to fall into: And others he put to death upon vain and groundless suspicions, cutting off with them their wives and children and all their whole families. ^b These executions he did by the hands of his mercenaries, whom he had hired out of the most cruel and savage of the barbarous nations, they only being fit instruments for such bloody and abominable work. After he had thus in a wild and mad fury cut off the best men in his kingdom, ^c he withdrew from the publick view, appearing no more abroad among the people, nor was he any more seen at home entertaining himself either in banquets or publick repasts, but putting on a sordid apparel, and letting his beard grow to a great length without trimming it, behaved himself in the same manner as those used to do who were under arraignment for some great crime, acting hereby as if he had acknowledged himself guilty of all the villany he had done. And going on after this rate into other extravagancies, ^d he neglected all the affairs of the government and betook himself to his garden, there digging the ground himself; and sowing it with all manner of poisonous and unwholsome herbs, as well as with those that were wholsome, he infected

^y Strabo, lib. 13. p. 624. Justin. lib. 36. cap. 4.

Apophtheg. ^a Justin. ibid. Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valesii, p. 370.

Siculus ibid.

^c Justin. lib. 36. cap. 4.

^d Justin. ibid. Plutarchus in Demetrio, where the English translator taking upon him very unskilfully to mend the Greek original, hath put Ptolemy Philometor instead of Attalus Philometor.

the wholesome with the juices of the poisonous, and then sent them as especial presents to his friends. And thus he wore out in wild and cruel extravagancies the remainder of his reign, the best recommendation of which was that it was very short, for it ended after five years time in his death, which then happen'd in the manner as will be hereafter related in its proper place.

ANTIOCHUS Sidetes after having vanquished *Tryphon*, and wholly broken and brought under all that were of his party, did next ^{an. 157. Simon 7.} betake himself to recover to the *Syrian* empire all such cities and places as had taken the advantage of the late distractions that followed upon his father's death to revolt from it. And having gained full success herein, he settled all things within the kingdom of *Syria* again upon the same bottom on which they were before these distractions begun.

BUT in *Egypt* all things were worse and worse: For whether it were that ^{an. 136. Simon 8.} *Hierax*^e was dead, or else that the madness of the Prince overbore all the wisdom and prudence of the chief minister, we hear thence nothing of him from this time but his barbarous cruelties and monstrous mismanagements in all his conduct. ⁸ Most of those who were the forwardest to call him to the crown on his brother's decease, and after that to support him in it, he causelessly put to death. Most of those who had the favour of *Philometor* his brother, or had been employed in his service, he either flew or drove into banishment, and by his foreign mercenaries, whom he let loose to commit all manner of murders and rapines as they pleased, he oppressed and terrified the *Alexandrians* to so great a degree, that most of them fled into other countries to avoid his cruelty, and left their city in a manner desolate. That therefore he might not reign over empty houses without inhabitants, he by his proclamations dispersed over the neighbouring countries, invited all strangers to come thither to re-people the place. Whereon great multitudes flocking thither, he gave them the habitations of those that were fled, and admitting them to all the rights, privileges and immunities of the former citizens, he by this means again replenish'd the city.

^h THERE being among those that fled out of *Egypt* on this occasion many grammarians, philosophers, geometricians, physicians, musicians, and other masters and professors of ingenious arts and sciences, this banishment of theirs became the means of reviving learning again in *Greece*, *lesser Asia*, and the isles, and in all other places where they went. The wars which followed after the death of *Alexander* among those that succeeded him had in a manner extinguished learning in all those parts; and it would have gone nigh to have been utterly lost amidst the calamities of those times, but that it found a support under the patronage of the *Ptolemies* at *Alexandria*: For the first *Ptolemy* having there erected a *Museum* or college for the maintenance and encouragement of learned men, and also a great library for their use, (of both which I have already spoken) this drew most of the learned men of *Greece* thither: And the second and third *Ptolemy* having followed herein the same steps of their predecessor, *Alexandria* became the place where the liberal arts and sciences, and all other parts of learning, were preserved and flourished in those ages, when they were almost dropp'd every where else, and most of its inhabitants were bred up in the knowledge of some or other of

^e Justin. lib. 36. cap. 1.

^f Athenæus tells us that *Phyſcon* did put *Hierax* to death, lib. 6. p. 252. but the time of his death is not said.

^h Athenæus, lib. 4. p. 184.

⁸ Justin. lib. 38. cap. 8. Athenæus, lib. 4. p. 184.

them. And hereby it came to pass, that when they were driven into foreign parts by the cruelty and oppression of the wicked tyrant I have mentioned, being qualified to gain themselves a maintenance by teaching, each in the places where they came, the particular professions they were skill'd in, they accordingly betook themselves hereto, and erected schools for this purpose in all the countries above-mentioned through which they were dispersed; and they being, by reason of their poverty, content to teach for a small hire, this drew great numbers of scholars to them, and by this means all the several branches of learning became again revived in those eastern parts, in the same manner as they were in these latter ages in the western, after the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*. For till then most of the learning of the west was in school divinity, and the canon law; and altho' the former of these was built more upon *Aristotle* than the holy scriptures, yet they had nothing of *Aristotle* in those days, but in a translation at the third hand. The *Saracens* had translated the works of that philosopher into *Arabic*, and from thence those christians of the *Latin* church, who learnt philosophy from the *Saracens* in *Spain*, translated them into *Latin*. And this was the only text of that author, on which, during the reign of the schoolmen, all their comments on him were made. And yet upon no better a foundation are some of those decisions in divinity built, which the *Romanists* hold as infallible, than what they have thus borrowed from an heathen philosopher, handed to them in a translation made by the disciples of *Mahomet*. But when *Constantinople* was taken by *Mahomet* the King of the *Turks* in the year of our Lord 1453, and the learned men, who dwelt there, and in other parts of *Greece*, fearing the cruelty and the barbarity of the *Turks*, fled into *Italy*, they brought thither with them their books and their learning, and there first under the patronage of the Princes of that countrey (especially of *Lorenzo de Medices*, the first founder of the greatness of his family) propagated both: And this gave the rise to all that learning in these western parts, which hath ever since grown and flourished in them.

At the same time that foreigners were flocking to *Alexandria* for the repeopling of that city, there came thither *Publius Scipio Africanus junior*, *Spurius Mummius*, and *L. Metellus*, in an embassy from the *Romans*. It was the usage of that people often to send out embassies to inspect the affairs of their allies, and to make up and compose what differences they should find among them, and for this purpose this famous embassy, consisting of three of the most eminent men of *Rome*, was at this time sent from thence. Their commission was to pass thorough *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Asia*, and *Greece*, to see and observe how the affairs of each kingdom and state in those countries stood, and to take an account how the leagues, they had made with the *Romans*, were kept and observ'd, and to set all things at rights, that they should find any where amiss among them. And this trust they every where discharged so honourably and justly, and so much to the benefit and advantage of those they were sent to, in regulating their disorders, and adjusting all differences, which they found among them, that they were no sooner returned to *Rome*, *but ambassadors followed them from all places where they had been, to thank the senate for sending such honourable per-

ⁱ Justin. lib. 38. cap. 8. Cicero in somnio Scipionis cap. 2. Athenæus lib. 6. p. 273. & lib. 12. p. 549. Valerius Maximus lib. 4. cap. 3. § 13. Diodorus Siculus legat. 32. ^kDiodorus Siculus legat. 32.

fons to them, and for the great benefits they had received from them. The first place which they came to in the discharge of their commission being *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, they were there received by the King in great state: But they made their entrance thither with so little ¹that *Scipio*, who was then the greatest man in *Rome*, had no more than one friend, *Panætius* the philosopher, and five servants in his retinue. And although they were during their stay there entertained with all the varieties of the most sumptuous fare, yet they ^mwould touch nothing more of it, than what was useful in the most temperate manner for the necessary support of nature, despising all the rest as that which corrupted the mind as well as the body, and bred vicious humours in both. Such was the moderation and temperance of the *Romans* at this time, and hereby it was that they at length advanced their state to so great an height, and in this height would they have still continued, could they still have retained the same virtues. But when their prosperity, and the great wealth obtained thereby, became the occasion that they degenerated into luxury and corruption of manners, they drew decay and ruin as fast upon them, as they had before victory and prosperity, till at length they were undone by it. So that the poet said justly of them—
ⁿ*Sævior Armis Luxuria incubuit victumque ulciscitur Orbem.* When the ambassadors had taken a full view of *Alexandria*, and the state of affairs in that city, ^othey sailed up the *Nile* to see *Memphis*, and other parts of *Egypt*; whereby having thoroughly informed themselves of the ^pgreat number of cities, and the vast multitude of inhabitants that were in that countrey, and also of the strength of its situation, the fertility of its soil, and the many other excellencies and advantages of it, they observed it to be a countrey, that wanted nothing for its being made a very potent and formidable kingdom, but a prince of capacity and application sufficient to form it thereto. And therefore no doubt it was to their great satisfaction that they found the present King thoroughly destitute of every qualification, that was necessary for such an undertaking; for ^qnothing could appear more despicable, than he did to them in every interview they had with him. Of his cruelty, barbarity, luxury, and other vile and vicious dispositions, which he was addicted to, I have in part already spoken, and there will be occasions hereafter to give more instances of them. And the deformities of his body were no less than those of his soul; for ^rhe was of a most deformed countenance, of a short stature, and such a monstrous and prominent belly therewith, as no man was able to encompass with both his arms. So that by reason of this load of flesh acquired by his luxury he was so unweildy, that he never stepped abroad without a staff to lean on. And over this vile carcass he wore a garment ^sso thin and transparent, that there were seen through it, not only all the deformities of his body, but also those parts, which it is one of the main ends of garments modestly to cover and conceal. From this deformed monster the ambassadors passed over to *Cyprus*, and from thence proceeded to execute their commission in all the other countries, to which they were sent.

¹ Athenæus lib. 6. p. 273.

^m Diodorus Siculus, ibidem.

ⁿ Juvenal. Sat. 6. v. 29.

Luxury came on more cruel than our arms,

And did revenge the vanquish'd world with its charms.

^o Diodorus Siculus ibid.

^p Egypt in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus had in it 33339 cities.

Theocrit. Idyl. 17.

^q Justin lib. 38. cap. 8.

^r Athenæus lib. 12. p. 549.

^s Justin. ibidem.

An. 141.
John
Hyrca-
nus I.

IN the month of *Shebat* (which was in the latter end of the *Jewish* year, and in the beginning of the *Julian*) *Simon* making a progress through the cities of *Judah*, to take care for the well ordering of all things in them came to *Jericho*, having then two of his sons, *Judas* and *Mattathias*, there in company with him; *Ptolemy* the son of *Abubus*, who had married one of his daughters, being governor of the place under him, invited him to the castle which he had built in the neighbourhood, to partake of an entertainment he had there provided for him: *Simon* and his sons suspecting no evil from so near a relation accepted of the invitation, and went thither. But the perfidious wretch having laid a design for the usurping of the government of *Judaea* to himself, and concerted the matter with *Antiochus Sidetes* King of *Syria*, for the accomplishing of it wickedly plotted the destruction of *Simon* and his sons. And therefore having hid men in the castle, where the entertainment was made, when his guests had well drunk, he brought forth these murderers upon them, and assassinated them all three, while they were sitting at his banquet, and all those that attended upon them; and thinking immediately hereupon to make himself master of the whole land, sent a party to *Gazara* where *John* resided, to slay him also; and wrote letters to the commanders of the army, that had their station in those parts, to come over to him, proffering them gold and silver and other rewards to draw them into his designs. But *John* having received notice of what had been done at *Jericho*, before this party could reach *Gazara*, he was there provided for them; and therefore fell on them, and cut them all off, as soon as they approached the place. And then hastening to *Jerusalem* secured that city, and the mountain of the temple, against those whom the traitor had sent to seize both. And being thereupon declared High-priest and Prince of the *Jews* in the place of his father *Simon*, he took care every where to provide for the security of the countrey, and the peace of all those that dwelt in it. Whereon *Ptolemy* being defeated of all those plots, which he had laid for the compassing of his designs, had nothing now left to do, but to send to *Antiochus* to come with an army for the accomplishing of them by open force; without which being no longer able to support himself against *John* in *Judaea*, he fled to *Zeno* surnamed *Cotyla*, who was then tyrant of *Philadelphia*, and there waited till *Antiochus* should arrive. What became of him afterwards is uncertain; for altho' *Antiochus* came at his call into *Judaea*, and a bitter war thereon ensued, yet after his flight to *Zeno* no more mention is made of him. Altho' the treason might be acceptable enough to that King, because of the fair prospect that was given him by the advantage of it again to recover *Judaea* to his crown, yet he could not but abhor such an execrable traitor, and perchance dealt with him according to what his wickedness deserved. But here ending the history of the *Maccabees*, as contained in the apocryphal books of scripture known by that name, I shall here also end this fourth book of my present work.

† 1 Maccab. xvi. 14—22. Josephus lib. 13. cap. 14.



THE
Old and New TESTAMENT
Connected in the
HISTORY
OF THE
Jews and Neighbouring Nations,
FROM THE
Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
to the time of CHRIST.



PART II. BOOK V.



ANTIOCHUS *Sidetes* King of *Syria*^a having received from *An. 135.*
Ptolemy the son of *Abubus* the account which he had sent *John*
him of the death of *Simon* and his sons, made haste to take *Hyrca-*
the advantage of it for the reducing of *Judea* again under *nus 1.*
the *Syrian* empire; and therefore forthwith marched thi-
therward with a great army, and having over-run the coun-
trety, and driven *Hyrchanus* out of the field, shut him up and all his forces
with him in *Jerusalem*, and there besieged him with his whole army divided

^a 1 Maccab. xvi. 18. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 16.

into seven camps, whereby he enclosed him all round; and to do this the more effectually he caused two large and deep ditches to be drawn round the city, one of circumvallation, and the other of contravallation; so that by reason hereof none could come out from the besieged to make their escape, or any get in to them to bring them relief. And therefore when *Hyrcanus*, to rid himself of unprofitable mouths which consumed the stores of the besieged without helping them in the defence of the place, put all such as were useless for the wars out of the city, they could not pass the ditch that enclosed them, but were pent up between that and the walls of the city, and were there forced to abide, till at length *Hyrcanus* found it necessary for the saving of them from perishing by famine to receive them in again. This siege continued till about the time of the beginning of autumn, the besiegers all this while daily making their assaults, and the besieged as valiantly defending themselves against them, always repulsing the enemy, and often making sallies upon them, and in those sallies sometimes burning their engines, and destroying their works; and thus it went on till the time of the *Jews* feast of tabernacles, which was always held in the middle of the first autumnal moon. On the approach of that holy time *Hyrcanus* sent to *Antiochus* to pray a truce during the festival, which he not only readily granted, but also sent beasts, and other things necessary for the sacrifices then to be offered; which giving *Hyrcanus* an instance of the equity and benignity, as well as of the piety of that Prince, this encouraged him to send to him again for terms of peace, which message being complied with, a treaty thereon commenced, in which *Hyrcanus* having yielded that the besieged should deliver up their arms, that *Jerusalem* should be dismantled, and that tribute should be paid the King for *Joppa* and the other towns held by the *Jews* out of *Judea*, peace was made upon these terms. It was demanded also by *Antiochus* that the fortress at *Jerusalem* should be rebuilt, and a garrison again received into it; but this *Hyrcanus* would not consent to, remembering the damage and mischief which the *Jews* had received from the former garrison in that place; but rather chose to pay the King five hundred talents to buy it off. Whereon such of those terms as were capable of an immediate execution being accordingly executed, and hostages given for the performance of the rest, (one of which was a brother of *Hyrcanus*) the siege was raised, and peace again restored to the whole land. This was done in the 9th month after the death of *Simon*.

WHEN *Hyrcanus* sent to *Antiochus* for peace ^b he was brought almost to the last extremity through want of provisions, all the stores of the city being in a manner spent and exhausted; which being well known in the camp of the besiegers, those that were about *Antiochus* pressed him hard to make use of this opportunity for the destroying and utterly extirpating the whole nation of the *Jews*; they urged against them that they had been driven out of *Egypt* as an impious people hated by God and man; that they treated all mankind besides themselves as enemies, refusing communication with all excepting those of their own sect, neither eating, nor drinking, nor freely conversing with any other, nor worshipping any of the same gods with them, but using laws, customs and a religion quite different from all

^b Josephus *ibid.* Diodorus Siculus, lib. 34. eclog. 1. p. 901. & apud Photium in bibliotheca cod. 244. p. 1150.

other nations; and that therefore they deserved that all other nations should treat them with the same aversion and hatred, and cut them all off and destroy them as declared enemies to all mankind. And ^b *Diodorus Siculus*, as well as ^b *Josephus* tells us, that it was wholly owing to the generosity and clemency of *Antiochus* that the whole nation of the *Jews* were not at this time totally cut off and utterly destroyed, but had peace granted unto them upon the terms above mentioned.

OF the five hundred talents which by the terms of this peace were to be paid to *Antiochus*, three hundred were laid down in present; ^c for the payment of the other two hundred time was allowed. *Josephus* tells us, ^d that *Hyrcaus* to find money for this and other occasions of the government broke up the sepulchre of *David*, and took from thence three thousand talents; and the like he afterwards ^e tells us of *Herod*, as if he also had robb'd the same sepulchre, and taken great riches from it: But both these stories are very improbable. *David* had been now dead near nine hundred years, and what is told of this matter supposeth this treasure to have been buried up with him all this time; it supposeth, that as often as the city of *Jerusalem*, the palace, and the temple had during the reigns of the Kings of *Judah* been plundered of all their wealth and treasure by prevailing enemies (as they ^f had often been,) this dead stock still remained safe from all rifle or violation; it supposeth, that as often as those Kings were forced ^g to take all the treasure that could be found in the house of the Lord, as well as in their own, to relieve the exigencies of the state, they never meddled with this treasure in *David's* grave there uselessly buried with the dead; it supposeth, that when one of the worst of their Kings ^h plundered the temple of its sacred vessels, and cut them in pieces to melt them down into money for his common occasions, and when one of the best of them ⁱ was forced to cut off the gold with which the gates and pillars of the temple were overlaid to buy off a destroying enemy, this useless treasure still continued unmeddled with in both these cases: Nay farther, it supposeth that when ^k *Nebuchadnezzar* destroyed both the city and the temple of *Jerusalem*, and both thereon lay in rubbish a great many years, this treasure in *David's* sepulchre during all this time did under this rubbish lye secure and untouched; and also that when ^l *Antiochus Epiphanes* destroyed this city, and robb'd the temple of all he could find in it, still *David's* sepulchre and the treasure buried in it (tho' while it was thus buried it was wholly useless and unprofitable for the service either of God or man) still escaped all manner of violation, as in all former times, and was never touched nor meddled with till *Hyrcaus* laid his hands upon it; all which suppositions seem utterly improbable, and beyond all belief. What the manner of the sepulchres of *David* and the Kings of his lineage was I have ^m already described; they were vaults cut out of a marble rock, one within another, where there was no earth to bury up or cover any hidden

^b *Josephus* *ibid.* *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 34. eclog. 1. p. 901. & apud Photium in bibliotheca cod. 244. p. 1150. ^c *Josephus* *ibid.* ^d *Josephus* *antiq.* lib. 13. cap. 16. & lib. 16. cap. 11. ^e *Antiq.* lib. 16. cap. 11. ^f 1 Kings xiv. 25. 2 Kings xiv. 14. 2 Chron. xii. 9. 2 Chron. xxi. 17. 2 Chron. xxv. 24. ^g 1 Kings xv. 18. 2 Kings xii. 18. 2 Chron. xvi. 2. ^h 2 Kings xvi. 8, 17. 2 Chron. xxviii. 21, 24. ⁱ 2 Kings xviii. 15, 16. ^k 2 Kings xxv. 2 Chron. xxxvi. Jeremiah xxxix. & lii. ^l 1 Maccab. i. 2 Maccab. v. ^m Part I. book I.

treasure, but whatsoever was there laid must have lain open to the view of every one that entred into them. If there were any foundation of truth in this matter, I can only resolve it into this, that several rich men, who feared *Herod's* rapacity, hid their treasures in those vaults, thinking that they would be there best secured from it; and that this crafty tyrant having gotten notice of it, seized what was there deposited, as if it had been King *David's* treasure, and then trumped up this story of *Hyrca-nus* to screen himself from censure by the example of so good and great a man. But it is most likely that both parts of the story are a mere fiction pick'd up by *Josephus* without any ground of truth, as are also some other particulars in his history.

IN ⁿ this first year of *Hyrca-nus Matthias Aphlias* a priest of the course of *Joarib* married a daughter of *Jonathan* the late Prince of the *Jews*, of whom was born *Matthias Curtus*; of this *Matthias* was born *Josephus*, who was the father of another *Matthias*, of whom was born *Josephus* the historian in the first year of *Caligula* the *Roman* Emperor, which was the thirty seventh of the vulgar æra from *Christ's* incarnation.

An. 134.
John
Hyrca-
nus 2.

SCIPIO Africanus junior going to the war of *Numantium* in *Spain*, ^o *Antiochus Sidetes* sent thither to him very valuable and magnificent presents, which he received publickly, while he was sitting on his tribunal in the sight of the whole army, and ordered them to be delivered into the hands ^p of the questor for the publick charges of the war; it being the temper of the *Romans* at this time to do and receive all they could for the interest of the commonwealth, without taking or reserving any thing to themselves, but the honour of faithfully serving it to the utmost of their power; and as long as this temper lasted they prospered in all their undertakings; but afterwards, when this publick spirit became turned all into self-interest, and none served the publick but to serve themselves by plundering it, every thing then went backward with them, as fast as it had gone forward with them before, till they were soon after swallowed up, first in tyranny, and afterwards in ruine.

An. 133.
John
Hyrca-
nus 3.

ATTALUS King of *Pergamus* ^a going on in his wild freaks, took a fancy of employing himself in the trade of a founder, and projecting to make a brazen Monument for his mother, while he laboured in melting and working the brass in an hot summer's day, he contracted a fever, of which he died on the seventh day after; whereby his people had the happiness of being delivered from an horrid tyrant. At his death he left a will^t, whereby he made the *Romans* heirs of all his goods; by virtue whereof they seized his kingdom, reckoning that among his goods, and reduced it into the form of a province, ^s which was called the *Proper Asia*. But *Aristonicus* the next heir did not tamely submit hereto; he was the son of

ⁿ Josephus in libro de vitâ suâ. ^o Epitome Livii, lib. 57. ^p That is of the treasurer of the army; for every Roman general that went to any war, had always such a treasurer sent with him to manage the publick charges of the war. ^a Justin. lib. 36. cap. 4. ^t Plutarchus in Tiberio Graccho. Justin. ibid. Epitome Livii, lib. 58. L. Florus, lib. 2. cap. 20. Videas etiam epistolam Mithridatis Regis Ponti, ad Arsacem Regem Parthiæ inter fragmenta Salustii, lib. 4. in quâ epistolâ vocat hoc testamentum simulatum & impium testamentum.

^s The word Asia when put alone, unless otherwise determined by the context, signifieth one of the four quarters of the world. That part of it which lies between mount Taurus on the east, and the Hellespont on the west, is called the lesser Asia; and that part of the lesser Asia which fell to the Romans by Attalus's will was the proper Asia.

Eumenes, and the brother of *Attalus*, tho' by another mother; 'by virtue whereof claiming the crown as his inheritance, he got together an army and took possession of it, and it cost the *Romans* the death of "one of their consuls, the loss of an army with him, and a four years war, before they could reduce him and his party, and thoroughly settle themselves in the possession of the countrey. And here ended the *Pergamenian* kingdom; which included the greatest part of *lesser Asia*, after it had continued thorough the succession of six Kings.

IN ^w the thirty eighth year of *Ptolemy Euergetes* the second, *aliàs Physcon*, *Jesus* the son of *Sirach*, a *Jew* of *Jerusalem* coming into *Egypt* and settling there, translated out of *Hebrew* into *Greek* for the use of the *hellenistical Jews* the book of *Jesus* his grandfather, which is the same we now have among the apocryphal scriptures in our *English bible* by the name of *Ecclesiasticus*. The ancients called it *πανάρετον*, that is, *the treasure of all virtue*, as supposing it to contain maxims leading to every virtue. It was originally written in *Hebrew* by *Jesus* the author of it about the time that *Onias* the second of that name was High-priest at *Jerusalem*, and translated into *Greek* by *Jesus* the son of *Sirach*, grandson to the author. The *Hebrew* original is now lost; it was extant in the time of *Jerom*, for ^{*} he tells us that he had seen it under the title of *The Parables*, but the common name of it in *Greek* was *The wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach*. At present the title in our printed *Greek* copies is *The wisdom of Sirach*, which is an abbreviation made with great absurdity; for it ascribes the book to *Sirach*, who was neither the author nor the translator of it, and therefore could neither way have any relation to it. There is indeed a controversy whether *Sirach* was the father of *Jesus* the author of the book, or of *Jesus* the translator of it: Or rather, to reduce it to other terms, whether he that is called *Jesus* the son of *Sirach*, were *Jesus* that was the author of the book, or else *Jesus* his grandson, that was the translator of it; the matter not being of any great moment, I am content to be concluded by the first prologue premised to the book in our *English bible*, in which it is plainly asserted, that *Jesus* the author of the book was the grandfather, *Sirach* the son, and *Jesus* the translator the grandson. And therefore according to this prologue it is the grandson, and not the grandfather, that was called *Jesus* the son of *Sirach*. And it seems most likely, that the conclusion of the book (chap. 50. *ŷ*. 27, 28, 29.) are the words of the translator, and so also the prayer in the last chapter: For what is there said by the writer of it, ^y of the danger he was brought into of his life before the King on an unjust accusation, seems plainly to point to the reign of *Ptolemy Phiscon*, whose cruelty inclined him to bring any one; and on the lightest occasion, into danger of his life that came under his power; which could not be the case of the grandfather, who lived at *Jerusalem* three ages before, when there was no such tyranny in that place. I have

An. 132.
John
Hyrca-
nus 4.

^{*} Justin. & Florus ibid. Plutarchus in Q. Flaminio. Strabo, lib. 14. Appian. in Mithridaticis & de bellis civilibus, lib. 1. Epitome Livii, lib. 59. Eutrop. lib. 4. ^u Licinius Crassus was vanquished and slain in this war, and most of his army cut off with him. Florus & Livius ibidem. ^w See the second prologue to the book of Ecclesiasticus; where it is to be observed that the 38th year of Ptolemy Euergetes the second there mentioned, is to be reckoned from the 11th year of Philometor, when he was admitted to reign in copartnership with him.

^x In præfatione ad libros Solomonis & in epistolâ 115. ^y Chap. li. *ŷ*. 6.

above made mention of the first preface prefixed before this book in the *English* version, this implies, that there was a second. This second preface was written by *Jesus* the grandson of the author, who translated the book into the *Greek* language. Who was the composer of the first is not known; it is taken out of the book entituled *Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae*, which is ascribed to *Athanasius*, and if it be not his (as it is by many held that it is not) yet it is most certainly a book of ancient compofure, and as far as it is so, it carries authority with it, tho' the author be not certainly known. The *Latin* version of this book of *Ecclesiasticus* hath more in it than the *Greek*, several particulars being inserted into it, which are not in the other. These seem to have been interpolated by the first author of that version, but now the *Hebrew* being lost, the *Greek*, which hath been made from it by the grandson of the author, must stand for the original, and from that the *English* translation hath been made. The *Jews* have now a book among them, which they call the book of *Ben Sira*, i. e. the book of the son of *Sira*, and this book containing a collection of moral sayings, hence some would have it, that this *Ben Sira*, or son of *Sira*, was the same with *Ben Sirach* or the son of *Sirach*, and his book the same with *Ecclesiasticus*; but whosoever shall compare the books, will find that there is no foundation for this opinion, except only in the similitude of the names of the authors of them.

An. 131.
John
Hyrca-
nus 5.

DEMETRIUS Nicator having been several years detained as a prisoner in *Hyrkania* by the *Parthians*,^b *Antiochus Sidetes* his brother under pretence of effecting his deliverance marched with a powerful army into the east against *Phraates* the *Parthian* King. This army consisted of above eighty thousand men well appointed for the war. But the instruments of luxury, that accompanied them, as sutlers, cooks, pastry-men, confectioners, scullions, stage-players, musicians, whores, &c. were near four times their number, for they are said to have amounted^d to three hundred thousand persons; neither was^e the practice of luxury less among them than the number of its instruments, and this at length caused the ruin of the whole army, and of the King with it. However at first *Antiochus* had full success: For he overthrew *Phraates* in three battels, and recovered *Babylonia* and *Media*; and thereon all the rest of those eastern countries, which had formerly been provinces of the *Syrian* empire, revolted to him, excepting *Parthia* only, where *Phraates* was reduced within the narrow limits of the first *Parthian* kingdom. *Hyrcanus* prince of the *Jews*^f accompanied *Antiochus* in this expedition, and having had his part in all the victories, that were obtained, returned with the glory of them at the end of the year.

An. 132.
John
Hyrca-
nus 6

BUT the rest of the army wintered in the east, and by reason of the great numbers of them, and their attendants, as amounting to near four hundred thousand persons,^h being forced to disperse all over the country, and quarter at such a distance from each other, as not to be able readily to gather together, and imbody for their mutual defence on any occasion, that should require it, the inhabitants, whom they grievously

^a Huetius demonstrat. evang. prop. iv. cap. de Ecclesiastico.

^b Justin. lib. 38. c. 10. ^c Justin. lib. 38. c. 10.

^d Justin. lib. 38. c. 10. ^e Justin. lib. 38. c. 10.

^f Justin. lib. 38. c. 10. ^g Justin. lib. 38. c. 10.

^h Justin. lib. 38. c. 10. ⁱ Justin. lib. 38. c. 10.

^j Justin. lib. 38. c. 10. ^k Justin. lib. 38. c. 10.

^a This book hath had several edi-

^b Justin. lib. 38. c. 10.

^d Justin. lib. 38. c. 10.

^g Josephus lib. 12. p. 540.

oppressed in all places where they lay, taking the advantage hereof to be revenged on them for it, conspired with the *Parthians* all to fall upon them in one and the same day in their several quarters, and there cut all their throats, before they should be able to come together to help each other; and this they accordingly executed. Hereon ⁱ *Antiochus* with the forces about him hastening to help the quarters, that lay next him, was overpowered and slain, and the rest of the army at the same time were in all those places, where they lay in quarters, in the same manner fallen upon and all cut in pieces, or made captives, so that there scarce returned a man into *Syria* of all this vast number to carry thither the doleful news of this terrible overthrow. In the interim *Demetrius* was returned into *Syria* and on his brother's death there again recovered the kingdom. For *Phraates* ^k after being thrice vanquished by *Antiochus* had released him from his captivity, and sent him back into *Syria*, hoping that by raising troubles there for the recovery of his crown he might force *Antiochus* to return for the suppressing of them. But on the obtaining of this victory he sent a party of horse after him to bring him back again, but *Demetrius* being aware hereof made such haste that he was gotten over the *Euphrates* into *Syria*, before these forces could reach the borders of that countrey. And by this means he again recovered his kingdom, and ^l made great rejoicing thereon at the same time, when all the rest of *Syria* was in great sorrow and lamentation for the loss sustained in the east, there being scarce a family in the whole countrey which had not a part in it.

AFTER *Phraates* had gained this victory, he ^m caused the body of *Antiochus* to be taken up from among the dead, and having put it into a silver coffin sent it honourably into *Syria* to be there buried among his ancestors and finding a daughter of his among the captives ⁿ he was smitten with her beauty, and took her to wife.

BEING flushed with this success ^o he thought of carrying the war into *Syria* for the revenging of this last invasion upon him, but while he was preparing for it he found himself entangled with a war at home from the *Scythians*. He had called them into *Parthia* to assist him against *Antiochus* but the work being done before they arrived, he denied them their hire; whereon they turned their arms against him, whom they came to assist; and to be revenged on him for the wrong hereby done them made war upon him, and hereby *Phraates* was forced to keep at home for the defending of his own countrey.

AFTER the death of *Antiochus*, *Hyrchanus* took the advantage of the disturbances and divisions, that thenceforth ensued through the whole *Syrian* empire, not only to enlarge his territories ^p by seizing *Madeba*, *Samega*, and several other places in *Syria*, *Phœnicia* and *Arabia*, and adding them to his dominions, but also from this time to make himself absolute and wholly independent. For ^q after this neither he, nor any of his descendants, own-

ⁱ Justin. lib. 38. c. 10. & lib. 39. c. 1. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 16. Orosius lib. 5. cap. 10. Appian. in Syriacis. Athenæus lib. 10. p. 439. Julius Obsequens de prodigiis. Ælianus de animalibus lib. 10. cap. 34. ^k Justin. lib. 38. c. 10. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 16.

^l Justin. lib. 39. cap. 1. ^m Justin. ibidem. ⁿ Justin. lib. 38. cap. 10. ^o Justin. lib. 42. cap. 1.

^p Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17. Strabo lib. 16. p. 76. ^q Justin. lib. 36. cap. 1. cujus verba sunt. Quorum (i. e. Judæorum) vires tantæ fuere ut post hunc nullum Macedonum regem tulerint, domesticisq; imperiis usi, Syriam magnis bellis infestaverint; and agreeable thereto Josephus's words are lib. 13. c. 17. That Hyrchanus after the death of Antiochus Sidetes revolted from the Macedonians, and thenceforth neither as a subject or an ally had any more to do with them.

ed any farther dependence on the kings of *Syria*, but thenceforth wholly freed themselves from all manner of homage, servitude, or subjection to them.

IN the interim *Ptolemy Physcon* King of *Egypt* went still on in the same steps of luxury, cruelty, and tyranny, continuing to increase the number of his most flagitious iniquities by the guilt of new wickednesses from time to time added to them. I have already related how having married *Cleopatra* his sister, and relict of his brother, who had reigned before him, he slew her son in her arms on the very day of the nuptials; after this taking greater liking to *Cleopatra* the daughter, than to *Cleopatra* the mother, he first deflowered her by violence, and after that married her, having first divorced her mother to make room for her. And whereas on his having by his cruelty driven out most of the old inhabitants of *Alexandria* he had repeopled it with new ones, whom he invited thither from foreign parts, he soon made himself by the excesses of his wickedness as odious to them, as he was to the former inhabitants, and therefore thinking he might best secure himself from them by cutting off their young men, who were the strength of the place, he caused his mercenaries to surround them in the place of their publick exercises, when they were there in the fullest numbers met together, and put them all to death. Whereon the people being exasperated against him to the utmost all rose in a general tumult, and in their rage set fire to his palace with intent to have burnt him in it; but having timely made his escape he fled to *Cyprus* carrying with him *Cleopatra* his wife, and *Memphitis* his son; and on his arrival thither hearing, that the people of *Alexandria* had put the government of the kingdom into the hand of *Cleopatra* his divorced wife, he hired an army of mercenaries to make war against both.

HYRCANUS having taken *Shechem* the prime seat of the sect of the *Samaritans* destroyed their temple on mount *Gerizim*, which had been there built by *Sanballat*. However they still continued to have an altar in that place, and still have one there, on which they offer sacrifices according to the Levitical law even to this day.

An. 129.
John
Hyrca-
nus 7.

HYRCANUS after this having conquered the *Edomites* or *Idumæans* reduced them to this necessity, either to embrace the *Jewish* religion, or else to leave the countrey, and seek new dwellings elsewhere; whereon chusing rather to leave their idolatry than their countrey, they all became proselytes to the *Jewish* religion, and hereon being incorporated into the *Jewish* nation, as well as into the *Jewish* church, they thenceforth became reputed as one and the same people, and at length the name of *Edomites* or *Idumæans* being swallowed up in that of *Jews*, it became wholly lost, and no more heard of. This abolition of their name happen'd about the end of the first century after *Christ*; for after that we hear no more mention of the name of *Edomites* or *Idumæans* it being by that time wholly absorbed in the name of *Jews*. The Rabbi's indeed speak

^r Justin. lib. 38. cap. 8. Valerius Maximus lib. 9. cap. 1. ^s Valerius Maximus lib. 9. c. 2.

^t Justin. lib. 38. cap. 8. Orosius lib. 5. cap. 10. Epitome Livii lib. 59. ^u Josephus lib. 13. cap. 17.

^w Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17. & lib 15. cap. 11. Strabo lib. 16. p. 760. Ammonius Grammaticus de similitudine & differentiâ quarundam dictionum hæc habet—*Judæi sunt, qui à natura ita fuerunt ab initio, Idumæi autem non fuerunt Judæi ab initio, sed Phœnices & Syri, à Judæis autem imperati, & ut circumciderentur, & in unam cum eis gentem coirent, & eisdem legibus subderentur adacti, Judæi sunt nominati.*

of *Edom* and *Edomites* long after that time, but thereby they do not mean *Idumæa* or the sons of *Edom*, but ^x *Rome*, and the *Christians* of the *Roman* empire. For fearing the displeasure of the christians, among whom they were, for avoiding of it, whenever they speak any reproachful thing of christians, or their religion, they usually blend it under feigned names, sometimes calling us *Cuthæans*, i. e. *Samaritans*, and sometimes *Epicureans*, and sometimes *Edomites*, and this last is the civillest appellation they give us. And for profelytes to *Judaism* to take the names of *Jews*, as well as their religion, was not peculiar to the *Edomites* only, it being usual for all others, who took their religion to take also their name, and thenceforth be reputed as of the same nation with them, as well as of the same religion. Thus it was in the time of ^y *Dion Cassius* the historian, and thus it hath been ever since even down to our age.

BUT here it is to be noted, that there were ^z two sorts of profelytes among the *Jews*. 1. The profelytes of the gate, and 2. The profelytes of justice. The former they obliged only to renounce idolatry, and worship God according to the law of nature, which they reduced to seven articles, called by them the seven precepts of the sons of *Noah*. To these they held all men were obliged to conform, but not so as to the law of *Moses*; for this they reckoned as a law made only for their nation, and not for the whole world. As to the rest of mankind if they kept the law of nature, and observed ^a the precepts above mentioned, they held, that they performed all that God required of them, and would by this service render themselves as acceptable to him, as the *Jews* by theirs. And therefore they allowed all such to live with them in their land, and from hence they were called *Gerim Toshavim*, i. e. *sojourning profelytes*; and for the same reason they were called also *Gere Shaar*, i. e. *profelytes of the gate*, as being permitted to dwell with those of *Israel* within the same gates. The occasion of this name seems to be taken from these words in the fourth commandment *Vegereka Bishareka*, i. e. *and the strangers which are within thy gates*, which may as well be rendered, *thy profelytes which are within thy gates*, that is the profelytes of the gate, that dwell with thee; for the *Hebrew* word *Ger*, which signifies a stranger, signifieth also a profelyte, and both in this place in the fourth commandment come to the same thing; for no strangers were permitted to dwell within their gates, unless they renounced idolatry, and were profelyted so far as to the observance of the seven precepts of the sons of *Noah*. Though they were slaves taken in war, they were not permitted to live with them within any of the gates of *Israel* on any other terms; but on their refusal thus far to comply were either given up to the sword, or else sold to some foreign people. And as those who were thus far made profelytes were admitted

^x Vide Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum p. 30, 31. ^y Verba ejus sunt Ἡ γὰρ χώρα Ἰουδαία καὶ αὐτοὶ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀνομαδάσθαι. Ἡ δὲ ἐπικλησις αὕτη φερεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλης ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι τὰ νόμιμα αὐτῶν καίπερ ἄλλοθεν εἶς ὄντες ζήλωσι, i. e. *The countrey is called Judæa and the people Jews: And this name is given also to as many others, as embrace their religion, though of other nations*, lib. 36. p. 37.

^z See concerning these profelytes Mede, book 1. discourse 3. Hammond's annotations on Matthew iii. 1. & xxiii. 15. Buxtorf's Lexicon Rabbinicum p. 407—10. But the fullest account of both these sorts of profelytes is in Maimonides's *Yad*, from whence it was published by me near 40 years since with a Latin version and annotations, under the title *de jure pauperis & peregrini*, to which I refer learned readers.

^a As to what these precepts of the sons of *Noah* were, see Selden *de jure naturali & gentium juxta disciplinam Hebræorum*. Marsham's *Can. Chron.* sect. ix. and Maimonides and Buxtorf in the places last above cited. Hammond's annotations on Acts xv. 29. and others.

to dwell with them, so also were they admitted into the temple there to worship God; but were not allowed to enter any farther than into the outer court called the court of the Gentiles: For into the inner courts, which were within the enclosure called the *Chel* none were admitted, but only such as were thorough professors of the whole *Jewish* religion. And therefore when any of these sojourning profelytes came into the temple, they always worshipped in the outer court. And of this sort of profelytes *Naaman* the *Syrian* and *Cornelius* the centurion are held to have been. The other sort of profelytes, called the profelytes of justice, were such as took on them the observance of the whole *Jewish* law; for although the *Jews* did not hold this necessary for such as were not of their nation, yet they refused none but gladly received all, who would thus profess their religion, and they are remarked in our Saviour's time to have been ^bvery sedulous to convert all they could hereto. And when any were thus profelyted to the *Jewish* religion, they were initiated to it by baptism, sacrifice, and circumcision; and thenceforth were admitted to all the rites, ceremonies, and ^cprivileges, that were used by the natural *Jews*; and in this manner was it, that the *Edomites* at the command of *Hyrchanus* were made profelytes to the *Jewish* religion; and when they had thus taken on them the religion of the *Jews* they continued united to them ever after, till at length the name of *Edomites* was lost in that of *Jews*, and both people became consolidated into one and the same nation together.

PTOLEMY Physcon, ^dwhile he lay in *Cyprus*, fearing lest the *Alexandrians* should make his son, whom he had appointed governor of *Cyrene*, King in his stead, sent for him from thence to come to him, and on his arrival put him to death, for no other reason, but to prevent that which perchance without any reason he feared as to this matter. By ^ewhich cruel barbarity the *Alexandrians* being farther exasperated pulled down and demolished all his statues, wherever erected in their city; which he interpreting to have been done at the instigation of *Cleopatra* his divorced Queen, for the revenging of it upon her, caused *Memphitis* the son he had by her, a very hopeful and beautiful young Prince, to be slain before his face, and then cutting his body into pieces put them all into a box, with the head thereby to shew to whom they belonged, and sent it with them therein enclosed to *Alexandria* by one of his guards, ordering him to present it to the Queen on the day then approaching, which he knew was to be celebrated with feasting and festival joy, as being the anniversary of her birth; and accordingly in the midst of the festivity it was presented to her, which soon turned all the rejoicing and mirth of the festival into sorrow and lamentation, and excited in all present that horror and detestation against the tyrant, as so monstrous and unparallel'd a cruelty deserved; and this dismal present being exposed to the people gave them the same sentiments, and provoked them with the greater earnestness to arm for the keeping so great a monster of cruelty and barbarity from any more returning again to reign over them, and accordingly an army was raised under

^b Matth. xxiii. 15. ^c Intermarriages must be excepted; for from these some nations were excluded for ever, and others till after some generations, and particularly the *Edomites* were till the third generation. See what hath been said of this, Part I. Book VI. under the year 428. ^d Justin. lib. 38. cap. 8.

^e Justin. ibid. m. Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valefii p. 374. Valerius Maximus lib. 9. cap. 2. Livii Epitome lib. 59.

the command of *Marsyas*, whom the Queen had made her general to defend the countrey against him.

PHRAATES having drawn upon him the war of the *Scythians*^g, committed an oversight in the managing of it as great as the injustice whereby he brought it upon him: For to strengthen himself against these enemies, he intrusted his safety into the hands of those whom he had made more his enemies than the others, that is the *Grecian* mercenaries, who followed King *Antiochus* in his late expedition into those parts against him. For having taken prisoners great numbers of them in the late overthrow of that Prince, he on the breaking out of this new war lifted them all among his other forces, for the better strengthening of his army for it. But when they had thus gotten arms into their hands, remembring the wrongs, insolencies, and other ill usages with which they had been treated during their captivity, resolved to make use of this opportunity to be revenged for them; and therefore as soon as the armies joined battel they went over to the *Scythians*, and by this conjunction with them overthrew the *Parthians* with a great slaughter, cutting off *Phraates* himself in the rout, and most of his army with him. After this the *Grecians* and *Scythians* having plundered the countrey, ^h contented themselves with this revenge, and both returned again into their own countries. On their departure ⁱ *Artabanus* the uncle of *Phraates* took the crown of *Parthia*; but being within a few days after slain in battel by the *Thogarians*, another nation of the *Scythian* race, he was succeeded by *Mithridates*, who by the greatness of his actions afterwards acquired the name of *Mithridates the Great*.

PTOLEMY Physcon having gotten together an army, ^k sent it against the *Alexandrians* under the command of *Hegelochus* his general, and there-
on a battel ensuing between him and *Marsyas* the general of the *Alex-
andrians*, *Hegelochus* got the victory, and took *Marsyas* prisoner, and sent him in chains to *Physcon*. But when it was expected, that according to his usual cruelty he would have put him to some tormenting death, contrary to what every body expected, he pardoned him and let him go: For having fully experienced what mischiefs followed upon him for his cruelties, he became weary of them, and acted in the contrary extreme; and as he had put multitudes to death contrary to all reason, so he now pardoned this man without any reason at all for it. *Cleopatra* being distressed by this overthrow, and the loss of her *Alexandrian* army, they being most of them cut in pieces in the rout, ^l sent to *Demetrius* King of *Syria*, who had married her eldest daughter by *Philometor*, for his assistance, promising him the crown of *Egypt* for his reward; which proposal *Demetrius* gladly accepting of, marched into *Egypt* with all his forces, and there laid siege to *Pelusium*.

ABOUT this time *Hyrcaus*^m sent an embassy to the *Romans* to renew the league made with them by *Simon* his father, which was readily consented to by the senate. And whereas *Antiochus Sidetes* had made war upon the *Jews* contrary to what the *Romans* had in their behalf decreed in that league, and taken from them several cities, and had made them to become tributaries for *Gazara*, *Joppa*, and some other places, which they were permit-

An. 128.
John
Hyrca-
nus 8.

^g Justin. lib. 42. cap. 1.
Siculus in excerptis Valesii, p. 376.
Sebiana Scaligeri, p. 61.

^h Justin. lib. 42. cap. 2.

ⁱ Justin. ibid.

^k Diodorus
Græca Eu-

^l Justin. lib. 38. cap. 9. & lib. 39. cap. 1.

^m Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17.

ted still to hold, and forced them to a disadvantageous peace by besieging *Jerusalem*; on the ambassadors setting forth all this before the senate, they agreed, that whatsoever had been done against them of this kind since their said last league with *Simon* should be all null and void; that *Gazara*, *Joppa*, and all other places that had been either taken from them by the *Syrians*, or been made tributary to them contrary to the tenor of the said league, should be all again restored to them, and made free of all homage, tribute, or other services; and that reparations should be made them by the *Syrians*, for all damages done them contrary to what the senate had decreed in their league with *Simon*; and that the *Syrian* Kings should have no right to march their soldiers or armies thorough the *Jewish* territories; and that ambassadors should be sent to see all this fully executed. And it was farther ordered, that money should be given the *Jewish* ambassadors for the bearing of their expences in their journey homeward, and that letters should be written to all the confederate states and princes in their way thither, to give them a safe and honourable passage thorough their dominions; and all this was accordingly done, which much rejoiced *Hyrca- nus* and all the *Jewish* nation.

An. 127.
John
Hyrca-
nus 9.

AND therefore the next year after they^a sent to them another embassy by *Alexander* the son of *Jason*, *Numenius* the son of *Antiochus*, and *Alexander* the son of *Dorotheus*, to return their thanks for the said decree, and in acknowledgment of it they presented them by the said ambassadors with a cup and a shield both of gold, to the value of fifty thousand gold pieces of their money. Whereon another decree was made in their favour, ratifying and confirming all that was granted them in the decree of the former year. This decree is in *Josephus* recited at large (*Antiq.* book 14. chap. 16.) but it is there misplaced, as if it had been enacted in the time of *Hyrca- nus the second*; whereas the subject matter of it, and the date which it bears, manifestly proves that it can be none other than that which was now granted to *Hyrca- nus the first*, and could not possibly be that which was granted to *Hyrca- nus the second*, the grandson of the other, in whose time *Josephus* placeth it. For first as to the subject matter of it, *Josephus*^o tells us in the place where he inserts it, that it was to give licence to rebuild the walls of *Jerusalem* which *Pompey* had pulled down; but there is not one word of any such matter in that decree, nor doth it contain or import any thing more than the renewing and confirming of a former league of friendship and alliance made with them, which plainly refers to that league which was made with them in the time of *Hyrca- nus the first*, in the year last here before preceding. And secondly, as to the date which it bears, it is in the ninth year of *Hyrca- nus*, which cannot be understood of *Hyrca- nus the second*: For *Josephus* tells us, that the decree which was made for the rebuilding of the walls of *Jerusalem*, was granted by *Julius Cæsar* to *Hyrca- nus the second*,^p after the end of the *Alexandrian* war, in reward of the assistance which *Hyrca- nus the second* sent him in it. But that war was not ended till the 47th year before *Christ*, long after the ninth year of that *Hyrca- nus*: For the 47th year before *Christ*, was the se-

^a Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 16.

^o Josephus ibid.

^p Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 15,

& 16. It's most likely this was not granted by Julius Cæsar till the year of his fifth consulship, and that it is the same which is now extant under that date in the 17th chapter of the 14th book of Josephus's antiquities.

venteenth year of *Hyrchanus the second*, reckoning from the time of his restoration by *Pompey*, but the twenty third reckoning from the beginning of his reign on the death of his mother. And farthermore the preface to that decree, which *Josephus* tells us was for the rebuilding of the walls of *Jerusalem*, bears date in the ides of *December*, (*i. e.* the 13th of that month,) whereas the date of the decree it self, which he puts under that preface, is in *Panemus* the *Syro-Macedonian* month, which answers to our *July*, and therefore it could not possibly be the decree that belonged to that preface. All this put together plainly shews this decree of the ninth year of *Hyrchanus* could not be the decree granted to *Hyrchanus the second* by *Julius Cæsar* for the rebuilding of the walls of *Jerusalem*, but ^a most certainly it must be that which was granted to *Hyrchanus the first* by the *Roman* senate in this year where I have placed it, and that it was by the mistake of *Josephus* that it was put by him elsewhere. And this is beyond all contradiction confirmed by that *Numenius* the son of *Antiochus* is said in the body of the decree to have been one of the ambassadors by whom it was obtained, who was the same ^r that had been one of the ambassadors that were sent to *Rome* by *Jonathan* on a like embassy: For he might have well been alive to go on such an embassy in the ninth year of *Hyrchanus the first*, but cannot be supposed to have been so after the ending of the *Alexandrian* war, which was near an hundred years after the former embassy, in which he was employed by *Jonathan*. ^s *Joseph Scaliger* takes notice of this blunder of *Josephus's*, but while he mends it he makes as great ones of his own, which *Salianus* the Jesuit ^t justly corrects him for.

DEMETRIUS King of *Syria* having ^u by his tyrannical government, vicious manners, and a most perverse and disagreeable behaviour, made himself as odious to the *Syrians*, as *Phyfeon* was to the *Egyptians*, they took the advantage of his absence at the siege of *Pelusium* to rise in rebellion against him. The *Antiochians* began the revolt, and soon after the *Apameans*, and many other of the *Syrian* cities followed their example, and joined with them herein. This forced *Demetrius* to hasten out of *Egypt* to look to his interest at home. Whereon ^w *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt* being defeated of the assistance which she expected from him, put all her treasure on shipboard, and fled with it by sea to *Ptolemais* to *Cleopatra* Queen of *Syria* her daughter by *Philometor*, who there resided. This *Cleopatra* the daughter had first married *Alexander Balas*, and afterwards this *Demetrius* in her father's life time; but after that *Demetrius* being taken prisoner in *Parthia*, and there detained in captivity, she became the wife of *Antiochus Sidetes* his brother, and after his death returned again to the bed of *Demetrius*, on his coming out of *Parthia* and recovering his kingdom, and then held *Ptolemais*, when her mother came to her. *Phyfeon* on her flight out of *Egypt* returned again to *Alexandria*, and re-assumed the government, there being no power in that place after the defeat of *Marsyas*, and the flight of *Cleopatra*, that could any farther oppose him. After he had again settled himself in the kingdom, to be revenged on *Demetrius* for his late invasion, ^x he set up an impostor against

^a De hac re vide Usserii annales sub anno J. P. 4587.

^r 1 Maccab. xii. 16.

^s In animadversionibus in chronologica Eusebii sub numero 1971.

^t sub anno mundi 4007,

§ 36, 37. ^u Justin. lib. 39. cap. 1. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17.

^w Justin. ibidem.

^x Justin. ibidem. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17.

him, who was called *Alexander Zebina*: He was the son of a broker of *Alexandria*, but feigning himself to be the son of *Alexander Balas*, under that pretended title claimed the crown of *Syria*, and *Physcon* furnished him with an army to take possession of it. On his arrival in *Syria* multitudes joined with him, out of the great aversion they had to *Demetrius*, without examining at all the title of the pretender, as not caring whom they had for their King so they could get rid of *Demetrius*.

An. 126.
John
Hyrca-
nus 10.

At length the controversy^y was brought to the decision of a battle, which was fought near *Damascus* in *Cæle-Syria*, wherein *Demetrius* being overthrown, fled to *Ptolemais* to *Cleopatra* his wife. But she retaining her resentments against him for his marrying *Rhodaguna*, while in *Parthia*, took this opportunity of being revenged for it, and shut the gates against him; whereon being forced to flee to *Tyre*, he was there slain. After his death *Cleopatra* retained some part of the kingdom, and *Zebina* reigned over all the rest; and for the better securing of himself in it, ^z he made a strict league and alliance with *John Hyrcanus* Prince of the *Jews*, and *John* made all the advantages of these divisions, which might justly be expected from so wise a man, for the establishing of his own and his country's interest, and he much improved the state of the *Jews* thereby.

An. 125.
John
Hyrca-
nus 11.

VAST^a numbers of locusts about this time coming into *Africa*, there destroyed the fruits of the earth, and at last being by the wind driven into the sea, and there drowned, and by the flowing of the tide cast up upon the land, caused such a stench as poisoned the air, and produced a most terrible plague, which in *Libya*, *Cyrene*, and other parts of *Africa* destroyed above eight hundred thousand persons.

An. 124.
John
Hyrca-
nus 12

SELEUCUS the eldest son of *Demetrius Nicator* by *Cleopatra* being now about twenty years old, ^b took upon him to reign in *Syria* in his father's stead, contrary to the good liking of his mother: For she having on the death of *Demetrius* seized part of the *Syrian* empire, thought to have reigned there by her own authority, and therefore was very angry at the setting up of her son against her; and besides she feared he would revenge his father's death upon her, which it was well known she had been the cause of; and therefore having gotten him within her power, she slew him with her own hands, by thrusting a dart thorough him, after he had reigned only one year.

^c *ANTIPATER*, *Clonius*, and *Æropus*, three of *Zebina's* chief commanders, having revolted from him to *Cleopatra*, seized *Laodicea*, and there endeavoured to maintain themselves against him; but he having soon reduced them, on their submission, out of his great clemency and magnanimity pardoned them all, without doing any hurt to either of them: For he was a person of a very benign temper, and carried himself with a great deal of good nature, affability and courtesy towards all that came in his way, which made him very much beloved even by those who liked not the imposture whereby he usurped the crown.

^y Justin. lib. 39. cap. 1. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17. Appianus in Syriacis. Livii epitome, lib. 60. Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri. ^z Josephus, ibid.

^a Livii epitome, lib. 60. Orosius, lib. 5. cap. 11. Julius Obsequens de prodigiis.

^b Livii epitome, lib. 60. Appianus in Syriacis. Justin. ibid. Porphyrius, ibid.

^c Diodorus Sic. in excerptis Valesii, p. 377.

In this year ^d died *Mithridates Euergetes* King of *Pontus*, being slain by the treachery of some of those that were about him. He was ^e succeeded by his son the famous *Mithridates Eupator*, who struggled so long with the *Romans* for the empire of *Asia*, having maintained a war against them for about ^f thirty years. He was but twelve years old when he began to reign, for he is ^g said to have lived seventy two years, and to have reigned sixty of them. He was descended from a long series of Kings, who had reigned in *Pontus* before him. The first of them was ^h one of those seven Princes that slew the *Magians*, and settled the kingdom of *Persia* on *Darius Hystaspis*, and having obtained the sovereignty of this countrey, transmitted it to his posterity through sixteen generations, *Mithridates Eupator* being reckoned ⁱ the sixteenth from him. The first of these, of whom we find a name in history, is that *Mithridates*, ^k who dying in the year before *Christ* 363, was succeeded by *Ariobarzanes* his son, then governor of *Phrygia* for *Artaxerxes Mnemon* King of *Persia*, who having ^l reigned twenty six years, was succeeded by ^m his son, *Mithridates the second*, in the year 337; he first took part ⁿ with *Eumenes* against *Antigonus*, but when *Eumenes* was slain he submitted to the conqueror, and served him in his wars, and being a man of great valour and military skill, he was very useful to him; but at length being suspected of being an underhand favourer of *Cassander*, *Antigonus* ^o caused him to be put to death in the year 302, after he had reigned thirty five years; on his death ^p he was succeeded by his son *Mithridates the third*. While his father lived, ^q he had for some time resided in the court of *Antigonus*, and there contracted a great intimacy and friendship with *Demetrius* his son. But ^r *Antigonus* having dreamed that when he had sowed a field with golden seed, and it had brought forth a plentiful crop of the same metal, *Mithridates* had reaped it all, and carried it away with him into *Pontus*, he concluded that this dream foretold that *Mithridates* should reap the fruit of all his victories, and therefore for the preventing of it resolved to put him to death. But *Mithridates* being warned hereof by *Demetrius*, made his escape into *Cappadocia*, and there having gotten together an army, seized several places and territories in those parts which there belonged to *Antigonus*, and having after his father's death succeeded him, he added these acquisitions to the kingdom of *Pontus*, whereby having very much enlarged it, he is reckoned as the founder of it, and therefore is by historians called ^s *Ktistes*, i. e. the founder. He reigned in *Pontus* ^t thirty six years, and on his death, which happen'd in the year 266, left his kingdom ^u to *Ariobarzanes* his son. From this *Mithridates the founder*, *Mithridates Eupator* was ^v the eighth; but of these history furnisheth us with the names only of ^w six, and these are 1 *Mithridates Ktistes*, 2 *Ariobarzanes*, 3 *Mithridates*, 4 *Pharnaces*, 5 *Mithridates Euer-*

^d Justin. lib. 37. cap. 1. Strabo. lib. 10. p. 477. ^e Memnon, cap. 32. Strabo & Justin. ibidem. ^f Justin saith 46 years, lib. 37. cap. 1. Appian. in Mithridaticis 42 years. Florus & Eutropius 40 years. But Pliny, lib. 7. cap. 26. saith it lasted only 30 years, and he comes nearest the truth of the matter. ^g Eutropius, lib. 6. ^h Polyb. lib. 5. p. 388. L. Florus, lib. 3. cap. 5. Diodor. Sic. lib. 19. Aurelius Victor. ⁱ Appian. in Mithridaticis. ^k Diodorus Siculus, lib. 15. ^l Diodorus Siculus, lib. 16. ^m Diodorus Siculus, lib. 19. ⁿ Diodorus Siculus, lib. 20. ^o Plutarchus in Demetrio. Appianus in Mithridaticis. ^p Strabo, lib. 12. p. 562. Appian. in Mithridaticis. ^q Diodorus Sic. lib. 20. ^r Memnon, cap. 25. Diodorus Sic. ibid. ^s Plutarchus in Demetrio. Appian. in Mithridaticis. ^t And for this reason perchance it is, that whereas Appian saith in one place of his Mithridaticis, that Mithridates Eupator was the eighth from Mithridates Ktistes, he saith it in another place, that he was only the sixth. See Appian. p. 176. & p. 249.

getes and 6 *Mithridates Eupator*. Of *Ariobarzanes* no more is said, but that ^v he succeeded his father. *Mithridates*, who is the next that is named, ^w married the daughter of *Seleucus Callinicus* King of *Syria*, and having by her a daughter called *Laodice*, ^x gave her in marriage to *Antiochus the Great* son of *Callinicus*; and only on the account of these two marriages is he any where made mention of. *Pharnaces* ^y seized the city of *Synope*, and added it to the kingdom of *Pontus* in the year 183; made ^z war with *Eumenes* King of *Pergamus* in the year 182; invaded ^a *Galatia* in the year 181; and on these accounts, and several others, he is often spoken of; but for nothing more, than for the abominable character left behind him ^b of being one of the wickedest Princes that ever reigned. *Mithridates Euergetes* is the next that is named in this race of Kings. This *Mithridates* was son to *Pharnaces*, and grandson to *Mithridates* the immediate predecessor of *Pharnaces*. For that *Mithridates* according to ^c *Justin*, was great-grandfather to *Mithridates Eupator*, and therefore *Pharnaces* must have been his son, *Mithridates Euergetes* his grandson, and *Mithridates Eupator* his great-grandson. The first time we hear of this *Mithridates Euergetes* is in the year 149, when ^d he aided the *Romans* with some ships in the third *Punic* war; and he was aiding to them also ^e in their war with *Aristonicus*; for the reward of which on the ending of that war, ^f they gave him the province of the greater *Phrygia*. The last of this series was *Mithridates Eupator*, the Prince we now speak of; and he being the most remarkable person of the time in which he lived, I hope it will not be unacceptable to the reader, to have an account here given of the race from whence he proceeded. It is very remarkable, ^g that at the time of his birth there appeared a very great comet for seventy days together, and the like again for the same number of days at the time of his accession to the crown; the tails of both which were so large, as to take up one quarter of the hemisphere. These seemed to portend, that he should be a great incendiary in the world, and so he proved. He begun his reign ^h with the murder of his mother and his brother; and all the rest of his actions were of a piece herewith. He was a person of very extraordinary abilities, and endowments of mind, but he employed them all to the mischief of mankind, and many were the thousands that perished by it.

An. 123.
John
Hyrca-
nus 13.

CLEOPATRA having slain *Seleucus* her eldest son in the manner as I have related, found it necessary to have one with the name of King to give countenance and support to the authority by which she governed; and therefore having formerly sent *Antiochus* the other son, which she had by *Demetrius*, to *Athens* for the benefit of his education, she recalled him from thence to take this name upon him, ⁱ and on his arrival declared him King of *Syria*, but with intent to allow him no more than the royal style, and keep all the authority to her self; and being then very young, as not

^v Diodor Sic. lib. 20.

^w Justin. lib. 38. cap. 5.

^x Polybius lib. 5. p. 388.

^y Strabo lib. 12. p. 545, 546.

^z Livius lib. 40. Polybius legat. 51, 53, 59.

^a Polybius legat. 55.

^b Polybius in excerptis Valesii, p. 130.

^c Lib. 38. cap. 5.

^d Appian in Mithridaticis.

^e Justin. lib. 37. cap. 1. Eutropius lib. 4.

^f Justin. ibid. & lib. 38.

cap. 5. Appian. in Mithridaticis.

^g Justin. lib. 37. c. 2

^h Memnon in excerptis Photii

cap. 32.

ⁱ Justin. lib. 39. cap. 1. Appian. in Syriacis.

yet exceeding ^kthe age of twenty, if so much, he was contented for some time to be made her property. To distinguish him from the other *Antiochus's* he is commonly called ^l*Grypus*, a name taken from ^mhis hook nose. He is called *Philometor* by ⁿ*Josephus*, but *Epiphanes* by himself in his coins.

ZEBINA on the death of *Demetrius Nicator* having settled himself An. 122. John Hyrcanus 14. in a great part of the *Syrian* empire, *Phyſcon*, by whom he was advanced hereto, expected he should hold it as in homage and dependence from him, ^owhich *Zebina* not understanding, nor in any point complying therewith; *Phyſcon* resolved to pull him down again as fast as he had set him up, and therefore coming to an agreement with Queen *Cleopatra* his neice married *Tryphena* his daughter to *Grypus* her son, and sent an army to her assistance, whereby *Zebina* being overthrown fled to *Antioch*; but there endeavouring privately ^pto rob the temple of *Jupiter* for the carrying on of the war, and being detected in the attempt, the *Antiochians* rose in a tumult against him, and drove him thence; whereon being forced to shift from place to place about the countrey, he was at length taken, and put to death.

L. OPIMIUS and *Q. Fabius Maximus* being consuls at *Rome*, the seasons of the year in all their turns ^aproved so very kindly and benign, that An. 121. John Hyrcanus 15. the fruits of the earth now produced were beyond what they used to be in other years, and especially their wine, which was this year of that excellency and strength, that some of it was kept for two hundred years after, it being the famous *Opimian* wine (so called from the name of the consul) which is so much spoken of by the poets.

AFTER *Zebina* was vanquished and slain, *Antiochus Grypus* now growing to maturity of age began to take on him the authority as well as the name of King, whereby the power of *Cleopatra* in the government becoming very much eclipsed, she could not bear this diminution of her grandeur and domination, and therefore for the recovering of it again wholly to her self, that so she might again absolutely rule and govern the *Syrian* empire, she resolved ^rto make away with *Grypus*, as she had before with *Seleucus*, and call to the crown another son of hers, which she had by *Antiochus Sidetes*; under whom, he being very young, she presumed she might much longer have the full enjoyment of the royal authority, and thereby have the opportunity of gathering strength for the fixing of her self in it for all her life after. And therefore for the executing of this wicked design having provided a cup of poison she offered it to *Grypus* one day, as he came hot and weary from exercising himself, but being forewarned of the mischief she intended him, he forced her to drink it all her self, and it had its full operation upon her, and thereby an end was put to the life of a most wicked and pernicious woman, who had long been the plague of *Syria*. She had been the wife of ^sthree Kings of that countrey, and the mother of An. 120. John Hyrcanus 16.

^kDemetrius his father married Cleopatra Anno 146. and Seleucus was the eldest son of that marriage, and therefore Grypus, who was the second son, cannot be supposed at this time to be above 20.

^lJustin. lib. 39. cap. 1.

^mΓρυπὸς in Greek signifieth one that is hook-nosed.

ⁿAntiq. lib. 13. cap. 20.

^oJustin. lib. 39. cap. 2.

^pJustin. ibid. Diodorus Siculus in

excerptis Valesii, p. 378.

^qPlinius lib. 14. cap. 4. & cap. 14.

^rJustin. lib. 39. c. 2. Appian. in

Syriacis.

^sThe three Kings of Syria, whom she had for her husbands, were Alexander Balas, Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes, And her four sons were Antiochus by Alexander Balas, Seleucus and Antiochus Grypus by Demetrius, and Antiochus Cyzicenus by Antiochus Sidetes.

four; two of her husbands she had been the death of, and of her said sons one she murdered with her own hands, and would have served *Grypus* in the same manner, but he made her wicked design turn upon her own head, as I have related, and thereon having settled his affairs in peace and security he reigned several years after without any disturbance, till at length *Cyzicenus* his brother by the same mother rose up against him, as will be hereafter related in its proper place.

An. 117.
John
Hyrca-
nus. 19.

PTOLEMY *Phyſcon* King of *Egypt* ^a after having reigned there from the death of *Philometor* his brother twenty nine years died at *Alexandria*, and thereby did put an end to a most wicked life, and to a most cruel and tyrannical reign, he being infamous for both beyond all that reigned in that countrey before him, whereof too many instances are given in the foregoing part of this history. He left behind him three sons, the eldest named *Apion* ^b he had by a concubine, the other two ^c by *Cleopatra* his neice, whom he had married after his divorcing of her mother, the eldest of these was called ^d *Lathyrus*, and the other ^e *Alexander*. By his will ^f he left the kingdom of *Cyrene* to *Apion*, and that of *Egypt* to *Cleopatra* in conjunction with one of her sons, which she should like best of the two to make choice of; and she looking on *Alexander* as the likelier to be compliant with her, ^g offered to make choice of him; but the people not bearing that the eldest should be put by the right of his birth, forced her to send for him from *Cyprus*, where in his father's life time she had procured him to be banish'd, and admit him as King to reign in copartnership with her. But before she would suffer him to be inaugurated at *Memphis* according to the usage of the countrey, ^h she forced him to divorce *Cleopatra* the eldest of his sisters (whom he had taken to be his wife, and dearly loved) and marry in her stead *Selene* his younger sister, who was not so acceptable to him. On his inauguration he took the name ⁱ of *Soter*; ^j *Athenæus* and ^k *Pausanias* call him *Philometor*, but *Lathyrus* is the name by which he is mostly named in history. But that being ^l a nic-name not tending to his honour, it was never owned by him.

An. 114.
John
Hyrca-
nus 22.

ANTIOCHUS *Grypus* while he was preparing for a war against the *Jews* ^m was prevented by a war at home raised against him by *Antiochus* *Cyzicenus* his half brother. He was the son of *Cleopatra* by *Antiochus* *Sidetes*, born to him of her, while *Demetrius* her former husband was a prisoner among the *Parthians*. But on *Demetrius*'s returning again, and repossessing his kingdom after the death of *Sidetes*, *Cleopatra* fearing how *Demetrius* might deal with him, should he fall into his hands, sent him out

^a Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri, Ptolemæus astronomus in canone. Epiphanius de ponderibus & mensuris. Hieronymus in Daniele cap. ix. ^b Justin. lib. 39. cap. 5. Appian. in Mithridaticis in fine libri. ^c Justin. lib. 39. cap. 3. ^d Trogius Pompeius in prologo 39 & 40. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18. Clemens Alexandrinus Strom. lib. 1. Strabo lib. 17. p. 795. Plin. lib. 2. cap. 67. & lib. 6. cap. 30. ^e Porphyrius ibidem. Justin. lib. 39. cap. 4.

^f Justin. lib. 39. cap. 3. ^g Pausanias in Atticis. Justin. ibidem. ^h Justin. lib. 39. cap. 3. ⁱ Porphyrius ibidem. Ptolemæus in canone. Eusebius in Chronico. Epiphanius de ponderibus & mensuris. Hieronymus in Daniele cap. 9. ^j Athenæus lib. 6. p. 252. ^k In Atticis.

^l *Λάθυρος* signifieth a pea, which the Latins call Cicer, from whence the family of the Cicero's had their name, because of an excrescence, which one of their ancestors had on his nose like a pea; but for what reason Ptolemy Lathyrus had this name is no where said. Perchance it was because of such like excrescence some where upon him in constant view, either on his nose or face.

^m Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 17. Appianus in Syriacis. Justin. lib. 39. cap. 2. Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri p. 61.

of his reach to *Cyzicus*, a city lying on the *Propontis* in the *Lesser Mysia* where he was bred up under the care and tuition of *Craterus* a faithful eunuch, to whose charge he was committed, and therefore from hence he had the name of *Cyzicenus*. *Grypus* being jealous of him endeavoured to have him taken out of the way by poison, which being discovered forced *Cyzicenus* to arm against him for his life, as well as for the crown of *Syria*. And it is often the hard case of Princes to be thus brought to a necessity either to reign or dye, without having any medium between for their choice.

CLEOPATRA whom *Lathyrus* was forced to divorce, after that separation ^h disposed of her self in marriage to *Cyzicenus*, and having gotten together an army in *Cyprus* instead of a dower carried that with her to him into *Syria* for his assistance in this war against his brother, whereby his forces being made equal to those of his brother he came to a battel with him, but having had the misfortune to be overthrown he fled to *Antioch*, and having there left his wife, as he thought, in a safe place, he went thence to other parts for the recruiting of his broken forces. Hereon *Grypus* laid siege to *Antioch*, and he having taken the place, *Tryphæna* the wife of *Grypus* earnestly desired to have *Cleopatra* delivered into her hands, that she might put her to death, so bitterly was she enraged against her though her own sister both by father and mother, for that she had married her husband's enemy, and brought an army to his assistance against him. But *Cleopatra* having taken sanctuary in one of the temples at *Antioch*, *Grypus* was very unwilling to comply with the rage of his wife in this matter. He urged against it the sacredness of the place, where she had taken refuge, and farther told her, that the putting her to death would serve to no purpose, that the cutting of her off would no way weaken or hurt the interest of *Cyzicenus*, nor the keeping of her alive be of any strengthening to it; that in all the wars, whether domestical or foreign, which he or his ancestors had been engaged in, it had never been their usage after victory obtained to execute cruelty upon women, especially upon so near a relation. That *Cleopatra* was her sister, and also ⁱ his own near kinswoman, and therefore he desired her to press this thing no farther, for he could not comply with her in it. But *Tryphæna*, instead of being dissuaded hereby from what she so cruelly intended against her sister, was the more excited to the executing of it. For suspecting this to proceed from some love *Grypus* had contracted for the lady, rather than barely from a pity of her case, she added jealousy to her anger, and therefore being driven by a double passion to work her destruction, in the heat of both she forthwith sent soldiers into the temple, who by her command there slew the unfortunate lady, while embracing the image of the god, to which she fled thither for refuge. This shews how great the rage of this sister was against the other. And thus it often comes to pass, when enmity happens between those of the same family and kindred, the nearer is the relation, the bitterer often is the hatred between them; of which many instances may be found within every man's observation. And the same may also be observed in differences of religion, they that are at the greatest distance herein being seldom so incensed, as the nearest of the subordinate sects usually are against each other.

*An. 113.
John
Hyrca-
nus 23.*

^h Justin. lib. 39. cap. 3.
VOL. II.

ⁱ Phylcon her father was uncle to *Cleopatra* the mother of *Grypus*.

IN the interim *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, who was mother to both these two sisters, expressed no regard or concern for either of them. For her mind being actuated wholly by ambition, and the love of reigning, she employed all her thoughts this way, that is how she might best support her authority in *Egypt*; and there continue to reign without controul, as long as she should live. And therefore for the better strengthening of her self for this purpose ^k she made *Alexander* her younger son King of *Cyprus*, that she might from thence be assisted by him against *Lathyrus* his brother whenever occasion should require.

An. 112.
John
Hyrca-
nus 24.

BUT the death of *Cleopatra* in *Syria* did not long go unrevenge; for ^l *Cyzicenus* having drawn another army together fought a second battel with his brother; and having gained the victory, and in the pursuit of it gotten *Tryphæna* into his power, he sacrificed her to the ghost of his murdered wife, by putting her to such a death as her cruelty to her well deserved. *Grypus* by this overthrow being driven out of *Syria* ^m fled to *Aspendus* in *Pamphylia*, from whence he had also the name of *Aspendius*.

An. 111.
John
Hyrca-
nus 25.

BUT the next year after he ⁿ returning from thence with an army again recovered *Syria*; and the two brothers thenceforth parting the *Syrian* empire between them, *Cyzicenus* reigned at *Damascus* over *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnicia*, and *Grypus* at *Antioch* over all the rest. Both brothers ^o were very excessive in their luxury and other follies, and so were most of the other later *Syrian* Kings, and to this and their divisions they owed the loss of their empire; for they were truly men most unworthy of it.

An. 110.
John
Hyrca-
nus 26.

WHILE these two brothers were thus harrassing each other in war, or else wasting themselves in the luxury of peace, *John Hyrcanus*, ^p grew in riches and power; and finding he had nothing to fear from either of them resolved to reduce *Samaria* under his dominion, and therefore ^q sent *Aristobulus* and *Antigonus* two of his sons to besiege the city; whereon the inhabitants sent to *Antiochus Cyzicenus* King of *Damascus* for his relief, who coming with a great army to raise the siege was met by the two brothers, and being vanquished by them, and pursued as far as *Scythopolis*, he hardly escaped out of their hands.

An. 109.
John
Hyrca-
nus 27.

THE two brothers ^r after the gaining of this victory having again returned to the siege pressed it so hard, that the besieged were forced a second time to send to *Cyzicenus* for relief; but he having not forces enough of his own for the attempt desired the assistance of *Ptolemy Lathyrus* King of *Egypt*; who sent him six thousand auxiliaries much to the dislike of *Cleopatra* his mother. For *Chelchias* and *Ananias* two *Jews* sons of that *Onias* who built the *Jewish* temple in *Egypt*, being her chief favourites, and ministers, that commanded all her forces, and directed all her counsels, for their sake, she much favoured the *Jews*, and was averse to any thing that might tend to their damage, and she had like to have deposed *Lathyrus* from the throne for acting against her will in this matter. When the *Egyptian* auxiliaries arrived, *Cyzicenus* joined them with what forces he had, but durst not openly face the enemy, or make any attempt upon the army,

^k Pausanias in Atticis. Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri.

^l Justin. lib. 39. cap. 3.

^m Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri p. 62.

ⁿ Porphyrius ibid.

^o Diodorus Siculus in excerptis Valesii, p. 385. Athenæus lib. 5. p. 210. & lib. 12. p. 540.

^p Josephus lib. 13. cap. 17.

^q Josephus lib. 13. cap. 18.

^r Josephus ibid.

that lay at the siege, but spent himself wholly in harrassing and plundering the open countrey, hoping thereby to draw the *Jews* from the siege for its relief; but failing of his expectations herein, and finding also that his army, what by surprizes, desertions, and other casualties, was much diminished in the carrying on of this sort of war, he durst not trust himself abroad in the field any longer with it but retired to *Tripoly*, leaving *Callimander* and *Epicrates* two of his prime commanders to pursue the remainder of the war, the former of which rashly venturing upon an enterprize too hard for him, was cut off with all his party; whereon *Epicrates* finding, that nothing farther was to be done, made the best advantage of it, that he could, for his own interest. For coming to an agreement with *Hyrcaus*, for a sum of money he delivered up unto him *Scythopolis*, and all other places, which the *Syrians* had in that countrey, and thereby basely betrayed the interest of his master for his own gain. Whereon *Samaria* being deprived of all farther hopes of relief, was forced, after it had held out a year's siege, to surrender into the hands of *Hyrcaus*, who forthwith wholly demolished the place, causing not only the houses and walls to be pulled down and rased to the ground, but also trenches to be drawn thorough and across the ground, whereon it stood, and to be filled with water, that it might never again be built. They are mistaken, who think this was done out of the hatred, which the *Jews* bore to the sect of the *Samaritans*; for none of that sect then lived in that place. All the inhabitants of that city at this time were of the *Syro-Macedonian* race, and the heathen superstition. For the ancient *Samaritans*, who were of the sect that worshipped God in mount *Gerizim*, had been long before all expelled thence by *Alexander* for the revenging of the death of *Andromachus* his governor of *Syria*, whom they slew in a tumult, as hath been afore related in the first part of this history. After this these expelled *Samaritans* retired to *Shechem*, which hath been the head seat of their sect ever since: And *Alexander* new planted the city with a colony of *Macedonians*, *Greeks*, and *Syrians* mixed together, and they were of their posterity, that then inhabited the place, when *Hyrcaus* made this war against it. From this time *Samaria* continued in its demolished state, till *Herod* rebuilt it, and gave it the name of *Sebaste* in honour of *Augustus*, as will be hereafter related. After this victory *Hyrcaus* became master of all *Judea*, *Galilee*, and *Samaria*, and of several other places in the out-skirts of the countrey round him; whereby he made himself one of the most considerable Princes of the age, in which he lived, and after this none of his neighbours durst any more cope with him, but he enjoyed the remainder of his time in full quiet from all foreign wars.

BUT in the latter end of his life he met with some trouble at home from the *Pharisees*, a busy and mutinous sect among the *Jews*. These by their pretences to a more than ordinary strictness in religion had gained to themselves a great reputation and interest among the common people, and for this reason *Hyrcaus* endeavoured to gain them to him by all manner

An. 108.
John
Hyrca-
nus 28.

^s So saith Josephus in the place last quoted. Sallianus cavils much at him for it, because *Samaria* stood upon an high hill. But Benjamin of Tudela, who was on the place, tells us in his Itinerary; that there were upon the top of this hill many fountains of water, and from these water enough might have been derived to fill these trenches. ^t Σεβαστὸς is Greek for Augustus hence Σεβαστή. ^u Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18.

of favours. He had been bred up in their discipline from the beginning, and therefore professing himself of their sect had always given them all manner of countenance and encouragement; and farther to ingratiate himself with them about this time, invited the heads of the party to an entertainment; and having therein regaled them with all manner of good cheer, he spake to them to this effect: "That the fixed purposes of his mind, as they well knew, had always been to be just in his actions towards men, and to do all things towards God that should be well pleasing to him, according to the doctrines which the *Pharisees* taught; and therefore he desired that if they saw any thing in him, wherein he failed of his duty in either of these two branches of it, they would give him their instructions, that thereby it might be reformed and amended." In answer hereto they all applauded his conduct, all gave him the praise of a just and religious governor, excepting only one man, and *Hyrcaanus* was mightily pleased hereat. But when all these had done with their encomiums, this one man named *Eleazar*, a very ill-natur'd person, and one that much delighted in making disturbances, stood up, and addressing himself to *Hyrcaanus*, said, "Since you are desirous to be told the truth, if you would approve your self a just man, quit the high-priesthood, and content your self with having the government of the people." Whereon *Hyrcaanus* asking him what reason there was for this, he replied, "Because we are assured by the testimony of the ancients among us, that your mother was a captive taken in the wars, and therefore as born of her you are incapable of the high-priesthood, and cannot hold it by the law." And had the matter of fact been true, his inference had been right: For ^w whoever was born of any prohibited marriage was by the law of *Moses* profane, and whoever was thus profane, was by the same law ^x incapable of being Priest or High-priest; now these prohibited marriages among the *Jews* were in respect of the different degrees of the persons to whom they were prohibited of three different sorts. 1. Such as were prohibited to all *Israel*, and these ^y were the marrying within the prohibited degrees of kindred, and ^z the marrying any of another nation. 2. Such as were prohibited to Priests, and ^a these were the marrying of a whore, or a divorced woman, or one that was profane. 3. Such as were prohibited to the High-priest, who over and above all these other prohibited marriages was ^b also forbidden to marry a widow. For the words of the law are that he should take none other to wife but ^b a virgin of his own people. And therefore if an High-priest had a son by any of these prohibited marriages, or a Priest by any of those prohibited to him, that son was profane, and thereby render'd incapable of being either Priest or High-priest. For as the prohibited marriages of the first sort above mentioned, as well as those of the second, were forbidden the Priest, so all three were forbidden the High-priest; that is, the first sort as he was an *Israelite*, the second as he was a Priest, and the third as he was High-priest. And therefore had *Hyrcaanus's* mother ^c been an alien taken captive in war, or any other when first married

^w Levit. xxi. 15. Maimonides in Issure Biah, cap. 19. ^x For the Priest was to be holy, Levit. xxi. 8. but profane is opposite to holy. ^y Levit. xviii. ^z Deuteron. vii. 3.
^a Levit. xxi. 7. ^b Levit. xxi. 13, 14. ^c The words of Eleazar in Josephus may be construed to import not to have been an alien taken in war by the Jews, but a Jewish woman taken captive

married to his father, than one whose marriage was allowed to a Priest; (for *Simon* was no more than a Priest when he first married her) every son born of her would have been profane, and consequently incapable of being either Priest or High-priest. But the matter of fact ^a *Josephus* (from whom alone we have this story) assures was all false, and a most notorious calumny; and therefore the objecting of it was disapproved of, and resented with great indignation by all that were present, and it afterwards became the origin of great disturbances. For *Hyrcanus* not being able to bear that his mother should be thus defamed, and the purity of his birth and his capacity for the high-priesthood be hereby called in question, was exceedingly exasperated hereat; which one *Jonathan*, a zealous disciple of the *Sadducees* (the opposite sect to the *Pharisees*) and an intimate friend of *Hyrcanus* observing, laid hold of this opportunity to set him against the whole party, and draw him over to that of the *Sadducees*. For this purpose he suggested to *Hyrcanus*, that this was not the single act of *Eleazar*, but most certainly a thing concerted by the whole party; that *Eleazar* in speaking of it out was no more than the mouth of all the rest; and that he needed do no more for the full assuring of himself of the truth hereof, than to refer it to them for their opinion, what punishment the calumniator deserved: For if he would be pleased, urged *Jonathan*, to make this experiment, he would certainly find by the lenity of their sentence against the criminal, that they were all parties with him in the crime. *Hyrcanus* hearkening to the suggestion of *Jonathan*, followed his advice, and accordingly proposed it to the heads of the *Pharisees* for their opinion, what punishment *Eleazar* deserved for thus defaming the Prince and High-priest of his people, expecting from them no lesser sentence than that of death. Their answer hereto was, that defamation and calumny were no capital crimes, and therefore could be punished no farther than with ^e whipping and imprisonment. Whereon *Hyrcanus* being fully persuaded that all that *Jonathan* suggested was true, became thenceforth a bitter enemy to the whole sect of the *Pharisees*: For he forthwith abrogated all their traditionary constitutions, enjoined a penalty upon all that should observe them, and utterly renouncing their party, ^f went over to that of the *Sadducees*.

tive by the heathen and made a slave among them, and afterwards redeemed. But which way of the two it be it comes to the same thing: For whatever Jewish woman was thus taken captive by any heathen people, was always supposed to have been deflower'd by them, and such an one was not to be married either to a Priest or an High-priest: And if she were, all her children are reckoned profane, and consequently incapable of being either Priest or High-priest. ^a Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18.

^e This punishment among the Jews was not to exceed forty stripes: (Deut. xxv. 3.) And therefore the whip with which it was inflicted being made with three thongs, and each blow giving three stripes, they never inflicted upon any criminal more than thirteen blows, because thirteen of those blows made 39 stripes, and to add another blow would be to transgress that law, by adding two stripes over and above forty, contrary to its prohibition. And in this manner was it that St. Paul, when whipped of the Jews, received forty save one (2 Corinth. xi. 24.) that is thirteen blows with this threefold whip, which made thirty nine stripes, i. e. forty save one. ^f That is, by embracing their doctrine against the traditions of the elders, added to the written law, and made of equal authority with it; but not their doctrine against the resurrection and a future state: For this cannot be supposed of so good and righteous a man as John Hyrcanus is said to be. It's most probable that at this time the Sadducees had gone no farther in the doctrines of that sect than to deny all their unwritten traditions, which the Pharisees were so fond of. For *Josephus* mentions no other difference at this time between them, neither doth he say that *Hyrcanus* went over to the Sadducees in any other particular than in the abolishing of all the traditional constitutions of the Pharisees, which our Saviour condemned as well as he.

BUT

An. 107.
John
Hyrcanus 29.

BUT *Hyrcanus* did not long live after this ruffle, ^g for he died next year after, having been from the death of *Simon* his father High-priest and Prince of the *Jews* twenty nine years. He was, saith *Josephus*, honoured with three of the highest dignities. For he was according to him a ^h prophet, as well as a Prince and High-priest, of which there are given ^h two instances; first that he foretold that ⁱ *Aristobulus* and *Antigonus* his two eldest sons should not live long after him, but that the succession of the government should come to *Alexander* his third son; and secondly that when *Aristobulus* and *Antigonus* vanquished *Antiochus Cyzicenus* in battel, it ^k was made known to him the very same moment, in which the victory was gained, though he were then at *Jerusalem* at the distance of two days journey from the field of battel. The former they say was revealed to him ^l in a dream of the night, and the other ^m by a voice from heaven, which the *Jews* call *Bath Kol*, i. e. the daughter of a voice, or the daughter voice. For the *Jewish* writers hold, that there were three sorts of revelations anciently among them. The first by *Urim* and *Thummim*, the second by the spirit of prophecy, and the third by *Bath Kol*. The first they say was in use from the erecting of the tabernacle to the building of the temple. The second from the beginning of the world (but mostly under the first temple) till the death of *Malachi* under the second temple. But that after the death of *Malachi* the spirit of prophecy ⁿ wholly ceased in *Israel*, and that ^o thenceforth they had *Bath Kol* in its stead, which they say was a voice from heaven. That they called it *Bath Kol*, i. e. the daughter voice, or the daughter of a voice (for it may be interpreted both ways) seems to be with respect to the oracular voice delivered from the mercy seat, when God was there consulted by *Urim* and *Thummim*. That was the grand and primary voice of revelation; this is of a secondary dignity, and inferior to it, as the daughter is to the mother, and therefore in respect to it and as succeeding in its stead ^p it is called the daughter voice, the other being to it as the mother in precedence both of time and dignity. That it may be understood what kind of oracle this was I shall here give the reader one instance of it ^q out of the *Talmud*, it is as followeth. *Rabbi Jochanan* and *Rabbi Simeon Ben Lachish* desiring to see the face of *R. Samuel* a *Babylonish* doctor, let us follow said they the bearing of *Bath Kol*. Travelling therefore near a school they heard the voice of a boy reading these words out of the first book of *Samuel* xxv. 1. and *Samuel* died; they observed this, and inferred from hence, that their friend *Samuel* was dead, and so they found it had happen'd; for *Samuel* of *Babylon* was then dead. Many more instances of this sort may be produced out of the *Jewish* writings, but this is enough to let the reader see, that their *Bath Kol* was no such voice from heaven as they pretend, but only a phantastical way of divination of their own invention, like the *Sortes Virgilianæ* among the hea-

^g *Josephus* antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18. Eusebius in Chronico.

^h *Josephus* ibid.

ⁱ *Josephus* antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18. & cap. 20.

^k *Josephus* antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18.

^l *Josephus* antiq. lib. 13. cap. 20.

^m *Josephus* antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18.

ⁿ *Talmud* Bab. in

Tract. Sanhedrin fol. 11.

^o See *Lightfoot's* works, vol. 1. p. 485.

^p There is also another rea-

son given for this name, that is that it came out of thunder; that the thunder clap went always first, and then the *Bath Kol* out of it, and that therefore the thunder was as the mother voice and *Bath Kol* as the daughter coming out of it. But this cannot be true, for most of the instances which the *Jewish* writers give us of their *Bath Kol* are without any such thunder preceding.

^q In *Shabbath* fol. 8. col. 3.

thens.

thens. For as with them ^rthe words first dipp'd at in the book of that poet was the oracle whereby they prognosticated those future events, which they desired to be informed of; so with the *Jews*, when they appealed to *Bath Kol*, the next words, which they should hear from any ones mouth were the same. And this they called a voice from heaven, because thereby they thought the judgment of heaven to be declared as to any dubious point they desired to be informed of, and the decrees of heaven to be revealed concerning the future success of any matter, which they would be preinformed of, whensoever in either of these two cases they this way consulted it. The *Sortes Virgilianæ* on the failing of oracles after the coming of *Christ* were instead of them ^s much made use of by the heathens, as long as heathenism remained among the *Romans*: And the christians, when christianity first began to be corrupted, learnt from them the like way of divination, and much practised it without any other change, than by putting the book of the holy scriptures in the place of the book of the heathen poet. This was as ancient as the time of St. *Austin*, who lived in the fourth century, for ^the makes mention of it. And it was practised by *Heraclius* Emperor of the east in the beginning of the seventh century. For being engaged in war against *Chosroes* King of *Persia*, and after a successful campaign being in doubt, where to take his winter quarters ^u enjoined a time of fasting and prayer to all his army, and after that consulted the book of the holy scriptures in this way of divination, and thereby determined himself as to this matter. But it obtained most in the west; especially in *France*, where for several ages ^vit was the practice on the consecration of a new bishop to consult the Bible concerning him by this way of divination, and from the words, which they should first dip at the opening of the book make a judgment of his life, manners, and future behaviour. And the *Normans* on their conquest of this land brought this usage hither with them. On the consecration of *William* the second *Norman* bishop of the diocese of *Norwich* the words, which the Bible first opened at for him were, ^x *Non hunc sed Barabbam*, i. e. *not this man but Barabbas*; by which they made a judgment, that this bishop was not long to continue, and that a thief should come in his place, and so it accordingly happen'd. For *William* soon after dying, *Herbertus de Lozinga* another *Norman* was made his successor, who was chief simony-broker to King *William Rufus* (that King openly selling all ecclesiastical benefices) and had ^y simoniacally obtained of him the abbey of *Winchester* for his father; and the abbey of *Ramsay* for himself, and had now by the like evil means gained this bishoprick. At his consecration the words, which the Bible opened at for him, ^z were the same which *Christ* spoke to *Judas*, when he came to betray him; ^a *amice ad quod venisti*, i. e. *friend wherefore art thou come*. These and the former words for his predecessor putting home up-

^r Videas de his fortibus Petri Molinæi vatem lib. 3. cap. 20. & Glossarium Domini Du Cange in voce *Sortes*. ^s Videas exempla hujus *παρωδομαντείας* apud Ælium Spartianum in Adriano;

& apud Ælium Lampridium in Alexandro Severo. ^t Epistola 109.

^u Theophanes in Chronico. Historia Miscella & Cedrenus in Heraclio.

^v Videas Glossarium Domini Du Cange in vocibus *sortes sanctorum*. ^x John xviii. 40.

^y Henricus Knighton de eventibus Angliæ inter decem scriptores historiæ Anglicanæ p. 2370. Bartholomæus de Cotton in Angliâ sacrâ Wharton. Brompton inter eosdem decem scriptores p. 991. M. Paris p. 15. ^z Knighton & Bartholomæus de Cotton ibidem.

^a Matth. xxvi. 50.

on his conscience, how much he had been a thief and a traitor to *Christ* and his Church, ^b brought him to a thorough repentance for his crimes, and to expiate for them he built the cathedral church of *Norwich*, of which he laid the first stone in the year of our Lord 1096. And afterwards having translated his episcopal chair from *Thetford* to it, he thereby fixed the see of his bishoprick in the city of *Norwich*, and there it hath been ever since. This account may serve not only to shew the great folly of mankind in devising such vain and groundless prognosticks for future events (which too many are guilty of) but also to make us see how abominable the corruptions of the *Romish* Church were in those days, in their thus running into so impious a practice, and making it part of their sacred offices, for such their ordinals are reckoned to be, in which this way of prognosticating at the consecrations of bishops was then directed. This indeed was too gross to be long continued, but when it was dropp'd other things came in its stead altogether as bad. And since it was the ignorance and blind superstition of those ages that introduced these abominations, this tells us how to account for the rise of all the other corrupt practices and doctrines, that still are found remaining among those of that communion,

It is also spoken of to the honour of *Hyrcaus*, that ^c he was the founder of the castle *Baris*, which was the palace of the *Asmonean* Princes in *Jerusalem*, as long as they reigned there. When *Simon* the father of *Hyrcaus* had destroyed the fortrefs on mount *Acra*, in which an heathen garrison had been kept for the *Syrian* Kings, ^d he built fortifications round the mountain, on which the temple stood, for the better securing and fortifying of it against all future insults from the heathens, should any of them in after-times again become masters of *Jerusalem*. And within these fortifications ^e he built an house for himself, and there he dwelt all his life after. This house seems to be the same, which *Hyrcaus* afterwards built into the castle *Baris*. ^f It stood on a steep rock fifty cubits high, without the outer square of the temple upon the same mountain with it, and the south side of it did run parallel with the north side of the said square, beginning westward, and reaching forward to the north-west corner of the same square or beyond it to the length of half a furlong. For it was a square building of two furlongs in compass, that is of half a furlong, or three hundred foot on every side, (for a furlong contained six hundred of our feet.) Here *Hyrcaus*, and all his successors of the *Asmonean* family dwelt, and kept their court; and here they laid up the pontifical stole or sacred robes of the High-priest, and taking them out when they used them on all solemn occasions, and there again depositing them as soon as the said solemnities were over. And thus it continued to be done till the time of *Herod*, who on his being made King of *Judæa* having observed the convenience of the place new built it, and made it a very strong fortrefs. The rock on which it stood, I have already said, was ^f fifty cubits, *i. e.* 75 foot high; this he

^b Knighton & Bartholomæus de Cotton ibidem.

^c Josephus antiq. lib. 18. cap. 6.

^d 1 Maccab. xiii. 52.

^e Josephus de bello Judaico lib. 6. cap. 15. & antiq. lib. 14. cap. 15. & lib. 18. cap. 6. Lightfoot of the temple, Chap. VII.

^f These 50 cubits are not to be understood of the side next the temple, but of the other sides off from it upon the brow of the mountain, on which the temple stood, where this rock from the valley beneath up to the top whereon the castle was built was 50 cubits high.

lined or cased all over with polished marble, whereby he rendered it inaccessible, it not being possible for any one to climb up on it on either of those sides on which it was thus lined by reason of its slipperiness. Upon the top of this rock he built his fortress, and instead of *Baris*, the name it formerly bore, called it, *Antonia*, complimenting thereby *Marcus Antonius* the triumvir, who then governed the eastern provinces of the *Roman* empire. The form of the building was that of a quadrangle all built on every side, wherein were rooms for all the uses of a palace, and of magnificence suitable thereto; and in the middle within was a large *Area* for the soldiers to be in, and round it was a stately piazza or cloister. The whole building was on the outside forty cubits high above the rock, on which it stood; and at the four corners it had four turrets, three of which were fifty cubits high. *i. e.* ten cubits above the rest of the building, and the fourth seventy cubits high, that is thirty above the rest of the building. This fourth turret was that which stood at the south east corner of the fortress; for that lying near the middle of the north side of the great square of the temple, it was built at this height, that from thence might be seen all that was done in the courts within, so that if any tumult should arise in any part of the temple, it might from thence be observed and soldiers sent down to quell it. And for this use there were made from two several parts of the south side of the fortress two pair of stairs leading from thence into the outer cloisters of the temple, that were next adjoining. And thus it was when the tumult was risen in the temple against *St. Paul*, (*Acts* xxi.) the whole of which by observing what hath been above said may be clearly understood. *St. Paul* being to perform his vow as a *Nazarite* (*ŷ.* 26.) was in the court of the women, the south east corner of which was the place appointed for the rites belonging to this matter. Here the *Jews* having found him (*ŷ.* 27.) laid hold of him, and having dragg'd him out of that holier part of the temple into the court of the Gentiles, which was not of the holier part, purposed there to have slain him (*ŷ.* 30, and 31.) which the sentinel, that kept watch on the south east turret of the fortress *Antonia* from thence discerning, gave notice of it; whereon the captain of the fortress taking soldiers ran down the stairs above mentioned into the outer cloisters of the temple, and from thence into the court, where the mutiny was; and having there rescued *Paul* from the multitude he carried him with him into the said fortress or castle up the same pair of stairs, through which he came down (*ŷ.* 32, and 33.) and when he had brought him near the top of them, the people having by that time got round to the place of those stairs without the temple, *Paul* obtained leave of the captain there to speak to them; and from thence he made that speech, which is contained in the twenty second chapter of the said *Acts* of the Apostles. And from what was done in this instance may be understood the use, that was made of this fortress at all other times. It was called *Baris* from *Birab*, which word among the eastern nations signified a palace or royal castle, and in this sense it is often used in those scriptures of the Old Testament, which were written after the *Babylonish* captivity, as in *Daniel*, *Ezra*, *Chronicles*, *Nehemiah*, and *Esther*; which shews it to have been borrowed from the *Chaldeans*, and from them brought into the *Hebrew* language. The septuagint often ren-

ders it by the word ^g *Baris*, and in this sense it is that this fortress was under the *Asmoneans* called *Baris*, that is the *Birah*, or *Royal Palace* of the Prince. For that it was during all the reign of the *Asmoneans*. And when *Herod* first rebuilt it, he intended it for the same purpose. But afterwards finding it more proper for a fortress he built him a palace elsewhere, and turned this into a garrison: For the temple by reason of its height commanding *Jerusalem*, and this fortress in like manner commanding the temple, he thought he could not better keep the other two in order and awe, than by having a good garrison in this fortress. And when *Jerusalem* fell into the hands of the *Romans*, they continued it to the same use, keeping always a strong garrison in it; and by reason of its immediate influence upon the temple the captain of the garrison is in the scriptures of the New Testament called the captain of the temple, *Luke* xxii. 52. *Acts* iv. i. v. 24, 26. The *Asmoneans*, ^h having always kept the pontifical robes in this fortress, here *Herod* on his coming to the crown found them, and here he continued still to keep them in the same place, and so did *Archelaus* his successor, and the *Romans* after him, all upon an opinion, that their having these robes in their possession would be a means for the better keeping of the *Jews* in awe. The ⁱ custom was to lay them up in a cabinet made of purpose for it under the seals of the High-priest, and the treasurer of the temple; and when they needed them for the sacred solemnities, on which they were used, they exhibited their seals to the captain of the castle, and then had the robes delivered to them; and when the solemnities were over, they were then again laid up under the same seals in the same place, and thus it continued to be done, till at length the temple, this fortress, and the robes in it were all destroyed in the deflagration, and total destruction of the city of *Jerusalem* by *Titus* and his *Romans*.

DURING the whole time of *Hyrchanus*'s government all things went with him successfully abroad, and smooth and quiet at home, till his unfortunate breach with the *Pharisees*. But after he fell out with them, and went over to the *Sadducees*, ^k he lost the love of the common people. For they being wholly attached to the *Pharisees* joined with them in their resentments for this procedure. And from this time neither he, nor any of his family could any more recover their affections, which afterwards created them infinite troubles, especially in the time of *Alexander* the son of this *Hyrchanus*, as will be hereafter shewn in the future series of this history.

BUT since I have here spoken of the *Pharisees* and the *Sadducees*, and there will be many occasions hereafter to make mention of them, and also of the other sects and parties among the *Jews*, it will be necessary for the better understanding of the following part of this history here to give the reader a full account of all of them, before I proceed any farther. I have above shewn, that after the return of the *Jews*, from *Babylon*, and the full settling of the *Jewish Church* again in *Judea* by *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*,

^g Hence this word came in use among the Hellenists to denote a castle, tower, or walled fortress, and so Hesychius and Suidas interpret the word, and so also St. Jerom in his comment on Jeremiah cap. 17. and on Hosea cap. 9. and on Psalm 44. But the Ionick and other genuine Greeks used it to signify a fort of a ship, and in this sense the word is used by Herodotus in that part of his history, where he writes of Egyptian affairs. ^h Josephus ibid. ⁱ Josephus ibid. ^k Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18.

there

there arose two parties of men among them, the one, ^l who adhering to the written word, held that in the observance of that alone they fulfilled all righteousness, and therefore thought this alone sufficient to entitle them to the name of *Zadikim*, i. e. *the righteous*; the other, ^m who over and above the written law superadded the traditional constitutions of the elders, and other rigorous observances, which by way of supererogation they voluntarily devoted themselves to; and therefore from hence being reckoned of a superior degree of holiness above the others, they were called *Chasidim*, that is, *the pious*, who are the same that are mentioned ⁿ in the *Maccabees* by the name of ^o *Assideans*. From the former of these proceeded the *Samaritans*, the *Sadducees*, and the *Karraïtes*; and from the latter the *Pharisees* and the *Essenes*; of all which I shall treat in their order.

I. THE *Samaritans* were no more at first than ^p a mongrel sort of heathens, who worshipped the God of *Israel* only in an idolatrous manner, and in conjunction with their other deities, and so continued till *Manasseh* with other fugitive *Jews* coming to them from *Jerusalem* brought with them the book of the law, and out of it taught them to reject all idolatry, and worship the true God only according to the *Mosaic* institution; and from the time that they became thus reformed they may truly be reckoned a sect of *Jewish* religion. But I having treated of them already in the sixth book of the first part of this history, to refer the reader thither is all that I need farther say of them in this place.

II. THE *Sadducees* at the first were no more than what the *Karraïtes* are now; that is, they would not receive the traditions of the elders, but stuck to the written word only. How these traditions grew among the *Jews* I have ^q already given a full account, and the *Pharisees* being the grand promoters of them, hence they and the *Sadducees* became sects directly opposite to each other: And as long as the *Sadducees* opposed them no farther than in this matter only they were in the right; but afterward they imbibed other doctrines, which render'd them a sect thoroughly impious. For,

I. THEY ^r denied the resurrection of the dead, the being of angels, and all existences of the spirits or souls of men departed: For ^s their notion was, that there is no spiritual being but God only; that as to man this world is his all; that at his death body and soul dye together never to live more, and that therefore there is no future reward or punishment. They acknowledged that God made this world by his power, and governs it by his providence, and for the carrying on of this government hath ordained rewards and punishments, but they are in this world only; and for this reason alone was it that they worshipped him, and paid obedience to his laws. In sum, they were *Epicurean Deists* in all other respects, excepting only that they allowed that God made the world by his power, and governs it by his providence. The talmudic story of *Sadoc* the scholar of *Antigonus* of *Socho* tells us, how they came to fall into this impiety, and that from this *Sadoc* they had the name of *Sadducees*. This being ^t above fully related, I

^l Vide Grotii comment. in 1 Maccab. ii. 42.

^m Grotius ibidem. Scaliger in Elencho

Trihæref. cap. 22. ⁿ 1 Maccab. ii. 42. & vii. 13.

^o The word is written with the Hebrew letter Cheth, which is sometimes render'd by Ch, as in *Chasidim*, sometimes by an aspirat, as in *Habron*, and sometimes it is wholly left out, as here in the word *Assideans*.

^p 2 Kings xvii. 33.

^q Part I. book V.

^r Matth. xxii. 23.

Mark xii. 18. Acts xxiii. 8.

^s Josephus antiq. lib. 18. cap. 2. & de bello Judaico, lib. 2. cap. 12.

^t Part II. book I.

need not here again repeat it. But I must confess talmudic stories are but of very little credit with me. When *John Hyrcanus* deserted the sect of the *Pharisees*, and went over to the *Sadducees*, no ⁿ other alteration is mentioned then to have been made by him in that change, but his rejecting and annulling all the traditional constitutions of the *Pharisees*, which makes it probable, that the *Sadducees* were at that time gone no farther in the tenets of their sect than to the denying of these constitutions. And moreover *Hyrcanus* having ^w the character of a just and religious Prince, and all his actions speaking him such, it is not likely that he should embrace so impious a doctrine as that of denying the resurrection and a future state, especially when he was going into that state; (for it was in the latter end of his life that this was done.) All which put together give good reason to suppose that this impiety had not then infected this sect. Whenever it was introduced among them, thus much we may be assured of, that vice and wickedness were the only causes of its birth; and wherever it is elsewhere found it always hath the same parents. When men live such lives that they cannot give God an account of them, they greedily lay hold of any scheme, how false and foolish soever, that shall exempt them from it. *Epicurus's* brag was, that he had delivered the world from the fear of the gods: And to lay asleep the conscience, and deliver mens minds from the fear of God and his judgments, so as to be at liberty to sin on without reluctance or regret, is the only reason that makes any to be *Epicurus's* disciples: And it is most likely that this impiety among the *Jews* had the same original. Under the *Asinonean* Princes the *Jews* grew prosperous, powerful and rich, and their riches produced great luxury and vice; and to free their consciences from the fear of a future accounting for the enormities which grew up from this root, was the true cause that introduced this doctrine against a future state among them. And this is confirmed by what *Josephus* writes of this sect; for ^{*} he tells us, that they were men of quality and riches only that were of it. But since the generality of learned men admit the talmudic story above mentioned concerning the first introduction of this doctrine among them by *Sadoc* the disciple of *Antigonus* of *Socho*, I will enter into no farther contest about it; but having offered my conjectures to the contrary, I leave it to the reader to make his judgment about it as he shall see cause.

2. THE *Sadducees* not only rejected all unwritten traditions, but also ^y all the written word, excepting only that of the five books of *Moses*. And if it be true what the talmudic story above mentioned relates, that *Sadoc* on his first venting of his doctrine against a future state, was forced for the impiety of it to flee to the *Samaritans* for refuge, perchance he might learn this part of his heresy from them: For they admitted only the five books of *Moses*, rejecting all the other parts of holy scripture, as well the prophets as the hagiographa. But it seems most probable that the *Sadducees* rejected these books because they found them inconsistent with their doctrine. There are many places in the prophets and the hagiographa which plainly and undeniably prove a future state, and the resurrection from the dead;

ⁿ Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18.

^w Josephus de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 3.

^{*} Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18. & lib 18. cap. 2.

^y Vide Grotium in Matth. xxii. 23. Drusium

de tribus sectis Judæorum, lib. 3. cap. 9. Lightfoot, vol. 2. p. 1278, Qui probant hoc ex Tertulliano, Hieronymo, aliisque.

and therefore having embraced the doctrine of denying both, they did what usually all hereticks do, that is, reject right or wrong whatsoever did make against them. Some learned men, and among them ^z *Scaliger* for one, hold that they did not reject the other scriptures, but only gave a preference above them to the five books of *Moses*. But the account which is given in the Gospels of the disputation which *Christ* ^a had with the *Sadducees* plainly proves the contrary: For seeing there are so many texts in the prophets and hagiographa, which plainly and directly prove a future state and the resurrection from the dead, no other reason can be given why *Christ* waved all these proofs, and drew his argument only by consequence from what is said in the law, but that he knew they had rejected the prophets and the hagiographa, and therefore would admit no argument but from the law only. Their agreeing with the *Samaritans* in rejecting all traditions, and in receiving no other scriptures than the five books of *Moses* only, hath given an handle to the *Jews* to load the *Samaritans* with the imputation of agreeing with them also in the denial of a future state, and the resurrection from the dead; whereas in this article the *Samaritans* are foundered than the *Jews* themselves, and so continue even to this day.

3. THE third point of the *Sadducees* heresy was ^b about free-will and predestination: For whereas the *Essenes* held all things to be predetermined and fixed in an unalterable concatenation of causes never to be varied from, and the *Pharisees* allowed a free-will in conjunction with predestination, the *Sadducees* differing from both ^c denied all manner of predestination whatever, their doctrine being, that God had made man absolute master of all his actions, with a full freedom to do either good or evil as he shall think fit to chuse, without any assistance to him for the one, or any restraint upon him as to the other: So that whether a man doth good or evil it is wholly from himself, because he hath it absolutely in his own power both to do the one, and avoid the other. In sum, they held the same among the *Jews*, that *Pelagius* did afterwards among the Christians; that is, that there is no help from God either of his preventing grace, or his assisting grace, but that without any such help every man hath in himself full power to avoid all the evil which the law of God forbids, and to do all the good which it commands. And therefore looking on all men to have this power in themselves, it is remarked of them, that ^d whenever they fate in judgment upon criminals, they always were for the severest sentence against him. And indeed their general character was, ^e that they were a very ill-natur'd sort of men, churlish and morose in their behaviour to each other, but cruel and savage to all besides. ^f Their number was the fewest of all the sects of the *Jews*, but they were men of the best quality, and the greatest riches among them. And it is too often found, that those who abound most in the things of this world, are the forwardest to neglect and disbelieve the promises of a better. All those that were of the greatest power and riches among the *Jews* being cut off in the destruction of *Jerusalem* by the *Romans*, this whole sect seems then to have perished with

^z Elench. Trihæref. cap. 16.

^a Matth. xxii. Mark xii. Luke xx.

^b Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9.

^c Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9. & de bello Judaico,

lib. 2. cap. 12.

^d Josephus antiq. lib. 20. cap. 8.

^e Josephus de bello Judaico, lib. 2.

cap. 12.

^f Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18. & lib. 18. cap. 2.

them. For we find no mention made of them as a sect in being for many ages after, till their name was revived again in the *Karraïtes*, which is the next sect of the *Jews* that I am to give an account of.

III. THESE ^s *Karraïtes*, though in the way of reproach they are called *Sadducees* by the other *Jews*, yet agree with them in nothing else but in rejecting all traditions, and adhering only to the written word. Here indeed the *Sadducees* first began, but afterwards went farther into those impious doctrines above described, which the *Karraïtes* have not: For in all other matters they agree with the other *Jews*, neither do they absolutely reject all traditions, but only refuse to allow them the same authority as they do to the written word. They are content to admit them as the opinions of the former doctors, as human helps for the interpreting and the better understanding of the written word, as far as they shall find them conducive thereto, but not to equal them to the written word it self, which all the other *Jews* do. For as to these other *Jews*, I have shewn in the former part of this history, how they hold that besides the written law there was also given to *Moses* from mount *Sinai* an oral law of the same authority with the former; under this latter they comprehend all their traditions, and therefore think themselves under the same obligation to observe them as the written word it self, or rather a greater; for they observe not the written word any otherwise than as interpreted by their traditions. And therefore having in process of time gathered all these traditions into that voluminous book called their *Talmud*, they required the same deference and veneration to be paid that book as to the holy scriptures themselves, founding all their articles of faith upon its dictates, and regulating their practice in all things according to the directions and precepts that are therein. This book was published about the beginning of the sixth century after *Christ*; but when it came to be scann'd and examin'd by such as were men of sense and judgment among them, they not being able to conceive how such trash, nonsense and incredible fables as they found heap'd up therein could come from God, were so shocked hereby that they could not give up their faith to it; but reserving that wholly for the written word of God, received the other only as a work of human composition, to be used only as an help for the interpreting and explaining the written word in such passages of it where it would be found conducive thereto: And for some time their dissent on this point went on without making any breach or schism among them, till about the year of our Lord 750. But then *Anan* a *Jew* of *Babylonia* of the stock of *David*, and *Saul* his son, both learned men in their way, having openly declared for the written word only, and publickly disclaimed and condemned all manner of traditions, excepting such alone as agreed therewith, this forthwith produced a rent and a schism among them, so that they became divided into two parties, the one standing up for the *Talmud* and its traditions, and the other rejecting and disowning both, as containing in their opinion the inventions of men, and not the doctrines and commands of God. Those who stood up for the *Talmud* and its traditions being chiefly the Rabbi's and their scholars and followers, hence this party had the name of *Rabbinists*, and

^s Vide Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum, p. 2112, 2113, &c. Morini exercitationes biblicas, lib. 2. exercit. 7. Hottingeri thesaurum, p. 40. Drusium de tribus Judæorum sectis, lib. 3. cap. 15. Scaligeri Elenchum Trihæres. cap. 2.

the other being for the scripture only, which in the *Babylonish* language is called *Kara*, from hence they had the name of *Karraïtes*, which is as much as to say *Scriptuarians*; under which two names the controversy was thenceforth carried on between them, and so continues even to this day. The *Jews*^h tell us that the cause of this schism was wholly from the ambition and disgust of *Anan*; that being put by from the degree of ⁱ *Gaon*, and also at another time from being chosen ^k *Æchmalotarch* or head of the captivity at *Babylon*, to which he had a pretence as being of the seed of *David*, to be revenged for these two repulses they say he made this division among the people. This sect is still in being, and those that are of it are reckoned men^l of the best learning, and the best probity of all the *Jewish* nation. There are very few of them if any at all in these western parts; the most of them are to be found in *Poland*, *Russia*, and the eastern countries. In the middle of the last century there was an account taken of their numbers, whereby it appears that^m there were then of them in *Poland* 2000, at *Cassa* in *Tartaria Crimæa* 1200, at *Cairo* 300, at *Damascus* 200, at *Jerusalem* 30, in *Babylonia* 100, in *Persia* 600: But all these put together make but a small number in respect of the great bulk of those that are on the other side. Theyⁿ read the scriptures and their liturgies every where both publickly and privately in the language of their countrey in which they dwell. At *Constantinople* they have them in *Greek*, at *Cassa* in *Turkish*, in *Persia* in the *Persian* language, and in *Arabic* in all places where *Arabic* is spoken as the vulgar tongue.

IV. BUT^o the greatest sect of the *Jews* was that of the *Pharisees*: For they had not only the *Scribes*, and all the learned men in the law of their party; but they also drew after them^o all the bulk of the common people. They differed from the *Samaritans* in that besides the law they received the prophets, the hagiographa, and the traditions of the elders, and from the *Sadducees* not only in these particulars, but also in their doctrines about a future state and the resurrection of the dead, and about predestination and free-will.

FOR as to the first of these it is said in scripture, That^p *whereas the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit, the Pharisees confess both*, that is first, that there is to be a resurrection from the dead, and secondly, that there are angels and spirits. But according to *Josephus*^q this resurrection of theirs was no more than a *Pythagorean* resurrection, that is a resurrection of the soul only by its transmigration into another body, and being born a-new with it. But from this resurrection they excluded all that were notoriously wicked: For of such their notion was, that their souls as soon as separated from their bodies were transmitted into a state of everlasting woe, there to suffer the punishment of their sins to all eternity: But as to lesser crimes their opinion was, that they

^h R. Abraham Ben David in *Cabbalâ historicâ*. Zacutus in *Juchasin*. David Gantz in *Zemach David*.

ⁱ Gaon was a title to which their highest doctors were in those times promoted.

^k The *Æchmalotarch* was the head of the captivity in *Babylonia*, and the same in that province that the *Alabarcha* was in *Alexandria*, that is one chosen among the *Jews*, to whom they submitted to be judged and governed according to their law. And such an one they had over them here in *England* under the first *Norman Kings*, who was licensed by them for this office by the name of *Episcopus Judæorum*. See *Selden's Marmora Arundeliana*.

^l Scaliger in *Elencho Trihæref*. cap. 2.

^m Hottingerus in thesauro philologico inter addenda, p. 583.

ⁿ Hottinger. *ibid*.

^o *Josephus antiq.* lib. 13. cap. 9. & cap. 18. lib. 17. cap. 3. & lib. 18. cap. 2. & de bello *Judaico*, lib. 2. cap. 12.

^p *Acts* xxiii. 8.

^q De bello *Judaico*, lib. 2. cap. 12.

were punished in the bodies, which the souls of those, that committed them, were next sent into. And according to this notion was it, that *Christ's* disciples asked him in the case of the man that was born blind, *who did sin this man or his parents, that he was born blind.* For this plainly supposeth an antecedent state of being, otherwise it cannot be conceived, that a man could sin before he was born. And when the disciples told *Christ*, *that some said of him that he was Elias, and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets,* this can be understood no otherwise, but that they thought according to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, that he was come into the world with the soul of *Elias*, or of *Jeremias*, or of some other of the old prophets transmitted into him, and born with him. These two instances put together plainly prove what *Josephus* saith, that, is that the resurrection held by the *Jews* in those times was no other than a *Pythagorean* resurrection of the same soul in another body: But when *Christ* came, who brought life and immortality to light, he first taught the true resurrection of the same body and soul together, and soon after the *Jews* learned it from his followers, and ever since have taught it in the same manner as they did. For all their books now extant speak of the resurrection of the dead, and the last judgment thereon to follow, no otherwise in the main particulars than the christians do.

As to what the *Pharisees* held of predestination and free-will, it is hard to say what their doctrine was as to this matter. For according ^rto *Josephus* they held absolute predestination with the *Essenes*, and free-will with the *Sadducees* jumbled both together. For they ascribed to God and fate all that is done, and yet left to man the freedom of his will. But how they made these two apparent incompatibles consist together is no where sufficiently explained; perchance they meant no more, than that every man freely chuseth, what he is unalterably predestinated to. But if he be predestinated to that choice, how freely soever he may seem to chuse, certainly he hath no free-will, because he is according to this scheme unalterably necessitated to all that he doth, and cannot possibly chuse otherwise.

BUT the main distinguishing character of this sect was their zeal ^u for the traditions of the elders, which they derived from the same fountain with the written word it self, pretending both to have been delivered to *Moses* from mount *Sinai*, and therefore they ascribed equally to both the same authority. How these traditions had their rise after the time of *Ezra*, I have ^walready shewn. This sect of men (who made it their main business to propagate them and promote their observance) had its birth at the same time with them, and they grew up together, till at length they came to such a maturity and ascendancy, that the traditional law ^xswallowed up the written law, and these who were the propagaters of it the whole bulk of the *Jewish* nation. These men ^yby reason of their pretences to a more nice and rigorous observance of the law according to their traditions, which they had super-added to it, looked on themselves as more holy than other men, and therefore separated themselves from those, whom

^r John ix. 2.

^s Matth. xvi. 14.

^t Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9. & lib. 18. cap. 2. & de bello

Judaico lib. 2. cap. 12.

^u Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18. & lib. 18. cap. 2.

^w Part I. Book V.

^x Matth. xv. 1—6. Mark vii. 3, 4.

^y Josephus antiq. lib. 17.

cap. 3. & lib. 18. cap. 2. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 4.

they thought sinners, or prophane, so as ^znot to eat nor drink with them; and hence from the *Hebrew* word *Pharas*, which signifieth to separate, ^athey had the name of *Pharisees*, which is as much as to say *Separatists*. And although their chiefeſt ſeparation was from the common people, whom they called *Am Haaretz*, i. e. *the people of the earth*, and reckoned them no other than as the dung thereof, yet by reaſon of their hypocritical pretences to greater righteouſneſs than others, in the obſervance of the law, they ^bdrew the common people after them, they being above all others in their high eſteem and veneration. This hypocrify our Saviour ^cfrequently chargeth them with, as alſo ^dof their making the law of God of none effect by their traditions. Several of theſe traditions he particularly mentioned and condemned, as appears in the Gospels, but they had a vaſt number more. To go thorough them all would be to tranſcribe the *Talmud*, a book of twelve volumes in *Folio*: For the whole ſubject of it is to dictate and explain all thoſe traditions, which this ſect impoſed to be received and obſerved. And altho' many of them are very abſurd and fooliſh, and moſt of them very burdensome and heavy to be born, yet this ſect hath devour'd all the reſt, they having had for many ages none to oppoſe them among that people, ſaving only thoſe few *Karraïtes* I have mentioned. For excepting them only the whole nation of the *Jews* from the deſtruction of the temple to this preſent time have wholly gone in unto them, and received all their traditions for divine dictates, and to this day obſerve them with much greater regard and devotion, than the written word it ſelf. So that they have in a manner for the ſake of their traditions annul'd all the holy ſcriptures of the *Old Teſtament*, and ſet up the *Talmud* to be their *Bible* in their ſtead: For this they now make to be the whole rule of their faith and manners. So that it is now only according to the traditions of the *Pharisees*, not according to the law and the prophets, that the preſent *Jewiſh* religion is wholly formed, whereby they have corrupted the old *Jewiſh* religion juſt in the ſame manner as the *Romaniſts* have the chriſtian.

IN conjunction with the *Pharisees* the *Scribes* are often mentioned in the ſcriptures of the *New Teſtament*. But they were not a ſect, but a profeſſion of men following literature; they were of divers forts. For generally all, that were any way learned among the *Jews* were in the time of our Saviour and his Apoſtles called *Scribes*, but eſpecially thoſe, who by reaſon of their ſkill in the law and divinity of the *Jews* were advanced to ſit in *Moses's* ſeat, and were either judges in their ^eſanhedrims, or teachers in their ſchools or ſynagogues. They ^fwere moſtly of the ſect of the *Pharisees*, moſt of the learning of the *Jews* in thoſe times lying in their phariſaical traditions, and their way of interpreting (or we may rather ſay wreſting) the ſcriptures by them. And they being the men, that dictated the law both of Church and ſtate, hence lawyers and *Scribes* are convertible terms in the Gospels, and both of them do there ſignify the

^z Matth. ix. 2. Luke v. 30. & xv. 2. ^a Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum 1851, 1852. Light-foot vol. 1. p. 656. Drufius de tribus ſectis Judæorum lib. 2. cap. 2. & 3. ^b Joſephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 18. & lib. 18. cap. 2. ^c Matthew xxiii. 13—33. Luke xi. 39—52. ^d Matth. xv. 6. ^e There were two ſorts of Sanhedrims among the Jews, one of 23 perſons in every city, and one for the whole nation of 72 perſons ſitting at Jeruſalem. ^f Joſephus de bello Judaico lib. 2. cap. 12.

same sort of men. For the same person, who in *Matthew* xxii. 35. is called a lawyer, is in *Mark* xii. 28. said to be one of the *Scribes*.

V. But how rigorous soever the *Pharisees* pretended to be in their observances, the *Essenes* out-did them herein. For being originally of the same sect with them they reformed upon them, in the same manner as among the *Romanists*, the *Carthusians* and the *Cistercians* have upon the *Benedictines*, and did set up for a much more severe, and perchance for a much more unblameable rule of living, than the other did. ^sAs to fate and free-will their opinion was for an absolute predestination, agreeable to what is held by the *Supralapsarians* of the present age, without allowing to man any free-will at all, or any liberty of choice in any of his actions. And as to the other grand point of a future state and the resurrection from the dead, they also differed from the *Pharisees* herein. For altho' they allowed the former, they denied the latter, their doctrine being, ^hthat the souls of men after their death are transmitted into a state of immortality, therein to live in everlasting bliss or in everlasting woe, according as their actions have deserved, without ever any more returning either to their own, or any other bodies for ever. Although our Saviour very often censured all the other sects then among the *Jews*, yet he never spake of the *Essenes*, neither is there any mention of them thorough the whole scriptures of the *New Testament*. This proceeded, some think, from their retired way of living. For their abode being mostly in the countrey they seldom came to cities, nor were they in our Saviour's time ever seen at the temple, or in any publick assembly, and therefore not falling in the way of our Saviour's observation for this reason, say they, he took no notice of them. But it is much more likely it was, that being a very honest and sincere sort of people without guile or hypocrisy, they gave no reason for that reproof and censure, which the others very justly deserved: Their way of living was very peculiar and remarkable. To give the reader a thorough view of it the best way will be to lay it before him in the words of *Josephus*, *Philo*, and *Pliny*, who are the ancientest authors that speak of this sect, and from whom all else is taken that is said of it. The words of *Josephus* concerning the *Essenes* are as follow.

“ THE *Essenes* are *Jews* by nation, and a society of men friendly to
 “ each other beyond what is to be found among any other people. They
 “ have an aversion to pleasure in the same manner as to that which is truly
 “ evil. To live continently and keep their passions in subjection they esteem
 “ a virtue of the first rate. Marriage they have in no esteem, but taking
 “ other men's children, while they are yet tender and susceptible of any
 “ impression, they treat them as if they were of their own flesh and blood
 “ and carefully breed them up in the institutions of their sect. However
 “ they are not absolutely against marriage in others; for that would be to
 “ take away the succession and race of mankind; but being aware of the
 “ lasciviousness of women they are persuaded, that none of them can keep
 “ true faith to one man.

“ THEY have riches in great contempt. And community of goods is
 “ maintained among them in a very admirable manner. For not any one

^s *Josephus* antiq. lib. 13. cap. 9. & lib. 18. cap. 2. & de bello Judaico lib. 2. cap. 12.

^h *Josephus* de bello Judaico lib. 2. cap. 12.

ⁱ *Josephus* de bello Judaico lib. 2. cap. 1.

“ is to be found among them possessing more than another, it being a fix’d
 “ rule of their sect, that every one, who enters into it must give up all his
 “ goods into the publick stock of the society, so that among the whole
 “ number none may be found lower than another by reason of his poverty,
 “ or any on the other side elated above the rest by his riches. For every
 “ man’s goods being cast into common, they are all enjoyed as one posselli-
 “ on among brethren in the same family for each man’s use.

“ THEY look on it as a disparagement ^k to make use of oyl, so that if any
 “ one of them should happen to be anointed against his will, they wipe it
 “ off immediately, and cleanse their body from it. For not to be nice in
 “ the care of themselves, they esteem as a commendable thing: And they
 “ always go habited in white garments.

“ THEY have stewards chosen for the management of their common stock
 “ who in common provide for all according as every man hath need. They
 “ do not live all together in one city, ^l but in every city several of them dwell.
 “ These give reception to all travellers of their sect, who eat and drink
 “ with them as freely as of their own, going in unto them, though they
 “ never saw them before, in the same manner, as if they had been of their
 “ long acquaintance. And therefore when they take a journey any where,
 “ they carry nothing with them but arms for their defence against thieves.
 “ In every city they have one principal person of their society appointed
 “ procurator to take care of all strangers, that come thither of that sect,
 “ who provideth them with cloaths, and all other necessaries, that they
 “ shall be in want of. Their garb and gesture of body is always such, as re-
 “ sembles that of children under the fear and discipline of their masters.
 “ They never change their cloaths or shoes, till they be worn out, and
 “ made unfit by time for any farther use. They neither sell nor buy any
 “ thing among themselves, but every one gives of that which he hath to
 “ him that wanteth, and on like occasion again receives in return hereto,
 “ whatsoever the other hath, that he stands in need of. And altho’ there
 “ be no such retribution, yet it is free for every one to take of whomso-
 “ ever of the sect he shall think fit, all whatsoever he stands in want of.

“ THEY are in what pertaineth to God in an especial manner religious.
 “ For before the sun be risen they speak of no common worldly matter;
 “ but till then offer up unto God their prayers in ancient forms received
 “ from their predecessors, supplicating particularly in them, that he
 “ would make the sun to rise upon them. After this they are sent by their
 “ superiors ^m each to work in the employments they are skill’d in, wherein
 “ they having diligently laboured till the fifth hour (that is till eleven in
 “ the morning) they then assemble again in one place together; and each
 “ having a linen garment to put about about him they wash themselves
 “ in cold water. After this lustration they go into a private room, where
 “ no one that is not of their sect is permitted to enter. And being thus

^k Anointing with oyl was much in use in the east in those times, especially after the use of the Bath, and those who were most delicate anointed themselves with perfumed oyl. But the Essenes rejected all anointing as effeminate.

^l By what is after said they seem to have been distributed into sodalities, and to have in every place where they dwelt one or more of those sodalities according to their number, and within these sodalities to have lived together according to all the rules of their order, that is every one in that sodality, to which he belonged.

^m Thus the old British monks of Bancor in Wales were all maintained by the daily labour of their own hands. See Bede’s ecclesiastical history, lib. 2. cap. 2.

“ purified they go into the refectory or dining-room with the same beha-
 “ viour as into an holy temple; where being set in silence, the baker lays
 “ before every man his loaf of bread; and the cook in like manner serves
 “ up to each of them his dish all of the same sort of food. The Priest
 “ then says grace before meat, and it is not lawful for any to taste the least
 “ bit before grace be said; and after dinner they say grace again, and thus
 “ they always begin and end their meal with praise and thanksgiving to
 “ God, as the giver of their food. After this they quit the habits which
 “ they last put on, looking on them as in some measure sacred, and then
 “ again betake themselves each man to his work till the evening, when
 “ returning again to the same place, they take their supper in the same
 “ manner as they had their dinner, their guests sitting at meal with them,
 “ if so it happen that there are any such then present in the place. No noise
 “ or tumult ever disorders the house where they are; for when they are
 “ met together they speak only as each is allowed his turn. This silence
 “ appears to others who are not of their sect as a thing of venerable and
 “ sacred regard. All this is the effect of a constant course of sobriety in
 “ in their moderating their eating and drinking only to the end of sufficing
 “ nature.

“ ALTHO’ in all other matters they do nothing without the allowance
 “ of their superiors, yet in two cases, that is in offices of assistance, and
 “ in offices of mercy, they are permitted to have free power each man
 “ to do as he shall see cause for it: For to yield assistance to those that
 “ are worthy of it, whenever they stand in need thereof; and to be cha-
 “ ritable in giving food to the poor that want it, is what is allowed to all
 “ of them with full liberty. But to give any thing to their relations with-
 “ out the consent and allowance of their governors, is utterly forbidden
 “ among them.

“ THEY dispense their anger with justice, and are great curbers of their
 “ passions, steady keepers of their faith, constant labourers for peace, and
 “ every word with them is of greater force than an oath with other men.
 “ They avoid taking any oath at all, looking on it as worse than perjury.
 “ They say he is already condemned as a faithless person who is not to be
 “ believed without calling God to witness. They are in an extraordina-
 “ ry manner studious of the writings of the ancients, selecting out of them
 “ such things especially as are beneficial either to the bodies or souls of
 “ men. Hence in order to the cure of diseases, the nature of medicinal
 “ roots, and property of stones, are searched into by them.

“ WHEN any desire to enter into their sect, they are not immediately
 “ admitted, but are kept *without* a whole year, during which time they put
 “ all of them that are of this class of *novices* under the same discipline, or
 “ rule of living, giving to each of them a small pick-ax, the linen garment
 “ above mentioned, and a white suit of cloaths. After they have during
 “ all this time given thorough proof of their continence and temperance,
 “ they are received into a nearer conversation and rule of life with them,
 “ and partake of their holier water for their purification. However they
 “ are not admitted as yet to their common table, and full fellowship with
 “ them; but after their having given this proof of their continence for
 “ one year, they make trial of their manners for two years longer; and
 “ then, if they appear worthy, they give them full admission into their
 “ society.

“ BUT

“ BUT before they are admitted to eat at the common table they strictly bind themselves by solemn vows, first to worship and serve God, and next that in all things to do that which is just towards men; not willingly to wrong any one, no not though he should be commanded so to do; always to detest wicked men, and to side with and help all those that are just and good; ever to keep faith inviolable with all men, especially with Princes (for no one comes to have rule and government over us but by God’s appointment.) That if it shall happen that they be called to any station of government, they will not abuse their power to the wronging of any under them, nor distinguish themselves from them by their habit or more splendid dress of apparel; always to love truth, and to convince and reprove all that are liars; to keep their hands from stealing; and to keep their minds clear from the taint of any unjust gain; that they will not conceal from any of the society the mysteries of their sect, nor communicate them to any other, no not tho’ they should be forced to it for the saving of their lives. And moreover they farther vow to deliver to none of their brethren any of their doctrines otherwise than as they have received them; to abstain from all theft, and to preserve with equal care the books containing the doctrines of their sect, and the names of the messengers by whose hand they were written and conveyed to them, and by such vows do they bind and secure all those that enter into their society, to be ever steady and firm to all the laws and rules of it.

“ SUCH as they find guilty of any enormous crime they expel out of the society; and those who fall under this sentence often perish by a most lamentable death: For they are so bound up by the laws of that society, and the vows which they have made to keep them, that they cannot receive any food but from those of their sect; so that they are forced, when thus expell’d, to feed like beasts on the herbs of the field till their bodies being consumed for want of nourishment they are famished to death. Wherefore often commiserating their case they have received them again, when ready to expire, thinking that they have suffered punishment enough for their crimes, when thus brought by it even to the gates of death.

“ IN their administration of justice they are most exact and just; they never give sentence but when there are an hundred at least present, and what is then decreed by them remains irrevocable. Next to God they have the highest veneration for their legislators, making it no less than death to speak evil of them. To yield to the sentiments of their elders, and submit to what is determined by the major part of their people, they hold to be a thing commendable, and what ought to be done. When any ten of them sit together, no one of them speaks but with the consent of the other nine. When they are in any company they are carefully to avoid spitting into the middle before them, or on the right hand.

“ IN abstaining from all manner of work on the sabbath-day they distinguish themselves above all other *Jews*: For they do not only make ready their sabbath-day’s meal the eve before, that they may not do as much

“ Gr. Σωτηρήσειν ὁμοίως τότε τὴν αἵρεσιν αὐτῶν βιβλία, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ὀνόματα.

“ as kindle a fire on that day; but also tie themselves up so strictly to the
 “ observance of it, that they do not then dare move a vessel out of its place,
 “ or so much as go to stool for the ease of nature. On all other days,
 “ when they ease themselves, they dig a pit of a foot deep with an iron in-
 “ strument, which they always carry about with them (that is the small
 “ pick-ax which is above mentioned to be given to all their novices) and
 “ then encompassing their lower parts carefully with their garment, that
 “ they may not offer any injury or offence to the divine splendor, they
 “ set themselves over the said pit, and so discharge themselves into it, and
 “ then cover it over with the earth afore digged out of it. And this they
 “ always do, chusing the secretest places for it. And altho’ this be no
 “ more than the natural voiding of bodily excrements, yet it is their usage
 “ to wash themselves after it as after some great pollution.

“ THEY are divided, according to the time that they have been in this
 “ asketic manner of life, into four different classes one above another, and
 “ every one of a senior class thinks all of the inferior classes so much be-
 “ neath him, that if he happen to touch any one of them, he washeth
 “ after it in the same manner as if he had touched one of another nation.
 “ They are long livers, so that many of them arrive to the age of an hun-
 “ dred years; which is to be ascribed to their simple and plain manner of
 “ feeding, and the temperance and good order which they observe in that
 “ and in all things else.

“ THEY are contemners of adversity, and overcome all sufferings by the
 “ greatness of their mind, insomuch that they esteem death it self, when
 “ it is to be undergone on an honourable account, better than immortali-
 “ ty. Of the firmness of their mind in all cases the war which we had with
 “ the *Romans* hath given sufficient proof; in which tho’ they were tortur-
 “ ed, racked, burnt, had their bones broken, and were made to undergo
 “ the sufferings of all the instruments of torments, that they might there-
 “ by be brought to speak ill of their lawgiver, and eat of those meats that
 “ are prohibited, yet they always stood firmly out to do neither of them;
 “ neither did they ever endeavour to mollify or appease the rage of their
 “ tormentors towards them, or shed one tear in their sufferings; but
 “ laughed while under their torments, and mocking those who were the
 “ executioners of them, chearfully yielded up their souls in death, as firmly
 “ believing, that after that they should live in them for ever.

“ FOR this opinion is delivered among them, that the bodies of
 “ men are mortal, and that the substance of them is not permanent,
 “ but that their souls being immortal remain for ever; that coming out
 “ of the subtlest and purest air they are envelop’d and bound up in
 “ their bodies, as in so many prisons, being attracted to them by cer-
 “ tain natural allurements; but that after they get out of those cor-
 “ poral bonds, being as it were freed from a long servitude, do rejoice
 “ thereon, and are carry’d aloft. And they affirm, agreeable to the opi-
 “ nion of the *Greeks*, that for the souls of good men there is ordained
 “ a state of life in a region beyond the ocean, which is never molested ei-

o What was commanded the Jews while in the camp, Deut. xxiii. 12, 13. these Essenes thought to
 be always obligatory upon them in all places, and therefore thinking they ought not to do so much work
 on that day as to dig the pit there commanded, they never on that day went to stool, but abstained from
 it till the next day, how much soever nature called for ease in this case.

“ ther with showers, or snow, or raging heats, but is ever refreshed with
 “ gentle gales of wind constantly breathing from the ocean. But to the
 “ souls of the wicked they assign a dark and cold place for their abode filled
 “ with punishments which shall never cease. And it seems to be according
 “ to the same notion, that the *Greeks* assign to their valiant men, whom
 “ they call *heroes* and *demigods*, the fortunate islands for their habitation,
 “ but to the souls of wicked men the regions of the impious in hell. And
 “ hence it is that they have devised their fables of several there punished, as
 “ *Sisyphus*, and *Tantalus*, and *Ixion*, and *Tityus*, laying down in the first
 “ place that the souls of men do live for ever, and next applying this do-
 “ ctrine for the encouragement of virtue, and the discouragement of vice
 “ and wickedness: For good men are made better in their lives by the
 “ hopes of honour for the reward of it after death, and evil men are re-
 “ strained from the impetuosity of their course in wickedness by fear,
 “ while they expect, that tho’ their evil deeds escape observation in this
 “ life, yet after death they must undergo everlasting punishments for them.
 “ This is the divinity which the *Essenes* teach concerning the soul, pro-
 “ posing thereby a bait of inevitable allurements to all that have tasted of
 “ their doctrine.

“ THERE are some of this sect who take upon them to foretell things to
 “ come, being bred up from their childhood in the study of their sacred
 “ books, and the sayings of the prophets, and also in the use of various
 “ purifications to qualify them for it: And it is very seldom found that
 “ they fail in what they foretell.

“ AND there are another sort of *Essenes*, who in their way of living, and
 “ in the usages and rules of their orders exactly agree with the others, ex-
 “ cepting only that they differ from them in their opinion about marriage:
 “ For they reckon that those that do not marry cut off a great part from
 “ the number of the living, that is, out of the succession of the next genera-
 “ tion, especially if all should be of their mind; for then the whole race
 “ of mankind would be soon extinguished. But of those women whom
 “ they marry they make trial for the term of three years before they con-
 “ tract with them, and if through all that time they find by the constant
 “ regular order of their natural courses that they are of health fit to bear
 “ children, they then marry them, but they never lye with them after they
 “ are found to be with child; shewing thereby, that they do not marry
 “ to gratify lust, but only for the sake of having children. When their
 “ women go to wash themselves they have the like linen garment to put
 “ about them which is above mentioned to be given to the men for the
 “ same purpose: And such are the usages and manners of this sect.

Thus far *Josephus* in his book of the wars of the *Jews*. In his book
 of their antiquities, which he wrote some years after the former, he says
 farther of them as followeth. “ P Among the *Jews* there have been three
 “ sorts of sects from times of old; the *Essenes*, and the *Sadducees*, and the
 “ third sect, which are called *Pharisees*.—The doctrine of the *Essenes*
 “ ascribes to God the ordering and governing of all things: They teach
 “ that the souls of men are immortal: They hold that the attainment of
 “ righteousness and justice is to be endeavoured after above all things;

“ They send their gifts to the temple, but they offer no sacrifices there by
 “ reason of the different rules of purity, which they have instituted among
 “ themselves. And therefore being excluded the common temple, they sacrifice
 “ apart by themselves, otherwise they are in their manners and course of life
 “ the best of men: They employ themselves wholly in their labour of agri-
 “ culture: Their righteousness is worthy of admiration above all others that
 “ pretend to virtue; in which they do by no means give place to any whe-
 “ ther *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, no not in the least: They have been long
 “ under engagements never to be hinder’d by any thing in their diligent
 “ study and pursuit after it: Their goods are all in common, and he that
 “ is rich hath not the enjoyment of the things of his house any more than
 “ he that hath nothing at all: And they that live after this manner are in
 “ number about four thousand men. They neither marry wives, nor en-
 “ deavour after the possession of servants; their opinion of the latter be-
 “ ing, that it leads to injustice by invading the common liberty of mankind;
 “ and of the other, that it gives matter for trouble and disturbance. Where-
 “ fore living by themselves they mutually make use of the service of each
 “ other. They chuse good men out of the number of their Priests to be
 “ the receivers of their incomes, and the managers of the fruits which their
 “ lands produce, for the providing of them with meat and drink.

THERE is also mention made of them by *Josephus* in another place, that is, in the ninth chapter of the thirteenth book of his antiquities; but there he speaks only of their opinion about fate. His words in that place are, that they hold that fate governs all things, and that nothing happens to man but by its appointment.

PHILO the *Jew* is the next, or indeed the first, that speaks of them; for he wrote before *Josephus*, being by much the older of the two: For *Josephus* was not born till ^a the first year of the reign of *Caligula* the *Roman* Emperor *anno Domini* 37, whereas *Philo* was at that time advanced in years. For it was not much above two years after that *Philo* was sent as head of an embassy to that Emperor from the *Alexandrian Jews*, as a person that by his age and experience was best qualified for that difficult undertaking. But *Josephus* being best acquainted with their sect, as having lived in *Judæa*, and been there for some time ^r conversant among them, and under their discipline, was best qualified to write a true and exact account of them, and therefore I have begun with that which he hath given us. For *Philo* being a *Jew* of *Alexandria* knew nothing of the *Essenes* in *Judæa* but what he had by hearsay; but with the *Essenes* of *Egypt* he was indeed much better acquainted: For altho’ the principal seat of them was in *Judæa*, yet there were also of them in *Egypt*, and in all other places where the *Jews* were dispersed; and therefore *Philo* distinguished this sect into the *Essenes* of *Judæa* and *Syria*, and the *Essenes* of *Egypt* and other parts. The first he called practical *Essenes*, and the others he calls therapeutic or contemplative, and of each he gives the accounts that follow.

“ ^s *AMONG* the *Jews* who inhabit *Palestine* and *Syria*, there are some
 “ whom they call *Essæans*, being in number about ^t four thousand men ac-
 “ cording to my opinion; they have their name by reason of their piety,

^a *Josephus* in libro de vitâ suâ.
 titulus *omnis probus liber*, pag. 678. Edit. Col.
 See above.

^r *Josephus* ibidem.

^s *Philo* *Judæus* in libro cui
^t *Josephus* agrees with him in this number.

“ from the *Greek* word *ἁγίος*, which signifieth *holy*, tho’ the derivation
 “ from thence be not made according to the exact rule of Grammar. And
 “ whereas they are most religious servers and worshippers of God, they
 “ do not sacrifice unto him any living creature, but rather chuse to form
 “ their minds to be holy, thereby to make them a fit offering unto him.
 “ They chiefly live in countrey villages, avoiding cities by reason of the
 “ vices, that are familiar among citizens, being sensible, that as the breath-
 “ ing in a corrupted air doth breed diseases, so the conversing with evil
 “ company often makes an incurable impression upon the souls of men.

“ SOME of them labour in husbandry, others follow trades of manufa-
 “ cture, confining themselves only to the making of such things as are
 “ the utensils of peace; endeavouring thereby to benefit both themselves
 “ and their neighbours. They do not treasure up either silver or gold,
 “ neither do they provide themselves with large portions of land out of a
 “ desire of plentiful revenues, but seek only after such things as are requi-
 “ site for the supplying of the necessaries of life. They are in a manner,
 “ the only persons of all mankind, who being without money, and with-
 “ out possessions (and this by their own choice, rather than by the want
 “ of good fortune) yet reckon themselves most rich, judging their need-
 “ ing little, and their being contented with any thing, to be (as really it
 “ is) a great abundance. You shall not find any among their handicrafts-
 “ men, that ever put an hand to the making of arrows, or darts, or swords,
 “ or head-pieces, or corslets; or shields, neither do any among them make
 “ any armour; or engines, or any other instruments whatsoever, that are
 “ made use of in war; nay they will not make such utensils of peace, as
 “ are apt to be employed to do mischief.

“ MERCHANTIZING, trafficking, and navigation they never as much
 “ as dream of, rejecting them utterly as incitements to covetousness.
 “ There is no such thing as a servant among them, but they all mutually
 “ help and serve each other. They condemn the domination of masters
 “ over servants, not only as unjust and prejudicial to holiness, but also as
 “ impious and destructive of the law of nature, which bringing forth, say
 “ they, and nourishing all men alike in the same condition of life, as a
 “ common mother to all hath made them all as brothers to each other,
 “ and this not only in word, but really and indeed; but that treacherous
 “ covetousness overthrowing their kindred hath produced strangeness in-
 “ stead of familiarity, and enmity instead of friendship.

“ As to philosophy, logick they utterly relinquish to such, as quarrel
 “ about words, reckoning it as useless for the attainment of virtue. And
 “ natural philosophy and all the points thereof (excepting only so much
 “ as concerns the being of God, and the original production of all things)
 “ they leave to those, who have time to spare to treat of such mat-
 “ ters, reckoning it to be above the power of man to attain to a true
 “ knowledge of them. But about ethic’s or moral philosophy they are
 “ much conversant, using therein the guidance and direction of their coun-
 “ trey laws, which are such, as could never have come from the mind of
 “ man without a divine inspiration. Herein they instruct men as at other
 “ times so especially on the seventh day: For the seventh day is held
 “ holy by them, on which they desist from all other work, going on that
 “ day to their sacred places, which they call synagogues, where they sit
 “ in order according to their seniority or standing in the society; the ju-
 “ niors

“ niors taking place below their seniors, and all composing themselves
 “ with decency for the hearing of the word. Then one taking the Bible
 “ reads out of it, and then another being one of the most skilful doth ex-
 “ pound upon what hath been so read, passing over what is above his
 “ knowledge. Their manner of expounding is mostly by parables, ac-
 “ cording to the way that hath been anciently in use among them. They
 “ are instructed in holiness, righteousness, justice, oeconomy, politics, in
 “ the knowledge of what is truly good, and what is evil, and what is in-
 “ different, what is proper for them to chuse, and what on the contrary
 “ they ought to avoid. In which course they make use of three rules,
 “ judging of all things according as they accord, 1. with the love of God,
 “ 2. with the love of virtue, or 3. with the love of their neighbour. Of
 “ their love to God they give a multitude of demonstrations: As for in-
 “ stance, their constant and unalterable course of chastity their whole life
 “ through, their abstaining from all swearing, their never speaking a lie,
 “ and their always ascribing to God the cause of all good, and never
 “ making him the author of that which is evil. Of their love to virtue
 “ they give instances, in their not being covetous, in their not being am-
 “ bitious, in their renouncing of pleasures, in their continence, in their
 “ patience, in their plainness, in their needing little, in their being con-
 “ tent with any thing, in their modesty, in their reverence for the laws, in
 “ their stability of mind, and other such like virtues. And lastly of their
 “ love to their neighbour they give instances in their benevolence, in their
 “ equal carriage to all, which is greater than can be well expressed, and
 “ in their holding all that they have in common, of which it will not be
 “ unseasonable here to speak a little.

“ FIRST therefore no man's house is properly his own, but every man of
 “ the sect, that shall come to it, hath an equal interest therein. For as
 “ they live together in sodalities, eating and drinking at the same com-
 “ mon table, so they there provide entertainment for all of the fraternity
 “ that shall come thither to them from any other place. There is one
 “ common treasury belonging to them all, from whence the expences of
 “ cloaths and provisions are furnished in common for all of the community
 “ according to the several sodalities, into which they are distributed.
 “ Their way of cohabiting together under the same roof, of eating to-
 “ gether of the same victuals, and sitting together at the same table, is
 “ such as is no where else to be found thus established, or any thing like
 “ it. What they gain by their daily labour they keep not to themselves, but
 “ bring it all into the common stock, from whence provision is made for
 “ the use and common utility of all of the sect: And if any among them
 “ fall sick, they do not neglect them, as such that can get nothing, but
 “ have all things that are necessary for the recovering of them again to
 “ their health, always ready provided for them out of the common stock,
 “ so that they take hereof with all freedom as plentifully as they shall think
 “ fit. Great honour and reverence is paid to the elder men of the so-
 “ ciety by the juniors, who take care of them in such manner, as truly
 “ begotten children do of their parents, administering unto them both with

“ *The way of the Lacedæmonians in eating together at common tables, and in set companies seems most like it. See Plutarch in the life of Lycurgus.*

“ their hands, and their counsels, with all plentifulness whatsoever may
“ be necessary for their comfortable support in their old age.

“ THUS far *Philo* concerning those, whom he calls practical *Essenes*. Of those whom he calls the contemplative, * he saith as followeth.

“ HAVING spoken of the *Essenes*, that lead a practical life, I come next
“ to treat of those, who embrace the contemplative. The men among
“ them are called *Therapeutæ* and the women *Therapeutides* agreeable to
“ their profession, either as they profess the art of physick (not that com-
“ monly practised, whereby the bodies of men are cured; but a much
“ more valuable physick, whereby they cure the souls of men of diseases
“ much more obstinate, difficult, and harder to be removed; those which
“ they have brought upon themselves by voluptuousness, concupiscence,
“ grief, fears, covetousness, follies, injustice, and by an innumerable com-
“ pany of other passions and vices) or else they have this name, because
“ they have learnt from the law of nature, and the sacred laws of the
“ holy scriptures, * to worship and serve that being, which is better than
“ good, more uncompounded than the number of one, and more ancient
“ than unity it self.

“ THEY that enter into this therapeutic profession, do not do it, as led
“ thereto by any prevailing custom, or by the persuasion of others, but
“ being wholly drawn to it by an heavenly love are under an enthusiastick
“ impulse in the same manner as the *Bacchanals* and *Corybantes* in the
“ celebration of their festivals; till they have attained to this their desired
“ state of contemplation, and thereon, as if they had done with this mor-
“ tal life, through their desire after that which is immortal and ever
“ blessed, they relinquish all their worldly goods and possessions to their
“ sons, or their daughters, or their other relations, delivering to them
“ the inheritance thereof by a voluntary choice. And if they have no
“ relations, then they give them to their friends and acquaintance—And
“ when they have thus divested themselves of all their worldly substance,
“ as being now no longer with-held by any inticement, they flee from
“ their homes without any more looking back, leaving their brothers,
“ their children, their wives, their parents, and all their kindred, how
“ numerous soever; as also the society of their friends, and countrey-men,
“ among whom they have been born and bred, because their conversati-
“ on should they still stay with them, would be a strong and powerful
“ allurement to draw them away from this purpose.

“ THEY do not leave one city to go to another like miserable or wick-
“ ed servants, who having obtained, of those that own them, to be sold
“ to some other person, gain thereby only the change of masters, not the
“ recovery of their liberty. For all cities, even those that are governed
“ by the best laws, are full of tumult, and trouble, which no one that hath
“ addicted himself to this way of philosophy, can afterwards bear: And
“ therefore they rather chuse to make their abode without the walls of
“ cities, in gardens, and villages, and lone countrey habitations, seeking
“ solitude, not out of an affected hatred to mankind, but for the avoid-
“ ing of the mixing with men of different manners, knowing it to be un-
“ profitable and hurtful.

* *Philo de vitâ contemplativâ p. 688. edit. Col. Allob.*
signifieth a worshipper or a servant as well as a physician.

* For the Greek word *ἐπαυροῦς*

“ THIS sort of men are dispersed throughout many ^y parts of the world
 “ (for it is requisite, that both *Greeks* and *Barbarians* should partake of
 “ so excellent a benefit) but *Egypt* abounds most with them throughout
 “ all its ^z provinces, but most of all about *Alexandria*. But from all places
 “ the principal men of them retire, as into their own proper countrey,
 “ into a place which they have near the lake ^a *Maria* situated upon a
 “ gentle rising hill very commodious for them, both for its convenience
 “ in affording them there a safe dwelling, and also for the wholesomeness
 “ of its air. The houses of those, who there come together, are built in
 “ a very frugal and mean manner, they having their covering fitted only
 “ for two necessary things, that is to keep them from the heat of the sun
 “ in summer and from the cold of the air in winter; neither are they built
 “ near each other as in cities; for this would be irksome and displeasing
 “ to men desiring and seeking after solitude: Neither are they far asunder
 “ because they love at times to converse together, and also that they may
 “ the easier unite for their mutual defence, if they should happen at any
 “ time to be invaded by thieves.

“ EACH of them hath in his cottage a little chapel, which they call *Sem-*
 “ *neum*, or *Monasterium*, in which every one of them doth alone by him-
 “ self perform all the mysteries of an holy life, bringing in thither at no
 “ time either drink, or meat, or any other of the necessities used for the
 “ support of the body; but only the law and the divine oracles of the
 “ prophets, and hymns, and such other like things, whereby knowledge
 “ and piety are increased and perfected. They have God in perpetual
 “ remembrance, so that even in their dreams nothing else but the beauties
 “ and excellencies of the divine powers run in their fancies, insomuch that
 “ several of them, while they sleep, do in their dreams deliver many ex-
 “ cellent sayings of divine philosophy.

“ THEIR constant usage is to pray twice every day, that is in morning,
 “ and in the evening. At the rising of the sun they pray, that God would
 “ give his blessing upon the day, that true blessing, whereby their minds
 “ may be filled with heavenly light; and at the setting of the sun, that
 “ their minds being wholly disburdened of their senses and all sensible
 “ things may in its retirements into itself find out truth. All the interval
 “ of time from morning to evening they spend in the study and contem-
 “ plation of divine things. For exercising themselves in the most holy
 “ scriptures they philosophize upon them after their countrey manner, ex-
 “ pounding them allegorically: For they suppose, that the words are only
 “ notes and marks of some things of mystical nature, which are to be ex-
 “ plained figuratively.

“ THEY have among them the writings of some ancients, who being
 “ principal leaders of their sect have left them many monuments of that
 “ learning, which consists in dark and secret expressions, which they using
 “ as original patterns do imitate that way of study. And they do not
 “ only spend their time in contemplation, but they also compose songs and
 “ hymns in the praise of God of all sorts of metre and musical verses,
 “ which they write in grave and seemly rhythms.

^y That is, wherever the Hellenistical Jews were dispersed among the nations of the world.

^z These provinces were called *Νουοί*. ^a This Lake is called *Mareotis* by Ptolemy, and *Marca*
 by Strabo. It lies near Alexandria, being thirty miles broad, and an hundred in circumference.

“SIX days of the week they thus continue apart by themselves in the little chapel above mentioned, and there give themselves wholly up to the contemplation of divine philosophy, without going out of doors, or as much as looking abroad all that time. On the seventh day they meet together in a publick solemn assembly, and there sit down together according ^b to their seniority in a decent manner with both their hands under their garment, that is their right hand upon the part between their chin and their breast, and the left let down by their side. Then one of the best learned of them standing forth, discourseth to them with a grave composed countenance, and a grave serious voice, speaking with reason and prudence, and not making ostentation of eloquence, as the *rhetoricians* and *sophists* now do, but searching into and expounding all things with that exactness of thought, as that it doth not only for the present captivate the ears, but by being thus heard enters into the soul, and there makes lasting impressions upon it. While this person thus speaks, all the rest give attention with silence, expressing their approbation only with the motions of their eyes and their head.

“THE synagogue or common place of assembly, where they meet every seventh day, hath ^c two distinct enclosures and apartments in it, the one assigned for the men, and the other for the women: For it is their custom that the women that are of the same sect and institution, should also be auditors in these assemblies. The partition wall, which separates these two enclosures, is built up three or four cubits high from the ground after the manner of a parapet, the rest lies open to the top of the room. All which is thus contrived for the sake of two conveniences, the first to protect that decent modesty which is naturally belonging to the female sex; the other, that while they sit in that auditory, they may easily hear what is there discoursed, nothing coming between to hinder the voice of him that speaketh from reaching to them.

“HAVING laid temperance as a certain foundation in their souls, they build thereupon all other virtues. They take neither meat nor drink before sun be set; for they hold it requisite to employ the whole day in the study of philosophy, and the night in the making of necessary provision for the body: So that they allot the whole day for the former, and only a small part of the night for the latter. Some of them, in whom is a more than ordinary thirst after knowledge, forget to take any sustenance for ^d three days together; and others there are who are so delighted and fed with feasting on wisdom, which gives to them of its doctrine richly and plentifully, that they sometimes hold out double the time, and for ^d six days together scarce taste of any necessary food, being nourished, as they say a sort of grasshoppers are, by the air in which they live; the melody of their hymns, as I suppose, rendering the want of food easy and supportable unto them. They looking on the seventh day to be all holy, and all festival, do think it worthy of extraordinary honour; on that day, after having first taken due care of their souls, they refresh and nourish their bodies, then relaxing to themselves their daily labour as they do to their working cattle. They eat not any

^b This they reckon according to the time of their admission into the society, not according to their age.

^c The synagogues of the Jews are thus formed even to this day, their women sitting together in a place enclosed apart from the men.

^d Philo seems here to hyperbolize, it not being possible that nature could be supported by such long fasts, as for six days together, or three either.

“ thing that is sumptuous or dainty, but only coarse bread; their sauce is
 “ only salt, and they that are of a nicer stomach mingle some hyssop with
 “ it. Their drink is only water from the river; and thus they appease the
 “ two domineering mistresses which nature hath subjected all mankind to,
 “ that is hunger and thirst, offering nothing to gratify them but only what
 “ is necessary for the support of life: For they eat only to assuage hunger,
 “ and drink only to quench their thirst, avoiding fulness of stomach, as that
 “ which is hurtful both to soul and body.

“ AND whereas there are two sorts of coverings for the body, that is
 “ house and cloaths; as to their houses it hath been spoken to before, that
 “ they are mean and built without art, as made only to serve the present
 “ necessary uses: So likewise as to their cloaths, they have only such as are
 “ most commodious to keep out cold and heat, they using for this purpose
 “ a thick coarse garment instead of furs in the winter, and a short coat
 “ without sleeves, or a linen vestment, in the summer. They universally
 “ exercise themselves in modesty; and looking on falsity to be the mother
 “ of arrogance, and truth to be the mother of modesty, they hold each
 “ of them to have the nature of a fountain: For there flow from falsity,
 “ say they, many various sorts of evils, and from truth abundance of good
 “ both humane and divine.

THUS far *Philo* of his contemplative *Essæans*. He hath afterward a description of their behaviour at their great festivals, which being very long, should I give the whole of it I should be too tedious to the reader, and I fear I have been too much so already concerning this matter. I shall therefore here only add an abstract of it as followeth.

THESE *Therapeutæ* or contemplative *Essæans* celebrate every seventh sabbath as a great festival, when being called together by an officer appointed for this purpose, all of each congregation meet together in a common hall: For they being divided into several distinct congregations, each congregation hath its distinct hall in which they meet together on all such occasions. When they are come together on this call, being all in white garments, they range themselves in order with great gravity; and after having said grace sit down, taking their place each after other, according to the seniority of their admission into the sect. The men sit on the right hand side of the hall by themselves, and the women by themselves on the other side: For these *Essenes* have women also among them, most of them of the elder sort, and such only as have been virgins from their youth. They are not attended on at their feasts by servants, for they have none such, looking on servitude to be against the law of nature, according to which they say all men are born free: And therefore they are ministered to in all things by freemen, such as are of the juniors of their society. Of these some being chosen for every ministration, administer therein to the rest all manner of help and service with the same care and affection as children do to their parents. These serve at the tables with their garments let down at their full length, and not girded up about them after the manner of servants, that so they may appear to minister as freemen, and not as slaves. At these feasts they

* The first great festival among the Jews is their Passover; seven weeks number'd from thence brings them to their Pentecost or feast of weeks; from thence this sect continued to number still seven weeks on, and every seventh Sunday was a new festival with them, till by repeating it seven times over they concluded the year, and then began again from the Passover the same round as before.

drink no wine, but only pure water: Those of the elder sort, who have weak stomachs, drink it warm, all the rest drink it cold: They eat no flesh, their repast being as on other days, only bread, salt and hyssop: They abstain from wine, as reckoning it to be a sort of poison that leads men into madness, and from all plentiful fare, as that which breeds and irritates inordinate and beastly appetites in the mind. While they thus sit at meal there is observed a most exact silence, none making the least noise; and when they have done eating, one of them proposeth a question out of the holy writ, which another answers, imparting what he knows plainly without affectation or aiming at praise: All the rest are attentive to what is said, signifying only by signs expressed by the motions of the head or the hand their approbation or disapprobation of what is delivered. All these discourses are allegorical; for their notion is that the scriptures have the similitude of a living man, which consists of body and soul; the literal sense they say resembles the body, and the mystical sense, which lies under it, the soul, and in that the life of the whole consists: And therefore their study is to find out a mystical sense for every text delivered in the holy scriptures. The president determines when enough is said, and whether the question be fully answered or not, adding what he thinks proper farther to discourse of on the point: Whereon all applauding what he saith, he riseth up and begins an hymn in the praise of God, composed either by himself or some of the ancients before him, and all the rest join with him herein. And thus they spend the afternoon in discoursing of divine things, and in singing of psalms and hymns till supper time, and then the waiters bring in for their supper bread, and salt, and hyssop as before. After supper is over they arise from table, and then dividing themselves into two companies, one of the men, and the other of the women, each chuseth their precentor, and then spend the whole night following in singing of hymns in all sorts of meter and music to the praise of God, sometimes alternately in parts, and sometimes as in a chorus all together: And thus they continue doing till the morning light; on the appearance of which turning their faces toward the rising sun, they pray unto God to give them an happy day, and the light of truth. After which breaking up the assembly, they all return each to his particular apartment, there to employ themselves either in contemplation, or in the work of husbandry in the same manner as before.

WHAT *Pliny* saith of this sect is what I am next to lay before the reader. The account which he gives of them is as followeth: “On the western
“side of the lake *Asphaltites* dwell the *Essenes*, seating themselves inward-
“ly from it to avoid the shore, as hurtful to them. They are the alone
“sort of men, and herein above all others in the world to be admired,
“that live without women, without the use of copulation, without mo-
“ney, feeding upon the fruit of the palm-tree. They are daily recruited
“by the resort of new comers to them in a number equal to those they
“lose, many flocking to them, whom the surges of ill fortune having made
“weary of the world, do drive to them to take shelter in their institution
“and manner of life. And thus for several thousands of years (it’s incre-

[†] Here Philo seems again to hyperbolize, it being scarce possible to support nature with such scanty and mean fare. [‡] Plinius, lib. 5. cap. 17.

“dible to be said) this people is perpetully propagated without any being
 “born among them, so fruitful and prolific unto them is the repentance
 “of others as to their lives past.

THUS far I have given the several accounts of the three authors above mentioned concerning this sect, as far as I can make them plainly speak in the *English* language. *Porphry*, *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, and several others of the ancients have also spoken of them; but all that they have said on this subject being taken out of one of these three authors, who are the ancientest that have written hereof, in giving these three I give all the rest. And I have inserted at large what these three authors say of this sect, not only that a full view may hereby be given the reader of this very extraordinary order of men, but especially to obviate the wrong use that is made of their relations concerning them, first by the Romanists, and secondly by the Deists.

I. FOR first the Romanists, laying hold of an handle offered them by ^h *Eusebius*, from the account given by *Philo* of the contemplative *Essenes*, whom he calls *Therapeutæ*, argue from thence, that they were christian monks formed into that order by St. *Mark*, who was the first founder of the christian Church at *Alexandria*, and from hence drew an argument for the divine institution of monkism: And *Bellarmin* and *Baronius*, two of the greatest champions that have written in their cause go in hereto. It's true *Eusebius* hath said that these *Therapeutæ* were christian monks instituted by St. *Mark*, and so he hath said many other things without judgment or truth: And had these two great men been free from the interest and the influence of the party they were of, they would never have said this after him. In other particulars they are forward enough to condemn him, especially ⁱ *Baronius*; but for the sake of their beloved monkery they follow him in this, which is the absurdest of all. What they or their followers say of this matter is all built upon what *Philo* hath written of his *Therapeutæ*, (for no one else hath said any thing of this sort of *Essenes* but he only.) And what can be a greater confutation of the whole of it than the very words of *Philo* ^k concerning them, which are all above recited? For they manifestly prove, first that these *Therapeutæ* could not be Christians, and secondly that they were most certainly *Jews*.

AND first they manifestly prove that they could not be Christians; for they speak of these *Therapeutæ* as of a sect of long standing in *Egypt*, and tell us, that they had hymns and writings among them of ancient date, composed in times of old by such as were principal leaders of their sect: That they were dispersed not only through all the provinces of *Egypt*, but also among the *Greeks* and *Barbarians* all the world over. But nothing of all this could be said of christian monks when *Philo* wrote ^l that book wherein he treats of this sect: For *Philo* being an elderly man when he went on ^m an embassy to *Rome* from the *Jews* of *Alexandria* in the year of our Lord 39, which was but six years after *Christ's* death, it's most likely this book was written before the christian Church was erected,

^h Hist. ecclesiast. lib. 2. cap. 17.

ⁱ Baronius saith of Eusebius more than once, that he was temporum everfor, calumniator maliciosus, profusus adulator, and other such epithets he often bestows upon him, and often not without cause.

^k The words of Philo are "Εσι δὲ αὐτοῖς συγγραμματα πάλαιον ἀνδρῶν οἱ τὴν αἰρέσεως ἀρχαῖται ἡρώδης, &c."

^l That is, his book de vitâ contemplativâ.

^m Of this embassy see Philo's book de legatione ad Caium Imperatorem Romanum.

or at most within ten years after. But supposing it twenty, yea forty if you please, this would be too short a time for such societies of Christians to be formed and settled in such regular manner as *Philo* describes, not only through all *Egypt*, but also among the *Greeks* and *Barbarians* all the world over, that is wherever the *Jews* were settled in their dispersions among the nations, (for this is all that can be meant by *Philo*.) But supposing this possible, how could they be said to have hymns and writings composed by ancient leaders of their sect, when their sect it self was not above ten, or twenty, or at most forty years standing? And their rigorous observance of the seventh day farther proveth that they could not be Christians; for the christian weekly day of worship is the first day of the week, and not the seventh: And the christian doctrine enjoineth no such superstitious rigour as that wherewith these men observed that day. For *Christ* himself condemned it, ⁿ telling us, that man was not made for the sabbath, but the sabbath for man, that is for his benefit, first in easing him on that day from his labour and toil after the things of this world; and secondly in giving him a fit time thereby to take care of his interest in the world to come, in worshipping his God, and performing all the other duties of religion towards him, which may recommend him to his mercy and favour.

2. AND therefore, secondly, that these *Therapeutæ* observed the seventh day, and with such superstitious rigour as *Philo* describes, this manifestly proves that they were of the *Jewish* religion; and *Philo* plainly tells us as much, in that he saith of them, that they were the disciples of *Moses*; (for so he calls them in his introduction to those words of his, of which I have above given an abstract.) And there also he saith of them, that they observed their festivals, and formed their rules for the celebrating of them according to *Moses's* institution. This therefore was none other than a *Jewish* sort of monkism; for christian monkism had not its being till many years after. For

It had its first beginning about the year of our Lord 250. Then ^o *Paul*, a young gentleman of the countrey of *Thebais* in *Egypt*, to avoid the *Decian* persecution, fled into the adjoining desert, and fixing his abode in a cave there, first of all Christians began the practice of an asketic life, in which he continued ninety years, being of the age 113 at the time of his death. About twenty years after his thus retiring to this place (he being by that time grown very famous for the religious and heremetical sort of life, which he had thus addicted himself to) *Antony*, another young gentleman of the same province, being excited by the fame hereof to follow his example, retired into the same desert, and there devoted himself to the like course of life. And many others after a while, out of the like zeal of devotion retiring to him, he formed them into a body, and becoming their Abbot, he prescribed them a rule, and governed them by it many years, for he lived to a very great age; and from this beginning all the monkism of the christian world had its original: For *Christ* and his Apostles never prescribed any such thing, neither is it consistent with the religion they taught. God never made any of us for lazy and useless contemplation only; his providence is over all his works, and every one of us

ⁿ Matth. xii. 1—13. Mark ii. 27. See also Luke vi. 1—10. & xiii. 15, 16. John vii. 22, 23.

^o Hieronymus in vitâ Pauli.

are bound, as far as we are able, to be the instruments thereof in bearing each his part for the support of the whole in that station of life, whatever it be, which God hath called us unto. And for every man to do his duty in this station of life with the best of his power for the honour of God, and the good of his neighbour, with faith in *Christ* for the reward of his faithfulness and diligence herein, is the sum of christian religion. And whoever is thus diligent and faithful in his honest calling, how mean soever it be, is by so doing as much serving God, as when at his prayers, provided that while he doth the one, he do not leave the other undone.

II. ANOTHER wrong use of the words of those three authors above recited is made by the infidel deists of our time. They pretend to find in them an agreement between the christian religion and the documents of the *Essenes*, and therefore would infer, that *Christ* and his followers were no other than a sect branched out from that of the *Essenes*. And for these chiefly is it that I have given at large all that these three authors have written of that sect, which is all that is authentically said of them. And let these infidels make the most of it that they can; though they search all these accounts of this sect thorough to the utmost, can any of the proper doctrines of christianity be found in any part of them? Is there any thing in them of the two christian sacraments? Is there any thing of the redemption of the world by the *Messiah*, or of the erecting of his spiritual kingdom here on earth? Or were any of the peculiar documents, or usages of that sect ever ingrafted into christianity? The common tables I confess, which were at first set up by the Apostles bear some resemblance to those of the *Essenes*. But this was never made a law of the christian religion, as it was of the sect of the *Essenes*, or ever as much as recommended by it, only it was practised for a short while in the first gatherings of the christian Church; but when it encreased and grew up, this usage was dropp'd and wholly discontinued, as being no longer practicable. In those moral duties, which the *Essenes* practised and taught, they there indeed agree with christians, and so do all other religions, as far as they agree with the law of nature. Many of the heathens carried the observance of all the moral duties which christianity prescribes, much higher than the *Essenes* did; and this not only in speculation and precept, but also in practice, and thereby made a much nearer agreement with christianity, than any of that sect ever did. And who therefore will ever say that christianity is a religion made out of heathenism? Our holy christian profession is so far from having any of the documents or institutions of the *Essenes* in it, that almost all, that is peculiar in that sect, is condemned by *Christ* and his Apostles. For almost all that is peculiar in them being only in an higher degree the same things, which they condemned in the *Pharisees*, who practised them in a lower degree; in that they were condemned where they were in a lower degree, they are certainly much more so, where they were in an higher. Such were ^ptheir superstitious washings, their ^qover rigorous observance of the sabbath, their ^rabstaining from meats, which God had created for man's use, ^stheir touch not, taste not, handle not, their ^twill-worship in their neglecting and voluntary afflicting the

^pMatth. xxiii. 25. Mark vii. 1—13. Luke xi. 38, 39. ^qMatth. xii. 1—13. Mark ii. 23, 28. Luke vi. 1—10. & xiii. 10—17. ^r1 Tim. iv. 3, 4. ^sColoss. ii. 21. ^tColoss. ii. 22, 23.

body, and other like superstitious usages, which God never required of them. Moreover "contrary to the law of christianity they forbad marriage, which God had ordained from the beginning, and absolutely condemned servitude, which the holy scriptures "of the *New Testament*, as well as the *Old* allow. And they denied the resurrection of the body, in which the main of the christian hope consists, and absurdly place the felicity of a future life in the corporal enjoyments of a temperate air in regions beyond the western ocean, where they allow the soul no body at all to be cloathed with for the partaking of them. And farther they pin down all men both good and bad to a fatal necessity in all their actions, which digs up the very foundations of all religion and righteousness among mankind. For if all men be necessarily pre-determined to all their actions, whether good or evil, by an unalterable and irresistible fate, there can then be no merit nor demerit, nor reason for any endeavour at all either after religion or righteousness among mankind. And when the institutions of this sect carry with them so great a distance and disparity from those of *Christ* and his Apostles, what argument of similitude between them can possibly be framed for the proving of the one to be the parent of the other?

I must not omit to acknowledge, that there is another piece of *Philo's* concerning those *Essenes*. It is part of his apology for the *Jews*, which he composed with intent to have delivered it at his audience of *Caligula* on his embassy to him from the *Jews* of *Alexandria*, would he have heard him. This tract of *Philo's* is not now among his works, it being all lost, excepting one fragment of it preserved by *Eusebius* in his eighth book *de præparatione Evangelicâ*, cap. xi. And this is that piece which I mean, but it containing nothing, but what is to be found in the other accounts of this sect above recited, I have avoided the inserting of it, that I might not tire the reader with an unnecessary repetition, to whom I fear I have already been too tiresome in this matter.

THERE was another sect among the *Jews* called the *Herodians*. This indeed had its date long after the times, which I am now upon, as having its rise from *Herod* King of *Judæa* called *Herod the Great*, but having been more than once made mention of *in the gospels, it is not to be omitted. And since I have here undertaken to give an account of all the other sects of the *Jews*, I think it proper here to place an account of this also. It's not to be doubted, but that they had this name from *Herod the Great*, but for what reason that is a question. Some say it was because they held *Herod* to be the *Messiah*; so *Tertullian*, so *Epiphanius*, so *Jerom*, so *Chrysostom*, so *Theophylact*, and so several others of the ancients held: But it is very improbable, that any *Jews* should in the time of our Saviour's ministry above thirty years after the death of *Herod* hold him to have been the *Messiah*, when they had found no one of those particulars, which they expected from the *Messiah*, performed by him, but rather every thing quite the contrary. Others hold that they were called *Herodians*, because they constituted a sodality erected in the honour of *Herod*, in the same manner as there were sodalities at *Rome* called *Augustales*, *Adrianales*, *Antonini*, constituted in the honour of *Augustus*, *Adrian*, and *Antoninus*, and the like of other *Roman* Emperors after their death. And this is the opinion

* 1 Tim. iv. 3. * Philemon 9—21. * Matth. xxii. 16. Mark iii. 6. viii. 15. xii. 13.

of ¹ *Scaliger*, and ² those that follow him; but none of these sodalities at *Rome* having been instituted till long after the death of *Herod*, none such could have been instituted in honour of *Herod* in imitation of them. The earliest of these sodalities, and the first of this kind, that we any where meet with, were the *Sodales Augustales*: But these not being instituted till after *Augustus's* death, which happen'd several years after *Herod's*, this could give no pattern nor foundation for the like to be instituted in honour of *Herod*, either in his life time, or upon his death, since he died many years before. By what is mentioned of these *Herodians* in the gospels, they seem plainly to have been a sect among the *Jews* differing from the rest in some points of their law and religion. For they are there named with the *Pharisees*, and in contradistinction from them, and therefore must have been a sect in the same manner as the *Pharisees* were. And they are also said to have a peculiar leaven, as the *Pharisees* had, that is some false and evil tenets, which soured and corrupted the whole lump, with which it was mingled; and therefore *Christ* equally warned his disciples against both. And since he calleth it ³ the leaven of *Herod*, this argues, that *Herod* was the author of it, that is of those evil tenets, which constituted this sect, and distinguished it from the other sects of the *Jews*, and that his followers imbibing those tenets from him were for this reason called *Herodians*. And these being chiefly of his courtiers, and the officers, and servants of his palace and those that were descended from them, hence the *Syriac* version, wherever the word *Herodians* occurs in the original, renders it *the domesticks of Herod*. And that version having been made very early for the use of the church of *Antioch*, the authors of it were nearest those times, in which this sect had its beginning, and therefore had the best means of knowing who they were. Thus far therefore having shewn, that these *Herodians* were a sect of the *Jews*, that had its original from *Herod the Great*, it's next to be enquired into, what were the tenets whereby it was distinguished. The only way to find this out is to examine in what particulars the founder of it differed from the rest of the *Jews*: For no doubt the same were the particulars, in which these his followers differed from them also, and thereby constituted this sect, and they will appear to have been these two following. The first in subjecting himself and his people to the dominion of the *Romans*, and secondly in complying with them in many of their heathen usages: For both these particulars *Herod* held lawful, and accordingly practised them. And therefore these I take to have been the tenets and opinions, in which these *Herodians* his followers differed from the other *Jews*, and thereby constituted this sect, which from him was called by that name. It being said, *Deut. xvii. 15. One from among thy brethren shalt thou set King over thee, thou may'st not set a stranger over thee, which is not thy brother*: Hence an opinion arose, which was generally embraced by the *Pharisees*, that it was not lawful to submit to the *Roman* Emperor, or pay taxes unto him; but *Herod* and his followers understanding the text to exclude a voluntary choice, and not a necessary submission, where force hath over-power'd choice, were of a contrary opinion, and held it lawful in this case both to submit to the *Roman* Emperor, and also pay taxes to him. And therefore the *Pharisees*,

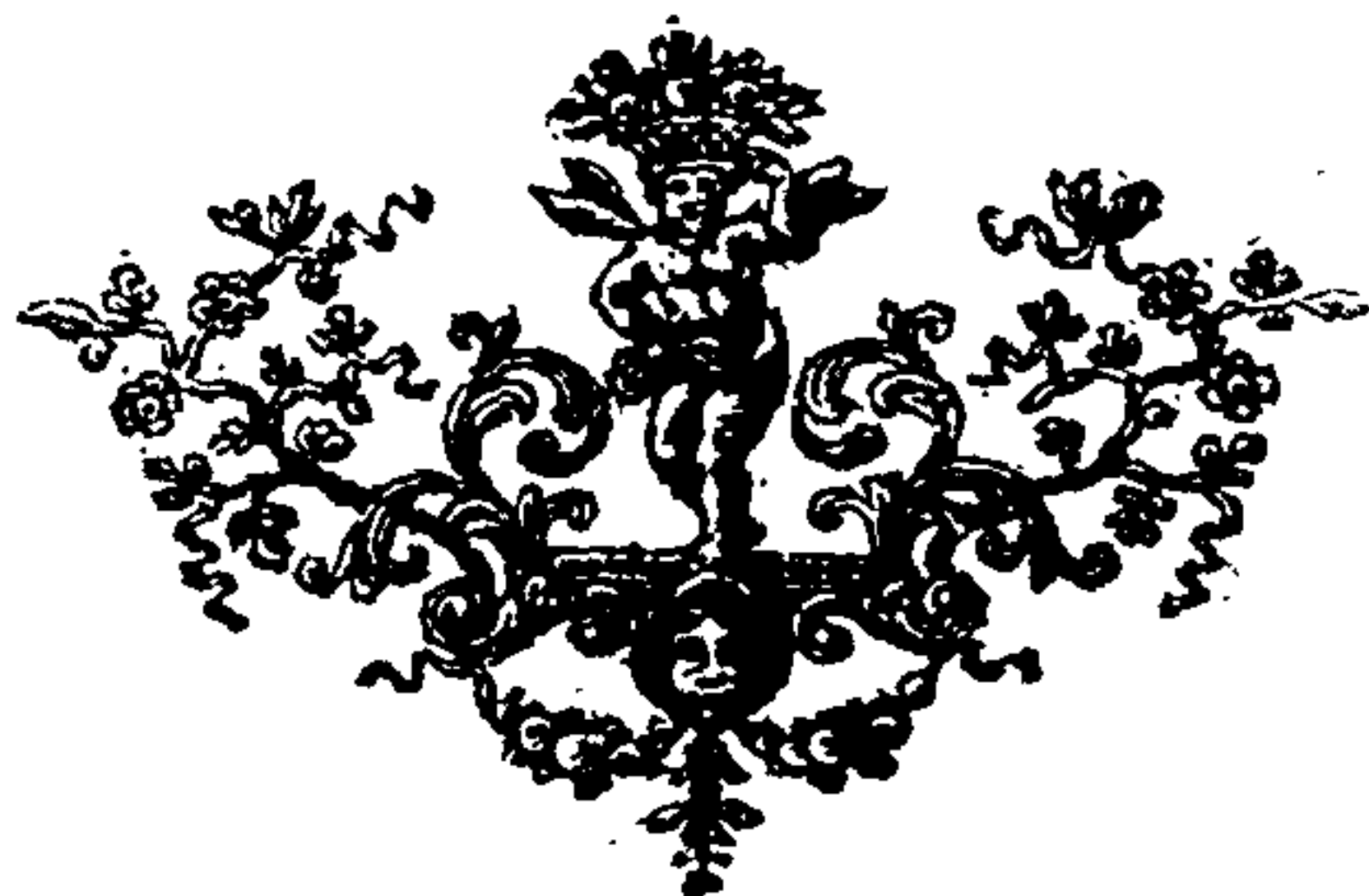
¹ In Animadversionibus ad Eusebii chronologica No 1882.
prolegomenis ad exercitationes Baronii.

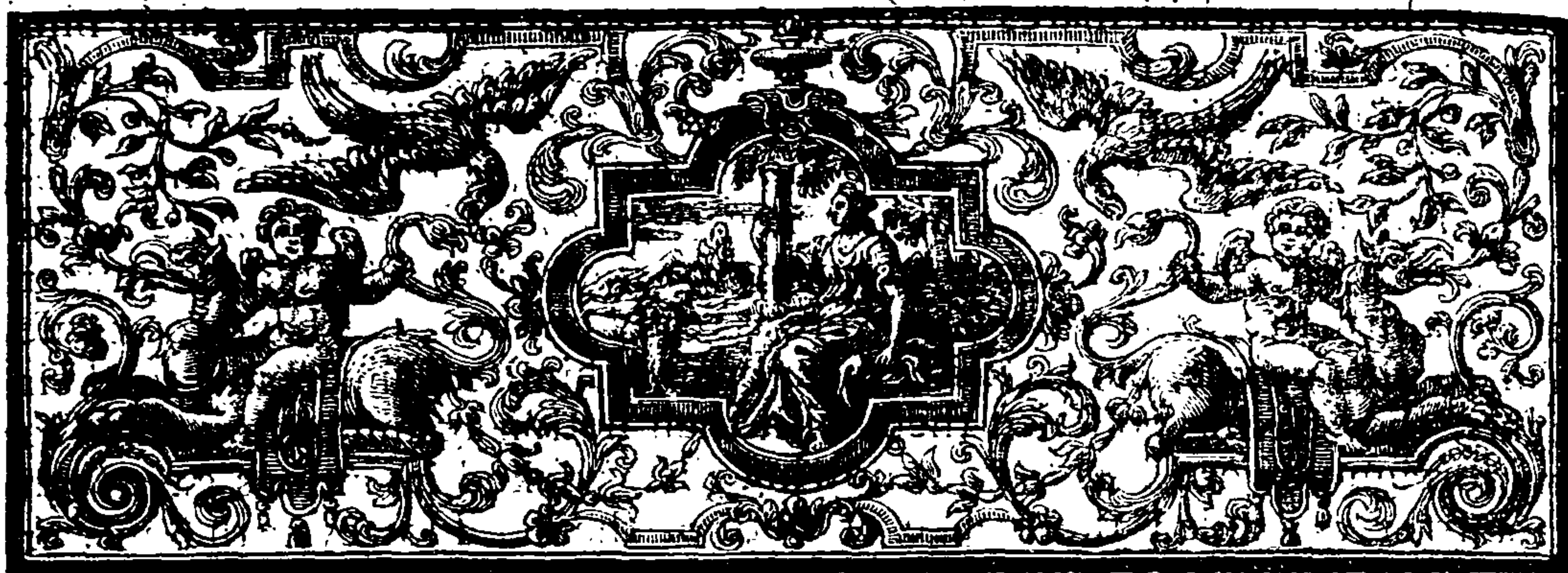
² Mark viii. 3.

³ Casauboni exercitationes in

and the *Herodians* being of opinion in this matter quite contrary to each other, those that laid snares for *Christ*, and sought an occasion against him, sent the disciples of both these sects at the same time together to propose this captious question to him, ^b *Is it lawful to give tribute unto Caesar or no?* thinking which way soever he should answer to bring him into danger. For should he answer in the negative, the *Herodians* were there ready to accuse him of being an enemy to *Caesar*; and should he answer in the affirmative, the *Pharisees* were as ready on the other hand to accuse him to the people, and excite them against him, as an enemy to their rights, they having possessed them with their notion against paying taxes to any foreign power: But *Christ* knowing their wicked intentions gave such an answer as baffled the malice of both of them. However the answer then given implying a justification of the doctrine of the *Herodians* in that point, that could not be the leven of *Herod*, which *Christ* warned his disciples against, and therefore that must be their second tenet, that it was lawful, when forced and overpowered by superiors, to comply with them in idolatrous and wrong practices of religion. This *Herod* did, and he seems to have framed this sect of purpose to justify him herein: For ^c *Josephus* tells us, that to ingratiate himself with *Augustus*, and the great men of *Rome*, he in many things acted contrary to the law and the religion of the *Jews*, building temples, and erecting images in them for idolatrous worship, and for this, ^d he excused himself to the *Jews*, telling them, that he did not do it willingly, but as commanded and forced to it by powers, whom he was necessitated to obey, thinking this sufficient to excuse him from guilt. And for this reason we find him sometimes called an half *Jew*, and such half *Jews* I conceive were the *Herodians* his followers, professing the *Jewish* religion, and at the same time on occasions complying with the idolatrous heathens, and becoming occasional conformists to them. The *Sadducees*, who denied a future state, did mostly come into the opinions of this sect, and therefore they are reckoned one and the same with them.; for the same persons, who in one of the gospels are called *Herodians*, ^e are called *Sadducees* in another. But this sect after our Saviour's time vanished, and were no more heard of: And thus far having given this long account of all the sects of the *Jews*, I shall here with it conclude this book.

^b Matth. xiii. 16. ^c Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 12. ^d Josephus ibid. ^e See Matth. xvi. 6. & Mark viii. 15. and compare them together.





THE
Old and New TESTAMENT
Connected in the
HISTORY
OF THE
Jews and Neighbouring Nations,
FROM THE
Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
to the time of CHRIST.



PART II. BOOK VI.

An. 107.
Aristo-
bulus.



HIRCANUS at his death left ^a five sons behind him, the first *Aristobulus*, the second *Antigonus*, the third *Alexander*, and the fifth ^b *Absalom*, what was the name of the fourth is no where said. ^c *Aristobulus*, as being the eldest, succeeded his father both in the office of High-priest, and also in that of supreme governor of the countrey; and as soon as he was settled in them he put a diadem upon his head, and assumed the title of King, and he was the first that did so in that land since the

^a Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 19.
lib. 13. cap. 19. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 3.

^b Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 8.

^c Josephus antiq.

Babylonish captivity. His mother by virtue of *Hyrcaus's* will claimed a right to the sovereignty after his death, but *Aristobulus* having overpowered her, cast her into prison, and there starved her to death. As to his brothers, *Antigonus* the eldest of them being much in his favour and affection, he at first shared the government with him, but afterwards did put him to death in the manner as will by and by be related; the other three he shut up in prison, and there kept them as long as he lived.

PTOLEMY Lathyrus King of *Egypt* having incurred his mother's displeasure for sending an army into *Palestine* against the *Jews* contrary to her mind, as hath been above related, ^d she carried it on so far against him for this, and some other like attempts which he had made of reigning without her, that having first taken *Selene* his wife from him (by whom he had now ^e two sons) she drove him out of the kingdom. For the accomplishing of this she caused some of her favourite eunuchs to be wounded, and then bringing them out into the publick assembly of the *Alexandrians*, there pretended that they had suffered this from *Lathyrus* in defence of her person against him, and thereon accused him of having made an attempt upon her life; whereby she so far incensed the people, that they rose in a general uproar against him, and would have torn him in pieces but that he fled for his life, and having gotten on board a ship in the harbour, therein made his escape from their fury. Hereon *Cleopatra* called to her *Alexander* her younger son, who for some years past had reigned in *Cyprus*, and having made him King of *Egypt* in the room of *Lathyrus*, forced *Lathyrus* to be content with *Cyprus* on *Alexander's* leaving of it.

ARISTOBULUS, as soon as he had settled himself at home in the full possession of his father's authority, ^f made war upon the *Ituræans*, and having subdued the greatest part of them, forced them to become proselytes to the *Jewish* religion, in like manner as *Hyrcaus* some time before had forced the *Idumæans* to do the same thing: For he left them no other choice but either to be circumcised and embrace the *Jewish* religion, or else leave their countrey and seek out for themselves new habitations elsewhere. Whereon having chosen the former, they became ingrafted at the same time into the *Jewish* religion as well as the *Jewish* state. And in this manner the *Asmonæan* Princes dealt with all those whom they conquered. *Ituræa*^g, the countrey where those people dwelt, was part of *Cæle-Syria* bordering upon the north-eastern part of the land of *Israel*, as lying between the inheritance of the half tribe of *Manasseh* beyond *Jordan*, and the territories of *Damascus*. It was called *Ituræa* from ^h *Itur* one of the sons of *Ismael*, who in our *English* version is wrongfully called *Jetur*: This countrey is the same which is sometimes called *Auronitis*. As *Idumæa* lay at one end of the land of *Israel*, so *Ituræa* lay at the other; and thus much it's necessary to say, because by reason of some similitude of the names the one hath been mistaken for the other. *Philip* one of the sons of *Herod*ⁱ was tetrarch or prince of this countrey, when *John* the *Baptist* first enter'd on his ministry.

^d Justin. lib. 39. cap. 4. Pausanias in Atticis. Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri, p. 60. ^e These his two sons died before him, for he had no legitimate male-issue at his death.

^f Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 19.

^g Videas Relandi Palæstinam, lib. 1. cap. 22.

^h Genesis xxv. 15. ⁱ Chron. i. 31.

ⁱ Luke iii. 1.

ARISTOBULUS returning sick to *Jerusalem* from *Iturea*, left *Antigonus* his brother there with the army to finish the war which he had begun in that countrey. * While he lay ill, his Queen and the courtiers of her party, envying the interest which *Antigonus* had with him, were continually buzzing into his ears stories for the exciting in him a jealousy of this his favourite brother. Not long after *Antigonus* having finished the war in *Iturea* with success, returned in triumph to *Jerusalem*; and the feast of tabernacles being then celebrating, he went immediately up to the temple, there to perform his devotions on that holy time with his armour on, and his armed guards about him, in the same manner as he entered the city, without stopping any where to alter his dress. *Aristobulus* then lying sick in his palace *Baris*, adjoining to the temple, had immediately an account given him hereof for the firing of his jealousy against his brother, and it was warmly represented to him that it was time for him to look to himself: For certainly, they said, *Antigonus* would not have come in this manner armed, and with his armed guards about him, had he not some ill designs to execute against him. *Aristobulus* being moved hereby, sent orders to *Antigonus* to put off his armour and immediately come to him, concluding, that if he came unarmed according to his orders there was no hurt intended, but if otherwise, he had certainly some design of mischief against him: And therefore placing his guards in the passage through which his brother was to pass into the palace to come to him, gave them orders that if he came unarmed they should let him safely pass, but if otherwise, they should fall upon him and slay him. This passage, thro' which he was to pass, was a subterraneous gallery, ¹ which *Hyrchanus* had caused to be made, when he built that palace, leading from thence into the temple, that thereby he might always have on all occasions a ready communication with it. The messenger that was sent to *Antigonus* instead of bidding him come unarmed as directed, delivered a quite contrary message: For being corrupted by the Queen and her party, he told *Antigonus*, that the King hearing that he had a very fine suit of armour on, desired he would come to him as then armed with it, that he might see how it became him. *Antigonus* on his receiving this message immediately passed through the gallery above mentioned to go to the King, and when he came to the place where the guards were posted, they finding him armed, fell upon him according to their orders and slew him. This fact was no sooner done but *Aristobulus* most grievously repented of it: And this murder bringing into his mind the murder of his mother, his conscience flew him in the face at the same time for both, and the anxiety of his thoughts hereon encreasing, his disease brought him to the vomiting of blood. While a servant was carrying away the vomited blood in a basin, he happen'd to stumble and spill it upon the place where *Antigonus's* blood had been shed: At this all that were present made an outcry, apprehending it to be done of purpose. *Aristobulus* hearing the noise enquired what was the matter, and finding all about him shy of telling him, the more they were so, the more earnest he was to know it, till at length they were forced to acquaint him with the whole that had happen'd; whereon a grievous remorse seized

* Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 19. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 3. ¹ This was afterwards repaired by Herod; (See Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 14.) but was first built by Hyrcanus, as appears by this use of it.

him all over, and his conscience extorted from him bitter accusations against himself for both these facts; and in the agony which he suffered herefrom he gave up the ghost and died, having reigned only one whole year. And such miserable exits do mostly such wicked men make, which are terrible enough to deter all such from their iniquities, though there were no such things as the torments of hell to punish them afterwards for ever for the guilt of them.

JOSEPHUS^m tells us a very remarkable story of one *Judas* an *Essene* relating to the murder of *Antigonus*. This man seeing *Antigonus* come into the temple as above mentioned, fell into a great passion thereat, and made more than ordinary expressions of it both in word and behaviour; for he had foretold that *Antigonus* should be slain that day at *Straton's* tower. Now taking *Straton's* tower to be the town on the sea-coast then so named, but afterwards called *Cæsarea*, which was full two days journey from *Jerusalem*, he thought his prophecy was defeated, and could not possibly be fulfilled that day, the major part of it being then passed, and the place at so great a distance; and therefore he expressed hereon the like impatience as *Jonah* did on the failing of his prophecy against *Nineveh*. But while he was in this agony and perplexity of mind, exclaiming against truth itself in his being thus deceived, and wishing his death because hereof, came news that *Antigonus* was slain in that part of the subterraneous gallery above mentioned which was just under that turret or tower of the palace which was called *Straton's* tower. Whereon the *Essene* finding his prediction fulfilled in the lamentable murder of this Prince, both as to the time and place, rejoiced in the comfort and satisfaction of having his prophecy verified, at the same time when all else were grieved at it.

*ARISTOBULUS*ⁿ was a great favourer of the *Greeks*, for which reason he was called *Philellen*, and the *Greeks* as much favoured him: For *Timagenes* an historian of theirs wrote of him, as *Josephus* tells us out of *Strabo*, That he was a Prince of equity, and had in many things been very beneficial to the Jews, in that he augmented their territories, and ingrafted into the Jewish state part of the nation of the *Ituræans*, binding them to it by the bond of circumcision. But his actions above described give him another sort of character.

As soon as *Aristobulus* was dead ^o *Salome* his wife discharged the three brothers out of prison, and *Alexander*, surnamed *Jannæus*, who was the eldest of them, took the kingdom. His next brother having made some attempt to supplant him, he caused him to be put to death; but the other named *Abfolom* being contented to live quietly a private life under him, had his favour and protection as long as he lived; so that after this we hear no more of him, save only that ^p having married his daughter to *Aristobulus* the younger son of *Alexander* his brother, he engaged in his cause against the *Romans*, and was made a prisoner by them on their taking the temple under the command of *Pompey* forty two years after this time.

^m Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 19. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 3.

ⁿ Josephus antiq. lib. 13.

^o Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 20. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 3.

^p Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 8.

AT this time in *Syria*^a the two brothers *Antiochus Grypus* and *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, one reigning at *Antioch*, and the other at *Damascus*, harrassed each other with continual wars: Of which advantage being taken by some cities, which had formerly been parts of the *Syrian* empire, they asserted themselves into liberty, as *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Ptolemais*, *Gaza*, and others; and tyrants took possession of some others of them, as *Theodorus* of *Gadara* and *Amathus* beyond *Jordan*, *Zoilus* of *Dora* and *Straton's* tower, and others of other places. At the same time *Cleopatra* and *Alexander* her younger son were in possession of *Egypt*, and *Ptolemy Lathyrus* her eldest son held *Cyprus*, and in this state were the affairs of the neighbouring countries, when *Alexander Jannæus* first became King of *Judæa*.

THIS year was famous for the birth of two noble Romans, ^r *Cneius Pompeius Magnus*, and ^s *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, who, the one for war and the other for letters, were two of the most eminent persons which that city ever brought forth.

An. 105.
Alexander
Jannæus I.

AFTER *Alexander* had settled all matters at home, ^r he led forth his forces to make war with the people of *Ptolemais*, and having vanquished them in battel, shut them up within the walls of their city, and there besieged them, whereon they sent to *Ptolemy Lathyrus* then reigning in *Cyprus* to come to their relief; but afterwards having it suggested to them, that they might suffer as much from *Ptolemy* coming to them as a friend, as they should from *Alexander* as an enemy; and that as soon as they should be joined with *Ptolemy*, they would draw *Cleopatra* with all the forces of *Egypt* upon them; they, on these considerations, altered their mind, resolving to stand upon their own strength alone for their defence without admitting any auxiliaries at all, and took care that *Ptolemy* should be informed as much. However he having made ready an army of thirty thousand men, and equipped a fleet of proportionable power for the transporting of them, made use of this pretence to land them in *Phœnicia*, and marched towards *Ptolemais*: But they taking no notice of him, nor answering any of his messages, he was in great difficulty what course to take. While he was in this perplexity there came messengers to him from *Zoilus* Prince of *Dora*, and from the *Gazæans*, which delivered him from it: For while *Alexander* with one part of his forces besieged *Ptolemais*, he sent the other to waste the territories of *Zoilus*, and those of *Gaza*; and therefore these messengers were sent to pray his assistance against them, which he readily consented to. Whereon *Alexander* was forced to raise the siege of *Ptolemais*, and lead back his army from thence to watch the steps of *Lathyrus*: And finding that he could not prevail by his arms, he betook himself to his politics, thinking by craft and deceit to carry his point; and therefore courting the friendship of *Lathyrus* he enter'd into a treaty with him, and engaged to pay him four hundred talents of silver on the condition that he would deliver *Zoilus* into his hands with the places which he held. *Lathyrus* accepted the terms, and accordingly seized *Zoilus* and all his territories with intention to have delivered both into *Alexander's* hands. But when he was ready so to have done, he found that *Alexander* was at the same time treating underhand with *Cleopatra* to bring her upon

^a Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 20. Justin. lib. 39. Appian. in Syriacis. ^r Vide Patercul-
lum, lib. 2. cap. 29. ^s Plutarchus in Cicerone. A. Gellius, lib. 15. cap. 28. Plinius, lib.
37. cap. 2. ^t Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 20.

him with all her forces for the driving of him out of *Palestine*; whereon detesting his double dealing he broke off all friendship and alliance with him, and resolved to do him all the mischief that should be in his power.

AND this he accordingly executed the next year after; "for being bent to have his revenge on the inhabitants of *Ptolemais*, and also upon *Alexander* for the false dealings and ill usage he had received from both; he first laid siege to *Ptolemais*, and leaving one part of his army there for the carrying of it on under the conduct of some of his chief commanders, he marched in person with the other part to invade the territories of *Alexander*. At first he took *Asochis* a city of *Galilee*, and in it ten thousand captives with much plunder. After this he laid siege to *Sepphoris* another city of *Galilee*, whereon *Alexander* marched with an army of fifty thousand men against him for the defence of his countrey. This brought on a fierce battel between them near the banks of the river *Jordan*, in which *Alexander* being vanquished lost thirty thousand of his men, besides those which were taken prisoners. For *Lathyrus* having gotten the victory pursued it to the utmost. And there is a very cruel and barbarous act, which is related to have been done by him at this time, that is, that coming with his army in the evening after the victory to take up his quarters in the adjoining villages; and finding them full of women and children, he caused them to be all slaughtered, and their bodies to be cut in pieces, and put into cauldrons over the fire to be boiled, as if for supper, that so he might leave an opinion in that countrey, that his men fed upon human flesh, and thereby create the greater dread and terror of his army through all those parts. After this *Lathyrus* ranged at liberty all over the countrey, ravaging, plundering, and destroying it in a very lamentable manner: For *Alexander* after this battel, and the cutting off of so many of his men, as fell in it, was in no condition to resist him, but must have been absolutely undone, had not *Cleopatra* come the next year into those parts to relieve him.

FOR she apprehending, that in case *Lathyrus* should make himself master of *Judæa* and *Phœnicia*, he would thereby grow strong enough to invade *Egypt*, and there again recover his kingdom from her, thought it time to put a stop to his progress in those parts; and therefore she forthwith prepared an army under the command of *Chelkias* and *Ananias*, the two *Jews* mentioned, and having equipped a fleet put them on board of it, and sailed with them to *Phœnicia*, where having landed this army, and by the terror of it made *Lathyrus* quit the siege of *Ptolemais* (which he had till now continued) and retire into *Cæle-Syria*, she sent *Chelkias* with one part of the army after him, and putting the other under the leading of *Ananias* marched with it to *Ptolemais*, expecting they would have opened their gates to her; but finding the contrary she invested the place to take it by force. In the interim *Chelkias*, while he was pursuing *Lathyrus* in *Cæle-Syria*, lost his life in that expedition; which defeating the farther progress of it, *Lathyrus* took the advantage hereof to march with all his forces into *Egypt*, hoping, that on his mothers absence with the best of her forces in *Phœnicia*, he might find that kingdom so unprovided to resist him, that he might make himself master of it, but he failed of his expectations herein.

^u Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 20, 21.

^v Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21.

For those forces left there by *Cleopatra* for the security of the countrey ^{made} good their ground so long, till being joined by that part of the army, which on this attempt of *Lathyrus* she sent back out of *Phœnicia* to reinforce them, they drove him out of the countrey, and forced him to return again into *Palestine*, and there take up his winter quarters at *Gaza*.

BUT while this was a doing, *Cleopatra* still carried on the siege of *Ptolemais*, ^{and} till at length she took the place. As soon as she was mistress of it, *Alexander* came thither to her, bringing with him many valuable gifts to present to her for the gaining of her favour. But that which most ingratiated him with her was his enmity with *Lathyrus* her son, and on this account he was very kindly received. But some about her thinking she had now a fair opportunity by seizing *Alexander* to make her self mistress of *Judæa*, and all other his dominions, earnestly pressed her to it: And this had been done, but that *Ananias* prevailed with her to the contrary. For having represented unto her, how base and dishonourable a thing it would be thus to treat an ally engaged with her in the same cause, that it would be contrary to all the rules of faith and common honesty, that are observed among mankind, and would to the prejudice of her interest set all the *Jews* in the world against her, and make them her enemies, he hereby wrought with her so effectually, that partly on these considerations and partly to gratify the intercessor, who pleaded hard in this case for his countreyman and kinsman (for *Alexander* was both) she dropp'd the design, and *Alexander* returned safe to *Jerusalem*; where having recruited his broken forces, and made them up again to the number of a powerful army, he marched with them over *Jordan*, and besieged *Gadara*.

AN. 101.
Alexander
Jan-
næus 5.

PTOLEMY Lathyrus ^y having spent his winter at *Gaza* after his retreat out of *Egypt*, and finding that it would be in vain for him to attempt any thing more in *Palestine* by reason of the opposition there made against him by his mother, he left that countrey, and returned again to *Cyprus*; whereon she also sailed back again into *Egypt*, and the countrey became freed of both of them.

CLEOPATRA on her return to *Alexandria* ^z understanding that *Lathyrus* was carrying on a treaty at *Damascus* with *Anticchus Cyzicenus* for the obtaining of his assistance in order to another expedition into *Egypt* for his recovering of that kingdom again from her, she gave *Selene* her daughter, whom she had taken from *Lathyrus*, to *Antiochus Grypus* to wife, and with her sent to him a great number of auxiliaries, and large sums of money, to enable him to renew the war upon *Cyzicenus* his brother; whereon ^a civil broils between them again breaking out, *Cyzicenus* was diverted thereby from giving any assistance to *Lathyrus*, and so the whole project became abortive. *Ptolomy Alexander* her other son then reigning with her ^b being much terrified with the unnatural and cruel usage, with which she persecuted her other son, especially in thus taking from him his wife, and giving her to his enemy, and observing also, that she stuck at nothing that stood in the way of her ambition, and the vehement desire which she had of still reigning; thought himself not safe any longer

^w Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21.

^x Josephus ibid.

^y Josephus ibid.

^z Justin. lib. 39. cap. 4.

^a Livii Epitome lib. 68.

^b Justin. lib. 39. cap. 4.

with her, and therefore withdrew, and left the kingdom, chusing rather to live in banishment with safety, than to reign with so wicked and cruel a mother in the continual danger of his life. And it was not without great sollicitation, that he was persuaded to return to her again; and she was forced thus to persuade him, because the people would not permit her to reign at all without one of her sons with the name of King reigning with her, and this name was all she allowed to either of them, as long as she lived. For after the death of *Physon* she usurped the whole regal power to her self, and that *Lathyrus* presumed to make use of some part of it without her, was the only cause that she drove him from her, took away his wife, and expelled him the kingdom.

THIS year *Marius* in his fifth consulship finished the *Cimbrian* war with the total destruction of that people, who threatened *Rome*, and all *Italy* with no less than utter ruin. *Marius* commanded the *Roman* armies through the last three years of this war, and having finished it with success, and thereby delivered *Rome* from that terrible invasion, and the great danger which it lay under from it, he was reckoned as the third founder of that city, *Romulus* and *Camillus* being the two former. *Marius* while he carried on this war, first consecrated the eagle to be the sole *Roman* standard at the head of every legion, and hence it became the ensign of the *Roman* empire ever after. The countrey from whence these *Cimbrians* came, was the *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, the same which now contains *Jutland*, *Sleswick* and *Holstein*. On their deserting this countrey the *Æse* coming from between the *Euxin* and the *Caspian* seas, took possession of it, and from them came those *Angli*, who with the *Saxons* after having expelled the *Britains* possessed themselves of that part of *Great Britain*, which is now called *England*.

ALEXANDER *Jannæus* having after a siege of ten months taken *Gadara* marched from thence to *Amathus*, another fortress beyond *Jordan*, and it being the strongest in all those parts, *Theodorus* the son of *Zeno Cotylas* Prince of *Philadelphia* there laid up his treasure. *Alexander* took this place in a much less time than he had *Gadara*, and with it made himself master of all that treasure. But *Theodorus* having by that time gotten together a powerful army fell suddenly upon him, as he was returning from this conquest, and having on this surprize overthrown him with the slaughter of ten thousand of his men he not only recovered all his treasure again, but also took all *Alexander's* baggage with it. This sent *Alexander* back to *Jerusalem* with loss and disgrace, which was pleasing enough to many there. For the *Pharisees* ever since *Hyrcaus's* quarrel with them became enemies to all of his family, and to none more than to this *Alexander*; and these drawing the greatest part of the people after them, they infected the generality of them with disaffection and hatred to him, which was the cause of all those intestine troubles and difficulties, which he fell into during his reign.

HOWEVER this loss and disgrace did not hinder him, but that understanding, that on *Lathyrus* departure from *Gaza* all that coast was left

An. 100.
Alexander
Jannæus 6.

^c Plutarchus in *Mario*. L. Florus lib. 3. cap. 3. ^d Formerly there were four other ensigns used by the Romans with the eagle, i. e. The minotaur, the horse, the wolf, and the boar. *Marius* abolished these four, and retained the eagle only to be the standard of every legion, Plinius lib. 10. cap. 4.

^e Videas Hicessii linguarum septentrionalium Thesaurum in epistolâ dedicatoriâ, &c.

^f Josephus ibid.

naked of defence, ^ghe marched thither with his army, and made himself master of *Raphia* and *Anthedon*, which being both within the distance of a few miles from *Gaza*, he in a manner blocked up that city hereby, and to do this was the main end of his seizing these two places. For the *Gazæans* having called in *Lathyrus* to their assistance against him, and helped him with auxiliaries in that fatal battel near *Jordan*, where he received so great an overthrow, he bore in his mind ever since a bitter grudge against them, and resolved, when opportunity should serve, to have his revenge on them for it, and therefore,

An. 98.
Alexander
Jan-
næus 8.

As soon as his other affairs allowed him this opportunity, ^hhe marched with a great army against them for this purpose, and laid close siege to their city. They having for their chief commander a very valiant man named *Apollodotus*, he defended the place against him a whole year; and in one sally, which he made upon him in the night with twelve thousand of his men, he had like to have ruined him and all his army. For the assault then made upon his camp being pushed on with great briskness and resolution, a bruit ran through the *Jewish* army, that *Ptolemy Lathyrus* and all his forces were come to the assistance of the enemy, which damped their courage, and created a panic fear among them. But when the day-light appeared, and made them see the contrary, they again rallied, and beat the *Gazæans* into their city with the slaughter of a thousand of their men.

An. 97.
Alexander
Jan-
næus 9.

BUT notwithstanding this loss ⁱthey still held out, and *Apollodotus* was in great credit and reputation among them for his wise and steady conduct in the defence of the place, which being envied by *Lysimachus* his own brother the wretch treacherously slew him, and then getting a company together delivered up the city to *Alexander*, who on his first entering into it behaved himself, as if he intended to have used his victory with moderation and clemency. But when he was gotten into full possession of the place, he let loose his soldiers upon it with a thorough licence to kill plunder, and destroy, which produced a scene of horrid barbarity. This *Alexander* did to have his revenge of these people for the reason mentioned, and he suffered not a little himself in the executing of it. For the *Gazæans* hereon standing to their defence, he lost almost as many of his own men in this carnage and sackage of the place, as he slew of the enemy; however he had his mind so far, as to leave this ancient and famous city in utter ruin and desolation, and then returned again to *Jerusalem* after having spent a full year in this war.

IN this same year ^khappen'd the death of *Antiochus Grypus*, being slain by the treachery of *Heracleon* one of his own dependants in the twenty seventh year of his reign, and the forty fifth of his life. He left behind him five sons. 1. *Seleucus*, who was the eldest, succeeded him; the others were, 2. *Antiochus*, and 3. *Philip* two twins, 4. *Demetrius Eucærus*, and 5. *Antiochus Dionysius*. All these reigned, or attempted to reign in their turns.

An. 96.
Alexander
Jan-
næus 10.

PTOLEMY Apion the son of *Phyſcon* King of *Egypt*, to whom his father left the kingdom of *Cyrene*, dying without issue ^lgave that kingdom by his last will and testament to the *Romans*, who instead of accepting it

^g Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21.

^h Josephus ibid.

ⁱ Josephus ibid.

^k Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21. Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri.

^l Epitome Livii cap. 70. Julius Obsequens de prodigiis.

to themselves gave all the cities their liberties, which immediately ^m filled the countries with tyrants, those who were the potentest in every district endeavouring hereon to make themselves sovereigns of it, which brought upon that country great troubles and confusions. These were in some measure composed by *Lucullus* on his coming thither in the first *Mithridatic* war, but could not finally be removed till that country was at length reduced into the form of a *Roman* province.

ANTIOCHUS *Cyzicenus* on the death of *Grypus* ⁿ seized *Antioch*, and endeavoured to make himself master of the whole kingdom to the exclusion of the sons of *Grypus*, but *Seleucus* having gotten possession of many other cities drew great forces after him to make good his right to his father's dominions.

ANNA the prophetess the daughter of *Phanuel* of the tribe of *Aser*, ^{An. 95. Alexan- der Jan- naus 11.} of whom mention is made in the gospel of *St. Luke* (chap. ii. v. 36.) was married to her husband, and from this time lived with him seven years, till on his death she became a widow.

° *TIGRANES* the son of *Tigranes* King of *Armenia* being in hostage with the *Parthians* at the time of his father's death was by them restored to his liberty, and settled in the succession of that kingdom on his resigning to them some of the territories of it. This was done twenty five years before his making war with the *Romans* in the cause of *Mithridates*. For so long ^p *Plutarch* tells us, he had reigned in *Armenia*, when that war began.

KING *Alexander* entering into the temple at *Jerusalem* there to officiate as High-priest in the feast of tabernacles, ^a had a great affront and indignity there offered him by the people. For they joining in a sort of mutiny against him pelted him with citrons, while he was offering the festival sacrifices on the great altar, calling him slave, and adding other opprobrious language, which implied him unworthy of being either High-priest or King; which enraged him to that degree, that he fell upon them with his soldiers, and slew of them six thousand men. And to secure him from suffering any more from them the like affront he surrounded the court of the priest, within which were the altar and the temple; with a wooden partition, thereby to hinder the people from doing this any more to him. In calling him slave they harped upon the old story of *Eleazar*, as if *Hyrcaus*'s mother had been a slave taken in war. The truth of the matter was, *Hyrcaus* having quarrel'd with the *Pharisees* on that occasion, and abolished all their traditional constitutions, this whole sect hated him, and all his family, a long while after, and none of them more than *Alexander*. For he followed his father's steps in this matter, and would never readmit those constitutions, or give that party any favour, as long as he reigned; but on the contrary sat hard upon them on all occasions, which embitter'd them so much against him, that having a great influence over the people they made use of it to set them against him, and render them disaffected to him to the utmost they were able; which created great troubles to *Alexander* during all his reign, and much greater mischief to the whole nation of the *Jews*, as will be seen in the future series of this history.

^m Plutarchus in Lucullo.

ⁿ Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri.

° Justin. lib. 38. cap. 3. Appian. in Syriacis. Strabo lib. 11. p. 532.

^p In Lucullo.

^a Josephus de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 3. antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21.

The first instance hereof was, that *Alexander* seeing the *Jews* in this temper durst no more trust them with the safety of his person, but instead of them^r called in foreign mercenaries to be of his guard, chusing them out of the *Pisidians* and *Cilicians*, and not of the *Syrians*, whom he did not like, and of these he had^s six thousand always about him. This instance shews how dangerous a thing it is for any Prince to have a powerful faction either in Church or State disgusted against him; and the ill success which *Alexander* had in his endeavours to quiet this faction, shews the mistake which he made in his means of effecting it: For he made use only of rigour and severity, which operate in the body politic no otherwise than as opiats do in the body natural, which put a short stop to the disease, but never remove the cause; the truest method of cure in this case is so to join severity and clemency together, that both may have their effect.

An. 94.
Alexander
Jan-
næus 12.

WHEN *Alexander* had by the terror of his executions in some measure laid the storm which was raised against him at home, he marched out against his enemies abroad; and having passed over *Jordan* made war upon the *Arabians*, and having gotten the better of them in several conflicts, made the inhabitants of the land of *Moab* and of the land of *Gilead* to become tributaries to him.

SELEUCUS growing powerful in *Syria*,^u *Cyzicenus* marched out of *Antioch* against him, but being vanquished in battel he was taken prisoner and put to death; whereon *Seleucus* made himself master of *Antioch*, and of the whole *Syrian* empire, but could not keep it long: For^w *Antiochus Eusebes* the son of *Cyzicenus* having on *Seleucus's* taking *Antioch* made his escape out of that place by the assistance of a curtezan that was in love with him, came to *Aradus*, and was there crowned King.

An. 93.
Alexander
Jan-
næus 13.

AND^x having there gotten his father's soldiers about him, and joined others to them that were attached to his interest, he made up a considerable army, and marched forth with it against *Seleucus*, and having gotten a great victory over him, forced him to flee to *Mopsuestia* a city in *Cilicia*, there to take refuge; where having oppressed the inhabitants with great exactions, he provoked them so far hereby, that they rose in a general mutiny against him, and besetting the house where he was, put fire to it, and there burnt to death him and all there with him. ^y *Antiochus* and *Philip*, the two twin sons of *Grypus*, for the revenging of this forthwith marched with all the forces they could get together towards *Mopsuestia*, and having taken the place rased it to the ground, and sacrificed all that they found in it to the ghost of their slain brother. But in their return from this exploit being fallen upon by *Eusebes* near the *Orontes*, they were put to the rout; whereon^z *Antiochus* endeavouring to swim the river with his horse for the making of his escape was drowned in it. But *Philip* making a safe retreat kept many of his forces together, and soon recruited them again with others; so that being enabled thereby still to keep the field, the whole contest was now between him and *Eusebes* for the whole *Syrian* empire; and each of them having great armies on foot, miserably harraressed and wasted that countrey in their wars about him.

^r Josephus ibid.

^s Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 22. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 3.

^t Josephus ibid.

^u Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21. Trogi prolog. 40. Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri.

^w Appianus in Syriacis. Josephus, & Porphyrius, ibid.

^x Josephus, Appian. & Porphyrius, ibidem.

^y Porphyrius ibid.

^z Porphyrius & Josephus ibid.

IN the interim ^a *Alexander* pursuing the good success which he had in the last year's expedition beyond *Jordan*, carried on the war farther on that side, and invaded the territories of *Theodorus* the son of *Zeno Cotylas* Prince of *Philadelphia*. His chief design in this war was to take from him the strong fortrefs of *Amathus*, and his treasure there deposited, both which *Alexander* had taken eight years before, and *Theodorus* recovered again, as hath been above related. But at this time *Alexander's* name was grown so terrible by reason of his many late successes in those parts, that *Theodorus* durst not stand his coming, but carrying off his treasure, withdrew his garrison and deserted the place; whereon *Alexander* took it without opposition, and rased it to the ground.

EUSEBES the more to strengthen himself in the kingdom ^b had married *Selene* the relict of *Grypus*; she being an active woman had taken possession of some part of the *Syrian* empire on her husband's death, and had gotten forces about her to maintain her in it; *Eusebes* to join this interest of hers to his own married her, which offending *Lathyrus* (whose wife she had first been, till his mother took her from him, and gave her in marriage to *Grypus*) he ^c sent to *Cnidus*, where *Demetrius Eucærus* the fourth son of *Grypus* had been placed for his education, and having fetched him from thence made him King of *Damascus*. *Eusebes* and *Philip* being engaged against each other, neither of them could be at liberty to hinder this: For altho' *Eusebes* received great accession to his strength by marrying *Selene*, yet *Philip* made good his part against him, and ^d at length having drawn him to a decisive battel gave him a total overthrow, which forced him to flee into *Parthia* for his safety, whereon *Philip* and *Demetrius* became possessed of the whole *Syrian* empire between them.

An. 92.
Alexander
Jannæus 14.

IN the interim ^e *Alexander* King of *Judæa* making an expedition into *Gaulonitis*, a countrey lying on the east side of the lake of *Gennesareth*, and there engaging in a war against *Obedas* an *Arabian* King, was drawn by him into an ambush, wherein he lost most of his army, and hardly himself escaped. On his return to *Jerusalem* in this case, the *Jews*, who were before too much imbitter'd against him, being now farther exasperated by this loss, rose in a rebellion against him, hoping in this his weak condition soon to compass his destruction, which they had long earnestly desired. But *Alexander* being a man of application and courage, and of more than a common understanding, soon got together forces sufficient to oppose them. This produced a civil war between *Alexander* and his people, which lasted six years, and brought great calamities upon both.

^f *MITHRIDATES* Eupator King of *Pontus* on the death of *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia* having murdered his sons which that Prince left behind him, (tho' both born of *Laodice* his own sister) and usurped *Cappadocia* to himself, placed a minor son of his own (whom he called *Ariarathes*) over that kingdom, with one *Gordius* for a tutor to manage the government for him. *Nicomedes* King of *Bitlynia* fearing lest *Mithridates* with this accession to his dominions should grow too powerful for

An. 91.
Alexander
Jannæus 15.

^a Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 3.

^b Appian. in Syriacis.

^c Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21.

^d Porphyrius ibid. Eusebius in Chronico.

^e Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 3.

^f Justin. lib. 38.

cap. 1, 2.

him, and swallow him next, suborned a youth to take upon him to be the third son of *Ariarathes*, and having gained *Laodice* to own him, sent them both to *Rome*, there to lay claim to the kingdom of his pretended father for him. This having brought the cause before the senate, they ^e condemned the claims of both, that of *Mithridates*, as well as that of the pretender, and decreed, that the *Cappadocians* should become a free people: But they refusing this grant, and declaring that they could not subsist without a King, the senate ordered them to chuse whom they liked best; whereon they having elected *Ariobarzanes* a noble *Cappadocian*, ^h *Sylla* was sent with a commission to put him in possession, which he accordingly executed this year. *Mithridates* did not oppose him herein, but this excited in him that disgust against the *Romans*, which being afterwards heighten'd by other provocations mutually given and retorted, at length produced the *Mithridatic* war, which, next that against the *Carthaginians*, was the longest and the most dangerous war that ever the *Roman* state was engaged in.

An. 90.
Alexander
Jan-
næus 16.

FOR altho' *Mithridates* on this procedure suppressed his resentments for the present, yet from this time he resolved to make war upon the *Romans* for the revenging of it. In order hereto ⁱ having contracted an alliance with *Tigranes* King of *Armenia* by giving him *Cleopatra* his daughter to wife, he drew him into a confederacy with him for the making of this war; whereby it was agreed between them, that *Mithridates* should have all the cities and countries, and *Tigranes* all the persons, treasure and moveable goods that should be taken in it. The first effect of this confederacy was, ^k *Tigranes* expelling *Ariobarzanes* out of *Cappadocia*, whom the *Romans* had put in possession of that kingdom, brought back *Ariarathes* the son of *Mithridates* there again to reign. And ^l at the same time *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia* dying, *Mithridates* seized that kingdom to the exclusion of *Nicomedes* the son of the deceased. This sent both the deprived Kings to the *Romans* for their relief, who having decreed their restoration, sent *Manius Aquilius* and *Marcus Altinus* to see it executed.

An. 89.
Alexander
Jan-
næus 17.

BUT *Mithridates* permitting neither of them to enjoy quiet possession, when restored, all the *Roman* forces then dispersed through the several parts of *Lesser Asia* ^m gathering together, formed themselves into three armies; the first under the command of *L. Cassius*, who had the government of the *Pergamenian* province of *Asia*; the second under *Manius Aquilius*; and the third under *Quintus Oppius* proconsul of *Pamphylia*, having in each body forty thousand men horse and foot, and with these they began the war without tarrying for any orders from *Rome* for it: But ⁿ managing it with bad conduct, and much neglect, they had the ill success to be all vanquished and broken: And ⁿ *Aquilius* and *Oppius* being made prisoners, were first treated with the utmost indignity, and afterwards with equal cruelty tortured to death. Hereon ⁿ all the cities and provinces of *Lesser Asia*, and also severall of the cities of *Greece*, and all the islands of

^h Justin. ibidem. Strabo lib. 12. p. 540. ^h Plutarchus in Sylla. Appian. in Mithridaticis.
ⁱ Justin. lib. 38. cap. 3. ^k Justin. ibid. Appian. in Mithridaticis. ^l Justin. & Appianus ibidem. Memnon in excerptis Photii, cap. 32. ^m Appian. in Mithridaticis. ⁿ Appian. ibid. Epitome Livii, lib. 77, & 78. Athenæus, lib. 5. Strabo, lib. 12. p. 562. Memnon, cap. 33. L. Florus, lib. 3. cap. 5. Plinius, lib. 33. cap. 3. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2. 18. Diodorus Sic. in excerptis Valesii, p. 400.

the *Ægean* sea, excepting only *Rhodes*, revolted from the *Romans*, and declared for *Mithridates*.

CLEOPATRA Queen of *Egypt* ° being weary of her son *Alexander*, and the joint authority which he held with her in the government of the kingdom, laid designs against his life, that so being rid of him she might reign alone, and have the whole regal power in her own hands: But *Alexander* having notice of it prevented the plot, and by cutting her off first, made it turn all upon her own head. She was a monstrous wicked woman, as her actions above related sufficiently shew, and well deserved this death, had it come from any other hands than those of her own son. As soon as the *Alexandrians* found that the mother died by the parricide of the son, they could no longer bear him, but having driven him into banishment, sent to *Cyprus* for *Ptolemy Latbyrus*, and restored to him the kingdom, which he held afterwards without interruption ^p to the end of his life. *Alexander* the next year after having ^q having gotten some ships together to attempt a return in them was encounter'd at sea by *Tyrrhus*, *Ptolemy's* admiral, and being vanquished by him escaped to *Myra* in *Lysia*; from whence afterwards sailing towards *Cyprus* for the executing of some design which he had upon that island, he was met by *Chæreas*, another sea-commander of *Ptolemy's*, and being overborn by him perished in the fight.

WHILE these things were a doing in *Lesser Asia* and *Egypt*: the civil war went on in *Judæa* between *Alexander* and his people: And altho' he had the better of them in all encounters, yet he could not bring them to submit, or put any stop to these intestine troubles, so much were they enraged against him. Being weary of punishing and destroying them he made earnest applications to them for the composing of the differences that were between them: In order hereto he offered to grant them any thing that they should in reason desire, and therefore bid them ask what they would have. To this they answered all with one voice, ^r that he should cut his throat; that they would on no other terms be at peace with him; and it were well, they said, if they could then be reconciled to him after he was in his grave, considering the great mischiefs he had done them. And therefore having their minds to so high a degree thus exasperated against him, they resolved to go on with the war without hearkening to any terms of reconciliation whatsoever: And because they wanted sufficient forces of their own to act up to the anger and rage, which in their answer to *Alexander* they had expressed against him, they ^s sent to *Damascus* to call *Demetrius Eucærus* (who then reigned there) to their assistance, who thereon came into *Judæa* with an army consisting of three thousand horse and forty thousand foot *Syrians* and *Jews*. *Alexander* encountering him with six thousand *Greek* mercenaries and twenty thousand *Jews*, was overthrown with so great a slaughter, that he lost all his *Greek* mercenaries to a man, and the greatest part of his other forces; whereon he was driven with the poor remnants of his broken army that survived this terrible blow to flee

° Justin. lib. 39. cap. 4. Eusebius in Chronico. Pausanias in Atticis. Athenæus, lib. 12. p. 550. ^p Ptolemy the astronomer reckons to his reign the whole time from his father's death to his own, that is 36 years, tho' he lived half of them in banishment.

^q Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri. ^r Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 3.

^s Josephus ibid.

^t Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 22. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 3.

to the mountains, where he might by the advantage of the situation best protect himself in this shattered case. And now he had been utterly ruin'd but that he was relieved by a very extraordinary and unexpected turn of fortune: For those very men who were before so much imbitter'd against him that they had called in a foreign enemy upon him, and had joined that enemy in battel against him, when they saw him reduced to this distressed condition, took such compassion of him, that six thousand of them immediately went over to him. Whereon *Demetrius* fearing the like revolt of the rest departed out of *Judæa*, and shortly after marched into *Syria* against his brother *Philip*, and having driven him out of *Antioch*; and taken that city from him, he pursued him to *Berrhæa*, now called *Aleppo*, and there besieged him. Whereon *Straton* Prince of the place, and friend to *Philip*, called thither *Zizus* an *Arabian* King, and *Mithridates Sinaces* a *Parthian* commander to his assistance, who having vanquished *Demetrius* and taken him prisoner, sent him for a present to "*Mithridates* King of *Parthia*, where a little after he fell sick and died. *Philip* after this victory releasing all the *Antiochians*, that were taken prisoners in this defeat, and sending them home without ransom, this so far ingratiated him with that city, that on his return again thither he was received with the general acclamation of the people, and for some time he reigned there over all *Syria* without a competitor.

An. 88.
Alexander
Jannæus 18.

ALEXANDER after the retreat of *Demetrius* having gotten together another army "made good his part against the rebel *Jews* notwithstanding his late loss, and vanquished them in all conflicts. However he could bring them to no terms of peace, but they still carried on the war with the same rage and fury against him, without being in the least discouraged by any loss, baffle, or defeat, that happen'd to them.

ANNA the prophetess, daughter of *Phannuel*, becoming a widow on the death of her husband, without marrying any more *devoted her self wholly to the service of God, and exercised her self constantly in it for the space of eighty four years, during all which time she departed not from the temple, but there served God with fasting and prayers night and day.

MITHRIDATES finding, that the *Romans* and *Italians*, who were then on several occasions in *Lesser-Asia*, and there dispersed through all the provinces and cities of that countrey, did underhand carry on the *Roman* interest, in the places where they resided, to the great obstruction of his designs, †sent secret orders to all the governors of provinces and magistrates of cities through all *Lesser Asia* to put them all to death in one and the same day, that he had appointed for it; which was accordingly executed with that rigour, that no less than eighty thousand say some, near double that number say others, of *Romans* and *Italians* were then massacred in that countrey.

" This *Mithridates* seems to be the same who according to *Justin* [lib. 42. cap. 2.] was called *Mithridates the Great*, and having succeeded *Artabanus* his father in the kingdom of *Parthia*, Anno 128. was now in the 40th year of his reign. To him succeeded *Sinatrux*, and after *Sinatrux*, *Phraates* his son, Anno 67. * *Josephus* ibid. * *Luke* ii. 36, 37. Her serving God at the temple day and night is to be understood no otherwise, than that she constantly attended the morning and evening sacrifices at the temple, and then with great devotion offered up her prayers to God, the time of the morning and evening sacrifice being the solemnest time of prayer among the *Jews*, and the temple the solemnest place for it. † *Epitome Livii* lib. 78. *L. Florus* lib. 3. cap. 5. *Appian.* in *Mithridaticis*. *Cicero* in orationibus pro lege *Maniliâ* & pro *Flacco*. *Memmon.* cap. 33. *Velleius Paterc.* 1. 2. c. 18. *Orosius* lib. 6. cap. 2. *Eutropius* lib. 5. *Valerius Maximus* lib. 9. c. 2. *Plutarchus* in *Sylla*. *Dion Cassius* legat. 36.

AFTER this *Mithridates* hearing, that there was a great treasure at *Coos*, sent thither, and laid his hand upon it. *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, when she went with an army into *Phœnicia* against *Lathyrus* her son, ^asent to this place her grandson *Alexander* the son of *Alexander*, who then reigned with her in *Egypt*, and with him a great sum of money with her jewels and all her most precious things, there to be deposited as a reserve against all events. All this ^a*Mithridates* seized, and with it ^bthe sum of eight hundred talents more, which the *Jews* of *Lesser Asia* had there deposited, in order to be sent to *Jerusalem* for the securing of it from the rapins of the war, which they saw was coming upon that countrey. The treasure of *Cleopatra* there deposited truly belonging to young *Alexander* her grandson, *Mithridates* on his seizing of it did not wholly neglect him, but ^ctook him into his care, and gave him a princely education, and we shall e'er long again hear of him.

MITHRIDATES having thus made himself master of all *Lesser Asia* ^dsent *Archelaus* one of his generals with an army of an hundred and twenty thousand men into *Greece*, who having seized *Athens* made that the chief seat of his residence for the carrying on of the war in those parts, and while he lay there he drew over to him most of the cities and states of *Greece* for the embracing of the interest of *Mithridates*.

AND in this state ^e*Sylla*, now sent from *Rome* to carry on this war against *Mithridates*, found matters on his arrival in *Greece*; and therefore in the first place he laid siege to *Athens*, and after having spent several months in it at last took the place about the end of the year. An. 87.
Alexander Jan-
neus 19.

THE *Parthians* seem this year on the death of *Demetrius Eucærus* to have brought back *Antiochus Eusebes* into *Syria*, and to have there put him again in possession of some part of his former dominions. Forfirst, that he came back from *Parthia* (whither he had fled when vanquished by *Philip*) and reigned again in *Syria*, is certain. For ^fit was to be delivered from the calamities of the civil war, with which the *Seleucidæ* afflicted *Syria* in their contentions for the crown, that the *Syrians* called in *Tigranes*, as will be hereafter shewn. But at that time there were no other of them to make this contention, but *Philip* and *Eusebes* only, all the rest being then dead. And that *Tigranes* found *Eusebes* in possession of some part of *Syria* on his coming thither, appears from *Appian*. For ^ghe tells us more than once, that this *Eusebes* being then expelled out of *Syria* fled into an obscure corner of *Cilicia*, and there lay hid, till after *Lucullus's* victory over *Tigranes* he returned again into *Syria*. And, secondly, that it was by the assistance of the *Parthians*, that he came back again into *Syria* seems most probable, because he having fled to them as friends, they are the most likely as friends to have given him this assistance, and they lay the most convenient to afford it, the kingdom of *Syria* being bounded by the banks of the *Euphrates* on the one side of that river, and ^hthe territories of the *Parthians* reaching to those of the other side; and without some such powerful assistance, he could not again have recovered any part

^a Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21. & lib. 14. cap. 12. Appianus in Mithridaticis.

^b Appianus ibid. & de bellis civilibus lib. 1. Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 12. ^b Josephus ibid.

^c Appianus in Mithridaticis.

^d Plutarchus in Sylla. Appian. in Mithridaticis. Epitome

Livii lib. 78. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 2.

^e Plutarchus in Sylla. Epitome Livii lib. 81. Appianus

in Mithridaticis.

^f Justin. lib. 40. cap. 1.

^g In Syriacis & in Mithridaticis.

^h The Parthians had at this time all Mesopotamia from the Tigris to the Euphrates.

of his former dominions. But by what assistance soever he returned, *Philip* seems at this time to be engaged to oppose him. But while he was thus employed in the northern parts of *Syria* for the keeping out of one rival, another started up against him in the southern: For ⁱ*Antiochus Dionysius* his brother, the youngest of the five sons of *Grypus*, taking the advantage of his being thus otherwise engaged seized on *Damascus*, and there making himself King of *Cœle-Syria* reigned over it in that place for the space of about three years.

WHILE these wars were thus carrying on in *Greece* and *Syria*, *Alexander Jannæus* was as deeply engaged in war with his own people. But ^k having now driven it to a decisive battel he gave them such a terrible blow, as soon brought those troubles to a conclusion. For having cut off the major part of them in the rout, and driven the chief of those, that survived, into *Bethome*, he shut up that place all round, and there closely besieged them.

An. 86.
Alexander
Jannæus 20.

AND the next year after ^lhaving succeeded in this siege, and taken the city, and all those in it that had fled thither for refuge, he carried eight hundred of them to *Jerusalem*, and there caused them to be crucified all together in one day, and their wives and children to be there slain before their face, while they hung dying on the crosses, on which they were crucified; which was a severity never to be justified, had there been any other way, whereby to have brought that rebellious faction to reason. While this was a doing *Alexander* made a treat for his wives and concubines near the place, where this scene of terror was acting, and to feast himself and them with the sight hereof was the main part of the entertainment. From hence *Alexander* had the name of *Thracidas*, that is *the Thracian*, those people being then above all others infamous for their bloody and barbarous cruelties. And indeed there could no name be invented for him bad enough to express so inhuman a procedure. However it had its effect; for all the remainder of the rebel party being terrified with the horror hereof fled the country. And after this *Alexander* had no more disturbance at home to the day of his death. And thus ended this furious rebellion, after it had lasted six years, and had cost the lives of ^mabove fifty thousand men of the rebel faction.

AND this same year was no less fatal to the cause and armies of *Mithridates*, than it was to the rebel *Jews*. ⁿFor though he had sent into *Greece*, under the command of *Archelaus* an hundred and twenty thousand men, and under the command of *Taxiles*, another of his generals, and brother of *Archelaus*, an hundred and ten thousand, and after that eighty thousand more under the command of *Dorylaus*, in all three hundred and ten thousand men, numbers enough to have born all before them, would numbers alone have carried the cause: Yet *Sylla* with a *Roman* army only of fifteen hundred horse, and fifteen thousand foot vanquished them all in three several battels, the first of which was fought at *Chæronea*, and the other two at *Orchomenus*, in which battels he is said to have slain an hundred and sixty thousand of them; and thereby he forced all the rest of them to flee out of *Greece*.

ⁱ Josephus antiq. ibid. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 4.

& de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 3.

& de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 3.

Livii lib. 82. Memnon. cap. 34. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 2. Eutropius lib. 5. L. Florus lib. 3. cap. 5.

^k Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 22.

^l Josephus ibidem.

^m Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 21.

ⁿ Plutarchus in Sylla. Appian. in Mithridaticis. Epitome

Livii lib. 82. Memnon. cap. 34. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 2. Eutropius lib. 5. L. Florus lib. 3. cap. 5.

AND the next year after *Mithridates* was as much distressed in *Asia*. An. 85. Alexander der Janneus 21. For ⁿ *Fimbria*, who there commanded another *Roman* army, having vanquished the best remainder of his forces pursued those that fled as far as *Pergamus*, where *Mithridates* himself then resided, and having driven him from thence to *Patana* a maritim city of *Æolia* followed him thither, and laying siege to the place, blocked it closely up by land, but not having any ships to shut it up by sea, a passage there still lay open, whereon *Fimbria* sent to *Lucullus*, who was then in the neighbouring seas with the *Roman* fleet, to come thither, and would he have done so, *Mithridates* must necessarily have been taken; but *Fimbria* being of a contrary faction in the state, he would have nothing to do with him, and so *Mithridates* escaped by sea to *Mitylene*, and from thence got clear out of their hands to the great damage of the *Roman* interest: And the like often happens, wherever the ministers and officers of the government are divided into different factions. For such frequently study in their several stations more to gratify their envy, their piques, and their malice against each other, than to serve the publick interest of their countrey, and thereby often make the best projects miscarry, that so they may obstruct the honour, or work the disgrace of those, that are entrusted with the executing of them. And there is scarce any state now in being, which cannot give many instances hereof, and none more than our own.

BUT although *Mithridates* thus made his escape, yet it conduced to the putting an end to this war. For ^o being terrified with the danger, he had so narrowly got clear of, and the many losses he had suffered, he sent to *Archelaus* on any terms to make peace with *Sylla*; whereon *Sylla* and *Archelaus* meeting in the isle of *Delos*, agreed, that *Mithridates* should restore *Bithynia* to *Nicomedes*, *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, and all else to the *Romans*, which he had taken from them since the war begun, and be content only with his paternal kingdom of *Pontus*; and that he should pay three thousand talents to the *Romans* for the charges of the war, and yield to them seventy of his ships; and that on these terms peace should be granted, and all past acts of hostility being forgotten, *Mithridates* should be received into the number of the friends and allies of the *Roman* state. And *Sylla* and *Mithridates* having afterwards had a meeting at *Troas* in *Asia* there ratified and confirmed these articles on both sides, and thereon the peace was published and declared. *Sylla* would never have consented to make this peace, but that the divisions of the *Romans* at home, and the civil wars there commenced made his return into *Italy* then absolutely necessary for the appeasing of them. This made *Sylla* as desirous of ending the war, as *Mithridates* himself, who had suffered most by it. And therefore *Sylla* having received the seventy ships, and the three thousand talents above-mentioned, and mulcted the states and cities of *Asia* in the sum of twenty thousand talents to be paid in five years time, returned into *Italy* to make war with the *Marian* faction, which was there at this time predominant, but what he did therein doth not belong to my purpose to relate.

ⁿ Plutarchus in Lucullo. Memnon c. 36. Livii Epitome lib. 83. Appian. in Mithridaticis. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 2. ^o Plutarchus in Syllâ & Lucullo. Epitome Livii lib. 83. Dion Cassius legat. 34, 35. Appian. in Mithridaticis & de bellis civil. lib. 1. Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 23.

BUT one thing I cannot here omit, that is, ^p that it was by his means that the works of *Aristotle* were preserved, and afterwards made publick for the benefit of the learned world. *Aristotle* at his death left them to *Theophrastus*; he on his death bequeathed them to *Neleus* of *Scepsis*, a city near *Pergamus* in *Asia*, and on *Neleus*'s death they fell to his heirs, who being men of no learning, only kept them locked up in a chest. But when the *Pergamenian* Kings, under whose jurisdiction *Scepsis* was, made diligent search for all sorts of books for the filling up of their library at *Pergamus*, they fearing that those books might be taken from them, for the preventing of it hid them in a vault under ground, where they lay buried for about an hundred and thirty years, till at length *Apellico* a rich citizen of *Athens* being on the hunt after all sorts of books for the making him a library, the heirs of *Neleus*, to whom through several generations these books were then descended, being reduced to poverty, took them up out of the place where they had been hid, and sold them to him. But these books by the length of time, and the moisture of the place where they lay, being so damnified and rotten that they could scarce hang together, *Apellico* caused copies of them to be written out; and in the writing out of of them many chasms being found in the original (in some places letters, and some others whole words, and sometimes several of them together, being either eaten out by worms, or rotted out by time and wet) these chasms were in many places supplied by conjecture, and sometimes very unskilfully, which hath caused difficulties in those books ever since. *Apellico* being dead a little before *Sylla* came to *Athens*, he seized his library, and with it these works of *Aristotle*, and carrying it to *Rome*, there added it to his own library. One ^q *Tyrannion* a famous grammarian of those times then residing at *Rome* being desirous to have these works of *Aristotle*, obtained leave of *Sylla*'s library keeper to write them out. This copy he communicated to *Andronicus Rhodius*, who from that copy first made these works of *Aristotle* publick, and to him it is that the learned world is beholden that it hath ever since enjoyed the very valuable writings of this great philosopher.

WHILE ^r *Antiochus Dionysius* King of *Damascus* was making war upon *Aretas* King of *Arabia Petraea*, *Philip* his brother took the advantage of it to seize *Damascus*, which he got into by the help of *Milesius* the captain of the castle: But *Philip* not rewarding him as he expected, he took the opportunity of his next going abroad for his diversion to shut the gates against him, and kept the city for *Antiochus*, and on his return out of *Arabia* (from whence he immediately hastened on his hearing of this invasion) restored it to him again. Hereon *Philip* retreating, *Antiochus* made another expedition against *Aretas*, taking his way thorough *Judea*; and that

^p Plutarchus in *Sylla*. Strabo lib. 13. p. 609. Stanley's history of philosophy, part 6, in the life of *Aristotle*, chap. 16.

^q This *Tyrannion* was a citizen of *Amisus* in *Pontus*, being there taken prisoner, when *Lucullus* reduced that place he was released merely for the sake of his eminent learning. After this going to *Rome* he had there the patronage of *M. Cicero*, and read lectures publicly in his house, and there took care of his library, and did set it in due order. And soon after growing very rich, he got together a very great library of his own, consisting of above thirty thousand volumes; and he procured this copy of *Aristotle*'s works to be set among them. Concerning all this see *Cicero*'s epistles, lib. 2. epist. 4. & lib. 4. ad *Atticum*, epist. 4. & ep. 8. Plutarch. in *Sylla* & in *Lucullo*. Strabo lib. 13. p. 608. & *Suidas* in voce *Tyrannion*. ^r *Josephus* antiq. lib. 13. cap. 23. & de bello *Judaico*, lib. 1. cap. 4.

part of the countrey that lay between *Joppa* and *Antipatris* being the only passage which he could have for his army that way, *Alexander* being jealous of his intentions, drew lines between those two places of the length of twenty of our miles to obstruct him, and fortified them with a wall and wooden towers placed at a convenient distance from each other. But this proved of no effect for the end proposed; for *Antiochus* on his approach set fire to these towers, and burning them down broke thorough the lines, and passed on into *Arabia*; but being there surprized and taken at a disadvantage by *Aretas*, he was slain in the battel, and most of his forces were cut off with him; and the rest that escaped had no better fate: For having after their flight gotten into a village called *Cana*, they there all perished for want of bread. Whereon *Aretas* became King of *Cæle-Syria*, not by conquest after this victory, but by the election and call of the people of *Damascus* in opposition to *Ptolemy* the son of *Mennæus* Prince of *Chalcis* in their neighbourhood. It seems he would have seized that government: But the people of *Damascus* having an utter aversion to him, rather than have him chose to call in *Aretas* and made him their King. And as soon as he was settled in that sovereignty he made an expedition into *Judæa* against *Alexander*, and had the better of him in a battel near *Addida*: But afterwards a treaty being commenced between them, all farther hostilities were superseded by an agreement of peace.

MANY places on the borders of *Arabia* having revolted from *Alexander*, while he was engaged in his wars with his rebel subjects, he being now at leisure from all other embarrassments, ^{Marched} over *Jordan* again to reduce them; and after having taken *Pella* and *Diaby*, he fate down before *Gerasa*, to which place *Theodorus* the son of *Zeno* had removed his treasure on his deserting *Amathus*, as hath been above related. When *Alexander* took *Pella* he destroyed the place, and drove the inhabitants into banishment, because they refused to embrace the *Jewish* religion, it being the usage of the *Asmonæan* Princes to impose their religion upon all their conquests, leaving to the conquered no other choice but either to turn *Jews*, or else to have their habitations demolished, and be forced to go seek new dwellings elsewhere.

ON *Sylla's* departure for *Italy*, *Muræna*, whom he left in the government of *Asia*, ^{renewed} the war again with *Mithridates* without a sufficient cause for it, which lasted three years, at the end whereof *Sylla* (being then dictator of *Rome*) disliking the proceedings of *Muræna*, ^{recalled} him, and resettled again with *Mithridates* the same articles of peace which he had formerly made with him; and so ended the second *Mithridatic* war: However ^{triumphed} *Muræna* on his return triumphed for his exploits in it.

THE *Syrians* being weary of the continual wars made in their countrey between the Princes of the race of *Seleucus* for the sovereignty of it, and not being able any longer to bear the devastations, slaughters, and other calamities which they suffered hereby, ^{resolved} to fling them all off at once, and call in some foreign Prince to rule over them, who might de-

^s Josephus ibid. Memnon. cap. 38. ^e Appian. in Mithridaticis. Plutarchus in Syllâ. Epitome Livii, lib. 86. ^u Cicero in oratione pro lege Maniliâ. ^w Cicero pro Murænâ.

^x Justin. lib. 40. cap. 1.

liver them from these miseries, and settle the countrey in peace. And accordingly they fixed their choice on *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, and sent ambassadors to notify it unto him; whereon ^y coming into *Syria* on this call, he took possession of that kingdom, and there reigned ^z eighteen years, the first ^a fourteen of which he governed it by *Megadates* his lieutenant, till at length he recalled him to his assistance against the *Romans*.

ON *Tigranes*'s thus taking possession of the kingdom of *Syria*, *Eusebes* fled into *Cilicia*, and there ^b lay hid in an obscure place of that countrey (among the fastnesses it may be supposed of mount *Taurus*) till he died. What became of *Philip* is no where said; it's most likely he was slain by *Tigranes* in some opposition he made against him on his first coming into that countrey. ^c *Porphyry* indeed makes mention of both these Princes as in being near thirty years after; but that *Porphyry* was mistaken herein will be hereafter shewn in its proper place. But ^d *Selene* the wife of *Eusebes* still retained *Ptolemais* with some parts of *Phœnicia* and *Cœle-Syria*, and there reigned for many years after; and was thereby enabled to give a royal education to her ^e two sons, the eldest of which was called *Antiochus* ^f *Asiaticus*, and the other ^g *Seleucus Cybiosactes*.

^h *ALEXANDER Jannæus* enlarging his conquests beyond *Jordan* took *Gaulana*, *Seleucia*, and several other places in those parts.

An. 82.
Alexan-
der Jan-
næus 24.

AND the next year after ⁱ he made himself master of the valley of *Antiochus*, and the strong fortress of *Gamala*. One *Demetrius* was till then master of these places, but there being many grievous misdemeanors laid to his charge, *Alexander* deprived him of his principality, and carried him prisoner with him to *Jerusalem*, where he returned at the end of this year, after having been absent from it three years on this expedition: And by reason of his successes in it he was there received with great acclamations. After this enjoying full ease he gave himself up to luxury and drunkenness, whereby he contracted a quartan ague, which he could never get rid of as long as he lived, but died of it three years after.

An. 81.
Alexan-
der Jan-
næus 25.

PTOLEMY Lathyrus ^k having for three years laid siege to *Thebes* in the upper *Egypt*, at length took the place: For they had rebelled against him, and being beaten out of the field were shut up within their walls, and there forced to bear this siege, till they were thereby now again reduced. *Lathyrus* on his taking the place handled it so severely for this rebellion, that from being the greatest and wealthiest city in *Egypt*, he reduced it to so low a condition that it never after any more made a figure.

AND not long after this ^l he died, having reigned from the time of the death of his father thirty six years, of which he reigned eleven with his mother in *Egypt*, eighteen in *Cyprus*, and seven alone in *Egypt* after his mother's death; he was succeeded by *Cleopatra* his daughter and only legitimate child. Her proper name was *Berenice*, and so ^m *Pausanias* calls

^y Appianus in Syriacis. Justin. ibid.

^z Justin. lib. 40. cap. 1, & 2.

^a Appian. in

Syriacis.

^b Appian. in Syriacis. Plutarchus in Pompeio.

^c In Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri.

ligeri.

^d Cicero in Verrem, lib. 4. § 27. Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 24.

^e Cicero

ibid.

^f He was called Asiaticus because he was educated in Asia. See Appian. in Syriacis.

^g Strabo; lib. 17. p. 796.

^h Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 23. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1.

cap. 4.

ⁱ Josephus ibidem.

^k Pausanias in Atticis, ibi Thebas Boeotias pro Thebis

Ægyptiis ex errore ponit.

^l Pausanias ibid. Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri.

Protemæus astronomus in canone.

^m In Atticis.

her: For it is to be noted, that as all the males of this family had the common name of *Ptolemy*, so all the females of it had that of *Cleopatra*, and besides had other proper names to distinguish them from each other: Thus *Selene* ⁿ was called *Cleopatra*, and so were also two other of her sisters. And in like manner this daughter of *Lathyrus*, whose proper name was *Berenice*, bore also that of *Cleopatra* according to the usage of her family: The observing of this will remove many obscurities and difficulties in the *Egyptian* history.

^o *ALEXANDER*, the son of that *Alexander* King of *Egypt* who murdered his mother, being sent into *Egypt* by *Sylla* to succeed in the kingdom after the death of *Lathyrus* his uncle, as next heir to him of the male-line, there claimed the crown: But the *Alexandrians* having put *Cleopatra* on the throne, and she having now sat on it six months before his arrival; to compromise the matter, and avoid displeasing *Sylla*, who, as perpetual dictator at this time, absolutely governed the *Roman* state, it was agreed that *Cleopatra* should be given to him to wife, and that they should both reign jointly together. But *Alexander* either not liking the lady, or else not liking to have a partner in the government, ^p at nineteen days end after the marriage put her to death, and then reigned alone fifteen years. I have before related how this *Alexander* had been sent by Queen *Cleopatra* his grandmother to *Coos* there to be educated, and how *Mithridates* there took him with all the treasure which his grandmother sent thither with him. After this ^q having made his escape from *Mithridates* he fled to *Sylla*, who receiving him kindly took him into his protection, and carried him with him to *Rome*, and from thence on this occasion sent him to take possession of the kingdom of *Egypt*, and there for fear of *Sylla* he was accordingly received into it.

ALEXANDER Jannæus ^r being still afflicted with the quartan ague, ^{an. 79.} and hoping that by stirring and exercise he might wear it off, marched ^{Alexander Jannæus 27.} with his army over *Jordan*, and besieged *Ragaba* a castle in the countrey of the *Gerasens*; but by his labouring herein having, instead of alleviating the distemper, exasperated it to a greater height, he died of it in the camp. At his death ^s he left two sons behind him, *Hyrceanus* and *Aristobulus*, but bequeathed the government of the kingdom to *Alexandra* his wife during her life, and afterwards to which of these her two sons she should think fit to dispose of it to. *Alexandra* being then with him at this siege, ^t on her finding him in a dying condition, was exceedingly troubled at the ill state which she feared she and her children should be left in at his death. She knew how much he had exasperated the *Pharisees*, then a powerful sect and party in the *Jewish* nation, and how great hatred at their instigation the generality of the people had contracted against them, and therefore saw nothing else that she had to expect on *Alexander's* death, but that they would for the wreaking of their revenge against him fall upon her, and his children by her, and destroy the whole family: And hereon she made

ⁿ Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 24. Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri.

^o Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 1. Porphyrius in ^p Porphyrius ibid. He there saith, that this Alexander was for this murderous fact slain by the Alexandrians, and Appian in the place last cited saith the same; but this is a mistake, for he reigned fifteen years after, as will be hereafter shewn.

^q Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 1. & Porphyrius ibid. ^r Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 23. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 4.

^s Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 24. De bello Judaico, ibidem.

^t Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 23. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 4.

great lamentation to him as she fate by his bed-side, where he lay a dying. To ease her mind from these dismal apprehensions he gave her those directions which he assured her, if duly followed, would extricate her out of all this danger, and secure both safety and tranquillity to her and her family: For his advice was, that she should conceal his death till the castle should be taken, and then lead back the army to *Jerusalem* in triumph for this success, carrying thither with her his dead corps; and that as soon as she should be there arrived, she should call together to her the chief of the *Pharisaic* sect, and acquainting them of her husband's death should lay the dead corps before them, and tell them that she resigned it wholly to their pleasure, either to be cast forth with ignominy in revenge for what they had suffered from him, or otherwise to be disposed of as they should think fit: And that then she should promise them that she would follow their advice in all matters of the government, and do nothing therein but what should be agreeable to their sentiments, and according to their directions. Do, said he, but follow this advice, and you shall not only gain me an honourable funeral, but also both for you and your children a safe settlement in the government. And so it accordingly happen'd: For on having taken the castle she returned to *Jerusalem* in the manner as directed; and then calling together to her the leading men of the *Pharisaic* sect, she did and said to them as her dying husband had advised, taking especial care to assure them, that she would put the administration of the government, and the prime direction of all the affairs of it again into their hands; which promise sweeten'd them to such a degree, that immediately laying aside all that hatred to the dead King which they had to the utmost contracted against him while living, they turned it into veneration and respects for his memory; and instead of those invectives which formerly their mouths had been full of against him, they made encomiums upon him, magnifying his great exploits in enlarging their dominions, and increasing thereby the power, honour and interest of the nation; whereby they so far reconciled the people to him, whom before on all occasions they had exasperated against him, that hereupon he was buried with a more sumptuous and honourable funeral than had been made before for any of his predecessors, and *Alexandra* according to his will was safely settled in the supreme government of the nation.

An. 78.
Alexan-
dra 1.

As soon as matters were thus composed, and *Alexandra* thoroughly fixed on the throne, she made her eldest son *Hyrchanus* ^u High-priest, he being then about ^w thirty three years old, and according to her promise did put the prime management and administration of her affairs into the hands of the *Pharisees*. The first thing they did was ^x to procure that decree of *John Hyrcanus* to be revoked, whereby in the latter end of his government he had caused all their traditionary constitutions to be abolished, and which till now had been ever since severely executed to the great grief and mortification of this sect. But by this revocation the traditions being again restored to their former credit, and the *Pharisees* to their full liberty again to impose and propagate them, they grew to that bulk which I have already mentioned; and that people have ever since been so enslaved to them,

^u Josephus *ibid.* & *antiq.* lib. 20. cap. 8.
of his death, must have been at least 33 at the time when his father died, and he was thereon made High-priest after him.

^x Josephus *ibid.*

^w For Hyrcanus being past eighty at the time

that they have for their sake even abolished and made of none effect the very written word it self, of which they are pretended to contain the explication. Next this they released all out of prison who had been committed thither for being concerned with them in the late civil wars, and called home from banishment all such who for the same cause had been forced to flee their countrey, and restored to them again their former possessions, and hereby much encreased both the number and strength of their party.

TIGRANES having built a large new city in *Armenia*, which from his own name he called *Tigranocerta*, i. e. *the city of Tigranes*,^y he by the instigation of *Mithridates* invaded *Cappadocia*, and carried thence three hundred thousand of the inhabitants of that countrey to people with them this city, and other parts of his dominions which wanted inhabitants; and in most other places where he made any conquests he practised the same thing, carrying away the inhabitants into his own countrey to make it the more populous, and assigning them lands there for their cultivation sufficient for each man's support. And he is said to have demolished twelve *Grecian* cities in *Lesser Asia* for the peopling of *Tigranocerta* only, besides what he did elsewhere for the same purpose: For he transplanted thither great numbers from *Assyria*, *Adiabene*, *Gordiana*, and other places, as well as from the *Grecian* cities mentioned, for the making of this place a great and populous city.

THE Pharisees in *Judaea* having strengthen'd themselves by releasing all the prisoners, and calling home all the exiles of their party, as hath been mentioned, proceeded^z to demand justice against all those at whose instigation, and by whose advice, *Alexander* had crucified the eight hundred rebels above mentioned, which was in effect against all those that had stood by him in that war; for all those they involved in this guilt. And first they begun with *Diogenes*, a noted confident of the late King's, and having cut him off, they proceeded to others, laying against them the same accusation, and this was made a pretence for their destroying all else of the adverse party whom they most disliked; and *Alexandra* was much against her will forced to allow them thus to proceed, because they having gotten all the people on their side, she could no otherwise keep peace at home, though she had two powerful armies on foot on the borders of her kingdom, which made her a terror to all her neighbours. She dreaded a civil war, having seen so much of the calamities of it in her husband's time, and finding she could no otherwise prevent it than by yielding in some measure to the vindictive humour of those men, she permitted one evil, in order to prevent another that was worse.

^a *NICOMEDES* King of *Bithynia* dying left the *Roman* people his heirs, by virtue whereof that countrey thenceforth became a *Roman* province; which occasion *Mithridates* laying hold of for his reviving of the war again with the *Romans*, spent the most part of this year in making preparations for it.

^y Appian. in *Mithridaticis*. Plutarchus in *Lucullo*. Strabo lib. 11. p. 532. & lib. 12. p. 539.

^z Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 24. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 4. ^a Appian. in *Mithridaticis*, & de bellis civilibus, lib. 1. Epitome Livii, lib. 93. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2. cap. 4. & 39.

THIS year ^b *Cyrene* also was reduced into the like form of a *Roman* province: *Ptolemy Apion* the last King of that countrey ^c having on his death given it by his will to the *Romans*, they instead of accepting of it declared all the cities free, and left them to be governed by their own laws. This was done twenty years before this time, as hath been ^d above related: But this ^e causing seditions among them, and afterwards tyrannies to the great vexation of the inhabitants, the *Romans* found it necessary to resume their grant, and make it a *Roman* province, the peace of the countrey being no otherwise to be provided for. To these disturbances ^f the *Jews* of the countrey are said to have much contributed: They were first planted in it by the first *Ptolemy* that reigned in *Egypt*, as hath been above related, where they grew and multiplied so fast, that in a short time they became a great part of the bulk of the people in that countrey, and are said often to have disturbed it by their seditions, to which no doubt they were sufficiently provoked by the other inhabitants: For being by reason of their different religion, and different way of living, much hated by the heathen nations, wherever they lived among them, they often suffered indignities, wrongs and other provocations from them, which when answered with suitable resentments sometimes produced disturbances; and whenever they did so the *Jews* bore the blame of the whole, and this often happen'd to be their case in *Alexandria*.

An. 75.
Alexan-
dra 4.

MITHRIDATES ^g seized *Paphlagonia* and *Bithynia*: And the province of *Asia* being much exhausted by the *Roman* publicans and *Roman* usurers, to be delivered from these oppressions again revolted to him; and hereon began the third *Mithridatic* war, which lasted near twelve years.

An. 74.
Alexan-
dra 5.

FOR the managing of this war against him ^h the consuls of this year *Lucius Lucullus* and *Marcus Cotta* were sent from *Rome* with two armies, the first having *Asia*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*; and the other *Bithynia* and the *Propontis* assigned them for their provinces: But ⁱ *M. Cotta* being a person not skill'd in war, on his arrival in his province was vanquished by *Mithridates* at *Chalcedon* with the slaughter of a great number of his men, and at the same time lost the best part of his fleet, which he had there for the defending of that coast.

An. 73.
Alexan-
dra 6.

MITHRIDATES, animated with this success, ^k laid siege to *Cylicus* a city on the *Propontis*, which strenuously adhered to the *Roman* interest during this war. Could *Mithridates* have made himself master of this place, it would have opened to him a clear and safe passage from *Bithynia* into the province of *Asia*; and in this respect it would have been of great advantage to him for the carrying of the war into that countrey; and it was with this view that he made this attempt upon it; and to make his success as he thought the surer, he begirt it with three hundred thousand men in ten camps by land, and with four hundred ships of war by sea. But he was no sooner fate down before it with his army, but *Lucullus* fate down by him with another, and there without coming to a battel, by obstructing

^b Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 1.

^c Epitome Livii, lib. 70.

^d Under the year 96.

^e Plutarchus in Lucullo.

^f Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 12.

^g Appian. in Mithridaticis.

Plutarchus in Lucullo. Epitome Livii, lib. 93.

^h Plutarch. & Appian. ibid. Cicero pro Murænâ. Memnon. cap. 39. Eutropius lib. 6.

Ep. Mithridatis apud Sallust. Frag. lib. 4.

ⁱ Plutarch. Appian. & Livius ibid.

^k Plutarchus in Lucullo. Appian. in Mithridaticis. Epitome Livii, lib. 94.

Cicero in orationibus pro Murænâ, & pro lege Maniliâ. Strabo lib. 12. p. 575. L. Florus, lib. 3. cap. 5.

his supplies of provisions, by falling on his foragers, by cutting off detachments sent out on several occasions, and by taking all other advantages, as they were offered, he so wasted and distressed him, that at length he forced him to raise the siege with disgrace, after having lost the greatest part of his numerous army in it.

THERE being some confusions in *Egypt* on the dislike which the people had of *Alexander*, *Selene*, as sister to *Lathyrus*, put in her claim for that crown, and ¹ sent her two sons *Antiochus Asiaticus* and *Seleucus* (whom she had by *Antiochus Eusebes*) to *Rome* to solicit the senate for the putting of her in possession of it: But after two years spent in soliciting this matter they were forced to return without success, and had also the misfortune to be robb'd in their way home by *Verres Prætor* of *Sicily*, as they passed through that island. The *Roman* senators held them so long in hand with hopes at *Rome*, only to get the more money out of *Alexander* for the confirming of him in that kingdom: And when they had thus squeezed out of him all that could be had, they declared for him whom they had got most by, and sent home the two young Princes to their mother with baffle and disappointment.

IN *Judæa* the *Pharisees* ^m went on still to oppress those that had sided with the late King against them, accusing them of being the advisers and promoters of all the cruelties and misdemeanors which they thought fit to load the memory of the late King with; on which pretence they had cut off several of the party adverse to them, and were still framing new accusations of the same nature against such others of them as they most disliked, in order to subject them to the same fatal ruin.

WHEREON ⁿ the friends and adherents of the late King seeing no end of these prosecutions, at length gathered together, and went in a full body to the Queen, with *Aristobulus* her younger son at the head of them, to remonstrate against these proceedings. On which occasion having set forth their services to the late King, and their faithful adhering to him in all his wars and difficulties, and shewn how hard a thing it was, that now under her government they should for this very reason be subjected to punishment, and be thus sacrificed to the malice of their enemies, for no other guilt but for having in opposition to them been friends to her and her family, they earnestly prayed of her that a stop might be put to these proceedings for the future; or if this could not be done, that they might have leave to depart the land, and seek their safety elsewhere; or else that they might be dispersed through the garrisons of the kingdom, that so by this means at least they might be put out of the reach of their enemies. The Queen heartily commiserated their cause, as being sensible of the hardship of it, but was not able to help them as far as she could wish: For she was got so far into the hands and power of the *Pharisees*, that she could do nothing but what they liked. To stop all farther proceedings against those men, they cried, would be to put a stop to the course of justice, which was in no government to be endured, and therefore they would not permit her to do it. And for her to give so many of the true and faithful friends of her family leave to depart the land, would be to leave her self utterly naked and helpless, in the absolute power of a turbulent faction,

An. 72.
Alexan-
dra 7.

¹ Cicero in *Verrem*, lib. 4. § 27.
lib. 1. cap. 4.

ⁿ Josephus *ibid.*

^m Josephus *antiq.* lib. 13. cap. 24. & *de bello Judaico*,

and thereby deprive her self of all refuge whereto to flee in case of need. And therefore she chose to gratify them in their third demand, and placed them in the several garrisons of the kingdom, which answered a double end. For when they were thus settled in these fortresses with their swords in their hands, their enemies could no more approach them to do them any hurt; and they were there a certain reserve for the service of the Queen, whenever occasion should require.

THIS year was born *Herod the Great*, who was afterwards King of *Judea* (for he was ^o twenty five years old when he was first made governor of *Galilee* in the year before *Christ* 47) ^phis father was *Antipas* a noble *Idumean*, and his mother *Cyprus* of an illustrious family among the *Arabians*. This *Antipas* to bring his name to the *Greek* form called himself *Antipater*, and under that name we shall have frequent occasions to speak of him in the future series of this history. *Nicolas Damascenus*, who ^qwrote a general history consisting of 124 books saith *Josephus*, of 144 saith *Athenæus*, having therein given an account of the actions of *Herod*, as far as they fell within the time, where he concludes this work and published the whole, while *Herod* was living therein, ^rto flatter him, as being a great favourite of his, derives the pedigree of *Antipater* his father from one of the principal *Jews* that returned to *Jerusalem* from the *Babylonish* captivity. And ^sothers to blast him as much on the other side relate that this *Antipater* was no other than the son of one *Herod*, who was sexton of the temple of *Apollo* at *Ascalon*, and that being taken captive by some thieves of *Idumæa*, while a child, and his father being so poor as not to be able to redeem him, he was made a slave in that country, and as such there bred up in the religion of the *Idumæans* (which was then the same with that of the *Jews*) and from this mean original grew up to that figure, which he afterwards made in the world. But *Josephus*, who best knew the truth, and is the likeliest to relate it without disguise on either side, tells us of this *Antipas* or *Antipater*: That ^the was of a noble family in *Idumæa*, that his father being called also *Antipas* ^uwas governor of *Idumæa* under King *Alexander Jannæus* and *Alexandra* his Queen. By country therefore he was an *Idumæan*, but by religion, a *Jew*, as all other *Idumæans* were from the time that *Hyrchanus* brought them all to embrace the *Jewish* religion, of which I have above given an account.

IN the interim the *Mithridatic* war still went on in lesser *Asia* ^v*Mithridates* being forced to raise the siege of *Cyzicus* with the loss of so great a part of his army, as hath been mentioned, fled to *Nicodemia*, and from thence by sea into *Pontus*, leaving some part of his fleet with ten thousand of his choicest men behind him in the *Hellepont* under the command of three of his prime generals. These *Lucullus* falling on with the *Roman* fleet cut most of them off in two naval victories, which he gained over them, the first at *Tenedus*, and the other near *Lemnus*; in the last of which

^o *Josephus* antiq. lib. 14. cap. 17. For there instead of 15 years of age, it ought to be read 25 years. See *Casaubon's first exercitation upon* *Baronius* cap. 34. & *Usher's annals* J. P. 4667.

^p *Josephus* antiq. lib. 14. cap. 2. & de bello *Judaico* lib. 1. cap. 5. ^q Vide *Vossium* de historicis *Græcis* lib. 2. cap. 4. ^r *Josephus* antiq. lib. 14. cap. 2. ^s *Africanus* apud *Eusebium* in hist. ecclesiast. lib. 1. cap. 7. *Ambrosius* in comment. ad *Lucam* cap. 3.

^t *Antiq.* lib. 14. cap. 2. & de bello *Judaico* lib. 1. cap. 5. ^u *Antiq.* ibid. ^v *Plutarchus* in *Lucullo*. *Appian.* in *Mithridaticis*. *L. Florus* lib. 3. c. 5. *Orosius* lib. 6. cap. 2.

he took the three generals above-mentioned, of which one was *Marcus Marius* a Roman senator sent to the assistance of *Mithridates* by *Sertorius* out of *Spain*; him *Lucullus* did put to death; of the other two, one poisoned himself, and the other he reserved for his triumph. Having by these two victories quite cleared all those coasts of the enemy he turned his arms on the continent, and having reduced first *Bithynia*, and next *Paphlagonia*, and from thence marched into *Pontus* to carry the war home to *Mithridates's* own doors: Where he found him almost as much broken by tempests in his return through the *Euxin* sea, as he had been by the war. For therein he had lost almost all the remainder of his fleet and the army, which he was carrying home for the defence of his own country; and therefore on *Lucullus's* arrival he was very busy in raising new forces for the opposing of him, and to strengthen himself the better he had sent ambassadors to *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, to the *Parthians*, to the *Scythians*, and to other neighbouring nations to solicit their assistance. In the mean time *Lucullus* marched into his country and laid siege to *Amisus* and *Eupatoria*, two of the chief cities of his kingdom, the latter of which stood nigh the other, and being newly built by him was called *Eupatoria* from *Eupator* his own surname, and made by him the chief seat of his residence, and the metropolis of his whole kingdom. And at the same time *Lucullus* sent another part of his army to besiege *Themiscyra*, a city on the river *Thermodon* as considerable as either of the other two.

WHILE these sieges were carrying on by the *Romans*, * *Mithridates* An. 71. Alexandra 8. having gotten another army together early in the next spring took the field with it. * Whereon *Lucullus* leaving *Murena* to carry on the siege of *Amisus* and *Eupatoria* marched out against him with the rest of his army. In two conflicts *Mithridates* had the better of him, but in the third being utterly broken he was forced to flee into *Armenia*, there to pray the protection and assistance of *Tigranes* his son-in-law; but he was so far from finding such a reception from him, as he desired, that he was there a year and eight months e'er *Tigranes* would take any notice of him, or as much as admit him to speak with him. After this victory all places in *Pontus* yielded to the conqueror, excepting *Amisus*, (which held out till the beginning of the next spring) and some few other fortresses. For the *Romans* were forced to spend two winters before *Amisus*, e'er they could make themselves masters of that important place.

PTOLEMY the son of *Mennæus* Prince of *Chalcis* at the foot of mount *Libanus* being very vexatious to his neighbours, and especially to those of *Damascus*, † *Alexandra* sent *Aristobulus* her younger son with an army to suppress him, and under that pretence, as it seems to seize *Damascus*. But *Aristobulus* being more intent to make an interest for the crown against the time that his mother should die, than to execute his commission, made use of this opportunity only to secure the army for him. And therefore having seized *Damascus*, he returned without suppressing the oppressor, against whom he was sent, or doing any thing else, that was memorable, in this expedition.

* Plutarchus & Appianus ibid. Phlegon Trallianus apud Photium Cod. 97. p. 268. Memnon. apud eundem, cap. 45, 46, 47. L. Florus lib. 3. c. 5. Eutropius lib. 6. Epitome Livii lib. 97.

† Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 24. De bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 4.

An. 70.
Alexan-
dra 9.

SELENE, after the return of her sons from *Rome*, finding that her pretences to the kingdom of *Egypt* could not succeed, endeavoured to enlarge her self in *Syria*, where ^ahaving drawn over several cities to revolt to her, and attempted to do the same as to all the rest, she hereby brought *Tigranes* upon her with all his power. For having received an account of these defections from him in that countrey, ^ahe came thither with an army of five hundred thousand men for the suppressing of them, and having shut up *Selene* in *Ptolemais*, and laid siege to the place, on his taking of it he there took her prisoner, and on his return having carried her with him as far as *Seleucia* in *Mesopotamia* he there ^bcaused her to be put to death. She was the daughter of *Ptolemy Physcon* King of *Egypt*, and had at first been the wife of *Ptolemy Lathyrus* her brother, but being taken from him by her mother was given in marriage to *Antiochus Grypus*, and after his death she married *Antiochus Eusebes* the son of *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, by whom she had her two sons. *Appian* ^ctells us, that she married *Cyzicenus* himself, and after his death *Eusebes* his son, and makes this remark upon it, that all the misfortunes that afterward befel *Eusebes* ^dwas a just judgment of heaven upon him for this incest. But this cannot be true; for the series of the *Syrian* history after the death of *Grypus* doth not allow a place for any such marriage of hers with *Cyzicenus*, neither doth any other historian say it.

WHILE *Tigranes* lay at the siege of *Ptolemais* ^eQueen *Alexandra* fearing his power sent ambassadors thither to him with large presents to court his favour and desire his friendship, whom he received with all seeming kindness, accepting the presents, and granting the friendship that was desired, but not so much out of favour to the Queen, as to comply with the exigency of his own affairs. For the progress of the *Romans* in *Pontus* and *Cappadocia* making his presence in *Armenia* then necessary for the defence of those parts of his dominions, he was making all the haste he could to return thither; and therefore was not at leisure to enlarge his dominions any farther in *Palestine*; otherwise *Jerusalem* and all *Judea* must have fallen for a prey into his hands, as well as *Ptolemais*, there being no power there sufficient to resist so great a force, as this King then brought with him into those parts.

ON his return from *Ptolemais* to *Antioch* ^fhe there met with *Publius Clodius*, who was sent thither in an embassy from *Lucullus* to demand *Mithridates* to be delivered to him, with order in case of refusal to declare war against him. *Clodius* in executing his commission having expressed himself with a freedom which *Tigranes* had never met with before (absolute will and pleasure having hitherto governed all his actions without admitting the least contradiction or controul) he was very much offended at it, but much more at the letter of *Lucullus* then delivered to him on this occasion. For he had directed it to King *Tigranes*, without styling him King of Kings, which was a title he had assumed, and out of his pride much affected; and to make his claim to it the better appear, on his having taken several petty Kings prisoners in his wars against them,

^a Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 24.

^a Josephus ibid. Plutarchus in Lucullo.

^b Strabo lib. 16. p. 749.

^c In Syriacis.

^d The Apostle St. Paul tells us, that for a man to marry his father's wife was a thing abhorred even by the heathen, 1 Corinth. v. 1.

^e Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 24.

^f Plutarchus in Lucullo. Memnon. cap. 48.

he had the vanity to make them wait on him as his servants in all offices of service about his person. He never went abroad, but he had four of them to attend him, two running by him on one side of his horse and two on the other; and thus in like manner was he served by some or other of them at his table, in his bed-chamber, and on all other occasions, but most especially when he gave audience to ambassadors. For then to make the greater ostentation of his glory and greatness to foreign nations he made all these captive Kings in the posture and habit of servants to range themselves on each side of him. To express his resentment against *Lucullus* for not giving him this title, on his writing back again to him he directed his letter to him by the name of plain *Lucullus* without the addition of *Imperator*, or any other title usually given to *Roman* generals. On his refusal to deliver *Mithridates* to *Lucullus*, which was the subject of this embassy to him, *Clodius* declared war from the *Romans* against him, and returned to *Lucullus* to acquaint him of it.

At this time *Lucullus* was in the province of *Asia*; for after having driven *Mithridates* out of *Pontus*, taken *Amisus* and *Eupatoria*, and reduced most of the rest of that kingdom, he ^hwas returned thither, and finding that this province had fallen under great disorders and oppressions from the iniquity of usurers, and publicans, he employed a great part of this year in reforming them; and he took such wise order herein, as effectually removed all these mischiefs; and wrought a thorough cure of them, whereby he gained to so great a degree the esteem and affection of the provincials, that they instituted games in his honour called *Lucullia*, which they annually celebrated for several years after; and he gained at the same time no less honour and reputation among the neighbouring nations both to himself and all the *Roman* people for his justice in this proceeding. But the *Roman* usurers and publicans, whose lucre was much abridg'd hereby, hastening to *Rome* with accusations against him on this account, there clamoured so loud against him among the people, as first to beget in them that dislike of him, which being afterwards improved by other false rumours, became the cause that he was at length recalled much sooner than otherwise he would have been, and another sent in his stead to reap the laurels of his victories.

WAR being declared against *Tigranes*, ⁱ *Lucullus* hasten'd back again into *Pontus* for the prosecuting of it; and having there made himself master of *Synope*, he restored both that and *Amisus* to their liberties, and made them free cities. After this having left *Sornatius* one of his generals with six thousand men to keep *Pontus* in order, with the rest of his army, consisting of twelve thousand foot, and three thousand horse, he marched thorough *Cappadocia* to the *Euphrates*, and having passed that river in the midst of winter, he continued his course to the *Tigris*, and having passed that river also, marched directly to *Tigranocerta*, ^k which lay a little beyond it, there to fall upon *Tigranes* in his metropolis, whither he was newly returned from *Syria*: For he having put one to death for telling him of *Lucullus's* first march towards him, no one durst tell him any more

^g Plutarchus ibidem.

^h Plutarchus in Lucullo. Appian. in Mithridaticis.

ⁱ Plutarchus ibid. Appianus in Mithridaticis. Memnon. cap. 55, 56. Orosius lib. 6. c. 3.

^k Tigranocerta was built on the east side of the Tigris about two days journey above the place where formerly old Nineveh stood.

of it, till he was now arrived almost to the very doors of his palace: And hence it was that *Lucullus* had passed through so great a length of *Armenia* without any opposition to hinder his progress, till he arrived so nigh to the royal city.

A little before this invasion of *Armenia* by the *Romans* ^m *Alexandra* Queen of *Judæa* fell sick and died, being then seventy three years old. She was a Princess of great wisdom, and had she not gone in too much to the *Pharisees*, or could she possibly have avoided doing so, no exceptions could have been made to her government. *Salome* the widow of *Aristobulus*, the elder brother of *Alexander*, ⁿ having according to *Josephus* been called also *Alexandra* by the *Greeks*, this hath made ^o some think, that this *Alexandra* and she were one and the same person; and that *Alexander* after *Aristobulus*'s death married her according to the *Jewish* law to raise up seed to his brother; but the birth of *Hyrcanus*, who is every where owned to be her son by *Alexander*, proves the contrary: For he was born of her at least five years before the death of *Aristobulus*, and therefore she could not have been *Aristobulus*'s widow, and afterwards married to *Alexander*, but must have been his wife at least six years before, if not longer. That *Hyrcanus* was born of her five years before the death of *Aristobulus* is proved from the age which he was of at the time of his death: For that happening in the thirtieth year before *Christ*, he was then according ^p to *Josephus* above eighty; supposing him to have been eighty one, this will carry up the time of his birth to the year before *Christ* one hundred and eleven, which was just five years before *Aristobulus* died.

As soon as *Aristobulus* the younger son of *Alexandra* saw his mother was past recovery, having long resolved to seize the crown on her death, ^q he privately in the night left *Jerusalem*, taking only one servant with him, and repaired to the castles in which by his procurement his father's friends had been placed in garrison, by whom he was gladly received; and in fifteen days time two and twenty of these fortresses one after another put themselves into his hands, and thereby they made him in a manner master of all the rest of the strength of the kingdom: And at the same time the army and the people were ready to declare for him, as being weary of the oppressive administration of the *Pharisees*, who had the government of all publick affairs under Queen *Alexandra*: For they had managed it with much severity and insolence, and with so great an aim of revenge against their enemies of the contrary faction, as was scarce any longer tolerable: And therefore on this occasion *Aristobulus* was flocked to of all sides, as one who they knew would put an end to these mens tyranny, which they could have no hope of from *Hyrcanus*, who was bred up by his mother in a thorough devotion to that sect, to which she had been always addicted: And besides, had he been otherwise he had neither spirit nor capacity for attempting of their relief, as being a dull indolent man, of no activity of application, and of little understanding. However when the *Pharisees* saw how *Aristobulus* prevailed, they being greatly disturbed at it got *Hyrcanus* at the head of them, and went to the dying Queen to acquaint her how the case stood, and to pray her direction and assistance in it. Her an-

^m *Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 24. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 4.*

ⁿ *lib. 13. cap. 20.*

^o *Cappellus and others.*

^p *Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 9.*

^q *Josephus antiq. lib. 13. cap. 24. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 4.*

ⁿ *Josephus antiq.*

^q *Josephus*

swer to them was, that she was not in a condition any more to charge herself with such affairs, and therefore remitted all to their management, and soon after died, leaving *Hyrchanus* her eldest son heir of all she had; who accordingly on her death took possession of the throne, and the *Pharisees* did their utmost to secure him in it. As soon as *Aristobulus* had left *Jerusalem*, they had procured that his wife and children, whom he had left there behind him, were shut up in the castle of *Baris*, there to be reserved as hostages against him. But this not stopping his course they got ready an army, and he as soon got ready another, and near *Jericho* it came to a decisive battel between them, in which most of the forces of *Hyrchanus* going over to his brother, he was forced to flee to *Jerusalem*, and there shut himself up in the castle *Baris*, where the wife and children of *Aristobulus* were kept as his prisoners; and those that adhered to him took sanctuary within the verge of the temple. But they soon after going over to *Aristobulus* also, this forced *Hyrchanus* to come to terms with him, by which it was agreed that *Aristobulus* should have the crown and the high-priesthood, and that *Hyrchanus* making full resignation of both, should be contented to live a private life under the protection of his brother upon his own private fortunes; which he willingly enough submitted to, as being a man that loved his own ease and quiet more than any thing else. And thus he quitted the government, after he had held it only three months; and with it ended the tyranny of the *Pharisees*, which from the death of King *Alexander Jannæus* they had exercised over that nation.

JOSEPHUS^s tells us that it was in the third year of the 177th olympiad, *Q. Hortensius* and *Q. Metellus Creticus* being then consuls at *Rome*, that *Hyrchanus* began his reign; and in another place, that it was in the 179th olympiad, *Caius Antonius* and *M. Tullius Cicero* being then consuls, that *Jerusalem* was taken by *Pompey*, and *Aristobulus* deposed; according to which account from the death of *Alexandra*, where *Hyrchanus* begun his reign, to the time when *Aristobulus* ended his, there must have intervened six years, so much time having elapsed from the first of these two consulates to the other: And therefore these two brothers taking the times of their reigns both together, must have reigned at least six years. But *Josephus* assigning no more than three months to *Hyrchanus*, and no more than "three years and six months to *Aristobulus*, both these put together make no more than three years and nine months, and therefore in one of these two particulars there must be an error; that is, either in that which assigns no more than three months to *Hyrchanus*, or else in that which assigns no more than three years and six months to *Aristobulus*: For either the one or the other of them must have reigned longer to make up the time, which according to the interval of the consulates above mentioned must be assigned to both. Archbishop *Usher*'s opinion is, "that the error is in the former of these particulars, that is, that in the place in *Josephus*, where we read that *Hyrchanus* reigned only three months, it ought to be three years, and that it was so in the original; but that there the *Greek* word for months crept in instead of that which is for years, by the error of some scribe that wrote out the copy. Another^x learned man to solve

^r *Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 1. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 4.*

^s *Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 1.*

^t *Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 8.*

^u *Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 11. & lib. 20. cap. 8.*

^w *Annales sub*

anno J. P. 4647.

^x *Petavius.*

this difficulty, thinks that *Hyrcauus*, though outed of the kingdom, yet held the high-priesthood till his flight to *Aretas*, which will be hereafter mentioned; and that the three years and six months, which *Josephus* assigns to *Aristobulus*, are to be understood only of the time after his flight, when *Aristobulus* according, to this author, first added the pontifical tiara to his crown, and took the high-priesthood also: So that by the three years and six months assigned to *Aristobulus* we are to understand, according to this author, only the time in which he held the high-priesthood, and not the whole of his reign. But neither of these suppositions can hold good; not the former, because *Josephus*, from whom alone we have this relation of *Hyrcauus*'s quitting the crown to his brother, sets forth that matter as transacted immediately after the death of *Alexandra*, and therefore the putting of it at three years distance seems utterly inconsistent with that history: And as to the other supposition, it's plain from the same *Josephus*, that when *Hyrcauus* resigned the kingdom, he resigned the high-priesthood also; and that all the while *Aristobulus* held the one, he held the other together with it. It seems most likely therefore that the error was in the second particular, which assigns to *Aristobulus* only three years and six months, and that here the scribe made the mistake by writing three years instead of six: For that six years at least must have intervened between the death of *Alexandra* and the deposing of *Aristobulus*, and that *Hyrcauus* reigned only three months hath been already shewn; and therefore the remainder must belong to the reign of *Aristobulus*. The whole of the matter I take to have been thus; in the beginning of the consulate of *Q. Hortensius* and *Q. Metellus Creticus*, who entered that office at *Rome* about ^y the middle of our *October*, *Hyrcauus* on the death of *Alexandra* took the crown, and held it three months, that is, till about the middle of our *January*, and from that time *Aristobulus* reigned six years and six months, that is, till about the time of our *Midsummer* in the seventh year, and then *M. Tullius Cicero* and *Caius Antonius* being consuls, he was deposed by *Pompey*, and *Hyrcauus* was again restored, and this seventh year is the first of those twenty four years during which *Hyrcauus* is said after that restoration to have held the government of the kingdom, and the pontificate together: And therefore the error of the scribe must have been in putting three years and six months, instead of six years and six months for the reign of *Aristobulus*; and not in putting of three months instead of three years for the reign of *Hyrcauus*. And it is an argument for this opinion, that a mistake in putting three months for three years must be made by the change of words, that is of months for years; but a mistake in putting three years for six years is made by the change of a numerical letter only: For a mistake by the change of a numerical letter may easily be made, but not so by the change of one word for another, especially when the words have no similitude the one with the other as in the present case. But in objection hereto it may be said, that *Josephus* doth not in one place alone (that is the 14th book of his *Antiquities*, chap. 11.) assign three years only to *Aristobulus*, but after that in another place (that is in the 20th book of the said *Antiquities*, chap. 8.) doth the same, and that therefore what is said in the former place is confirmed by what is said in the latter. In an-

^y Vide Calvium sub anno mundi, 3880.

swer hereto I acknowledge it would be so, did both places agree with each other, which they do not : For in the first of these two places it is three years and six months, and in the latter three years and an equal number of months, that is three months : But three years and six months, and three years and three months do not agree ; and therefore these two places cannot be said by their agreement to confirm each other. It is not to be doubted but that they did both agree in the original copy of the author, and the true way again to restore this agreement is to find out where the error is, which will best be discovered by comparing these two places together ; and this will afford another argument to prove, that in both places it ought to be six years and not three. For if six months in the first place be the true reading (as I think it certainly is) then these words in the second place [*and an equal number of months*] must imply just as many months in this place as are expressed in the other, that is six months ; and then as in this place the months must be six, so must the years be six also, otherwise their numbers will not be equal to each other ; and if this proves the years in the second place to be six, it will prove them to be six also in the first, and hereby the errors will be corrected in both ; and each of them being made by this correction six years and six months, each will be made to agree with each other, and both best to accord with the series of the history that is related concerning this matter. It may be said in opposition hereto, that ² *three years* in the last place is expressed by words at length, and not by a numerical letter as in the first, and herein I have allowed a mistake is not so easily made. The answer hereto is, that the alteration in this last place seems not to be made by casual mistake, but by design. I take the whole to have been done in manner as followeth : The numerical letter for *six* before the word *years* in the first place of *Josephus* above mentioned being by the casual mistake of some transcriber changed into the numerical letter for *three*, when it had gone so for some time in other copies transcribed from it, some critic, to make *Josephus* agree with himself in both places, instead of mending the first place, where the error was, by the second, altered the second where there was no error to make it accord with the first, and thereby brought error into both ; altho' in that very place, when he had there made it three years, by leaving in these words that followed [*and an equal number of months*] he made by that alteration the same disagreement in the months which he mended in the years, and by this blunder discovered the error of his emendation, and thereby also left sufficient light, whereby to guide us for the setting of the whole again at rights. For if both places must be made to agree with each other (as it is not to be doubted but that at first both did) then as six months are expressed in the first place, so six months must be implied by the expression above mentioned in the second place ; and if six months were there originally implied in it, it must infer the words immediately preceding to have been originally six years also, and not three as in our present copy : For as six years can have none but six months, so six months can have none but six years in that place of equal number with them. And therefore as it must be read six years and six months in the first place, so also must it be read six years and an equal number of months in the second

² For the Greek original is in words at length thus, "Ἐτὶ δὲ τεύτῳ τῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ πέντε μηνὶ πρὸς ἵσους.

place; and this will make all agree in both places, that is each with the other, and both with what is written in the history mentioned concerning the reign of these two brothers.

An. 69.
Aristo-
bulus II.
1.

TIGRANES having found by the declaration of *Clodius*, that war was intended against him by *Lucullus*, on his return into *Armenia* from his *Syrian* expedition ^a admitted *Mithridates* into conference with him, that consulting together about the operations of the ensuing war, they might agree on such methods as they should judge properest for the prosecuting of it with the best advantage for the common interest of both. The result hereof was, *Mithridates* was sent back into *Pontus* with ten thousand horse in order there to get together more forces, and return again with them to the assistance of *Tigranes* in case *Lucullus* should invade *Armenia*: And in the interim ^b *Tigranes* remaining at *Tigranocerta*, there gave out his orders, and sent them through all his dominions for the raising of a very numerous army for this war; but before they could all come together *Lucullus* was advanced near upon him as hath been above mentioned. The first that durst tell him of this, after his putting to death the first messenger of this invasion, was *Mithrobarzanes* one of his chief favourites, who had for his reward the commission of opposing the invader, in the execution of which he perished: For he being immediately on his giving the King this intelligence sent forth with an army, and commanded to take *Lucullus* alive and bring him prisoner to him, as if the thing were as easily to be done as said, was cut off in the attempt, and most of his forces with him. Hereon *Tigranes* left *Tigranocerta*, and fled to mount *Taurus*, ordering all his forces there to rendezvous to him. In the interim *Lucullus* laid siege to *Tigranocerta*, and by his lieutenants sent abroad with detachments from the main army did cut off several parties of *Tigranes*'s forces, as they were marching from their several quarters to the place of general rendezvous. As soon as *Tigranes* had gotten all his army together, to the number of about three hundred and sixty thousand men of all sorts, he marched with it to the relief of *Tigranocerta*: Whereon ^c *Lucullus* leaving *Murana* with six thousand men to continue the siege, marched with the rest of his forces to meet the enemy; and altho' he scarce reached the twentieth part of their number, yet with these only he fought this numerous army, and got an absolute victory over them, slaying great numbers of them, and putting the rest to flight, and *Tigranes* himself hardly escaped: So that it is remarked of this battel, that the *Romans* ^d never at any other time fought an enemy with a force so much inferior in number, or ^d ever was there a more glorious victory obtained by them. *Tigranes* in his flight met with *Mithridates* coming out of *Pontus* to his relief: He had heard of his march toward him before the battel, but making sure of vanquishing the enemy, hasten'd to fight before his arrival, that he might not share with him in the glory of the victory; but instead of this he came only to take his part in the grief and regret for the loss of it. However finding *Tigranes* much dejected under this misfortune he comforted him as much as he could, and gave him the best advice for the repairing of his shatter'd fortunes that they

^a Memnon apud Photium cap. 57. Plutarchus in Lucullo. ^b Plutarchus ibid. Appian. in Mithridaticis. ^c Memnon. cap. 58, 59. Plutarchus & Appian. ibidem. Epitome Livii, lib. 98.

^d Plutarch in the life of Lucullus quotes Livy for the first of these remarks, and Antiochus, an eminent philosopher of those times, for the other.

were capable of. Whereon *Tigranes*, as a man utterly confounded under the sense of the calamity he was fallen into by the late overthrow remitted all to the direction and management of *Mithridates*, as one better experienced in the affairs of war, and better acquainted with the *Roman* way of managing it. The resolutions taken in their consultations were to get together another army with all the speed, and by all the means they were able. In order hereto they went round the countrey to raise more forces, and at the same time sent to all the neighbouring nations to pray their assistance, especially to the *Parthians*, who lay nearest to them, and by the greatness of their power were best able to help them in this distress. And the letter which *Mithridates* on this occasion wrote to *Arfaces* King of *Parthia* is still extant in the fourth book of the fragments of the general history of *Sallust*. In the interim *Lucullus* made himself master of *Tigranocerta*, where he found vast treasures, among which were eight thousand talents of coined money. And whereas this city had been planted with colonies forcibly brought thither out of *Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, and other places, as hath been above related, *Lucullus* on his taking of it ^fgave all these liberty again to return to their former habitations, which all gladly accepting of, *Tigranocerta* from a great city was on a sudden reduced to a small village, and no more made any figure in that countrey. Had ^g*Lucullus* immediately after this pursued *Tigranes*, and not given him the opportunity of raising new forces, he must either have taken him prisoner, or driven him out of the countrey, and thereby put an end to the war. His omitting to do this displeased the *Romans* as well in the camp as in the city at home, as if his neglect herein had been out of design to draw out the war for the continuing of himself the longer in command; and the discontent, which was hereby created against him, gave the justest reason for that resolution, which was taken hereupon of sending him a successor, though it was not executed till two years after.

Among other methods taken by *Tigranes* for the bringing of another army into the field against *Lucullus*, one was ^hhe recalled *Megadates* out of *Syria*, ordering him to come with all the forces he had in that countrey for his assistance at this pinch. Whereon *Syria* being left naked ⁱ*Antiochus Asiaticus* the son of *Antiochus Eusebes*, to whom of right the inheritance of that countrey belonged, as being the next surviving heir of the *Seleucian* family, took possession of some parts of it, and there quietly reigned ^kfour years without the least contradiction or disturbance from *Lucullus* or any one else. But when *Pompey* came into *Syria* he took from him what *Lucullus* had allowed him to enjoy, and reduced that countrey into the form of a *Roman* province.

By these means *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* ^lhaving gotten together an army of seventy thousand choice men, and exercised them in the *Roman* way of fighting, about the middle of the summer took the field with them. But strongly encamping themselves on all their movements in advantagi-

An. 68.
Aristobulus II.
2.

^e *Arfaces* was a name common to all the Kings of *Parthia* of this race. The proper name of him that now reigned was *Sinatrux*, who dying in the year 67 was succeeded by *Phraates* the second.

^f *Strabo* lib. 11. p. 532. & lib. 12. p. 539. *Plutarchus* in *Lucullo*.

^g *Dion Cassius* lib. 35.

^h *Appian*. in *Syriacis*.

ⁱ *Appian*. *ibid*. *Justin*. lib. 40. cap. 2.

^k These four years are

part of the eighteen assigned to *Tigranes*; for he was not wholly dispossessed of *Syria* till it was made a *Roman* province, but there retained some part, while *Asiaticus* reigned in the other.

^l *Appian*. in *Mithridaticis*.

ous places, where they could not be attacked, and not being to be drawn by *Lucullus* to hazard another battel by all the means he made use of for this purpose, they must at length have worn him out of the countrey for want of provisions; which being what they aimed at by this delay, *Lucullus* found it necessary to break their measures herein, and at length resolved on an expedient, which effectually accomplished it. For *Tigranes* having left his wives and children at *Artaxata*, the old metropolis of *Armenia*, and there deposited the most and best of his effects and treasures, ^m *Lucullus* set himself and all his army on a march thither for the taking of that place, concluding that *Tigranes* would not bear this, but forthwith march after him for the preventing of it, and thereby give him the opportunity of forcing him to a battel, and so it accordingly happen'd. For as soon as *Tigranes* knew of *Lucullus*'s design, he immediately made after him with all his army to hinder the execution of it, and in four days time having by long marches gotten before him took post on the farther side of the river *Arsamia*, over which *Lucullus* was to pass in his way to *Artaxata*, resolving there to oppose his farther progress, which brought it to a battel between them, in which the *Romans* again obtained a very signal victory. There were ⁿ three Kings present in this battel in the *Armenian* Army, of which *Mithridates* behaved himself the worst. For not being able to bear the sight of the *Roman* legions, as soon as they came on to the assault, he turned his back and fled, which did cast such a damp upon the whole army, that they all lost their courage hereon, and this became the cause that they lost the battel also. *Lucullus* after this victory would have continued his march to *Artaxata*, the taking of which would have put an end to the war, but it lying at the distance of many days march to the north, and winter coming on with snowy and tempestuous weather, his soldiers weary of the fatigues of so incommodious a campaign would follow him no farther into those cold regions; whereon being forced to yield to this necessity he ^o marched back to the southward, and passing mount *Taurus* entered into *Mesopotamia*, and having taken the strong city of *Nisibis* there put his army into winter quarters. In these quarters that spirit of mutiny first began to appear in *Lucullus*'s army, which hinder'd him from doing any farther service with it after that time. *Publius Clodius* brother of *Lucullus*'s wife was the prime incendiary of this disorder, for reasons which will be hereafter mentioned. In the interim ^p *Mithridates* with four thousand men of his own and four thousand more which he received from *Tigranes*, was returned into *Pontus*, and had there vanquished *Fabius*, and distressed *Triarius* and *Sornatius*, *Lucullus*'s Lieutenants in those parts.

An. 67. Aristobulus II. 3. HEREON ^q *Lucullus* with some difficulty at length prevailed with his mutinous army to march out of their quarters for their relief. But they came too late for it; for *Triarius* before their arrival having rashly engaged in battel with *Mithridates* ^r was vanquished with the loss of seven thousand of his men, among whom were an hundred and fifty centurions,

^m Plutarchus in Lucullo.

ⁿ Mithridates and Tigranes were two of those Kings, the third is not named, but seems to have been Darius King of Media.

^o Plutarchus in Lucullo. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 3. Dion Cassius lib. 35. cap. 3.

^p Dion Cassius lib. 35. Appian. in Mithridaticis.

^q Plutarchus in Lucullo.

^r Plutarchus in Lucullo. Dion Cassius lib. 35. p. 5, & 6. Appianus in Mithridaticis. Cicero in oratione pro Lege Maniliâ.

and twenty four military tribunes, which made this overthrow one of the most considerable blows, that the *Romans* had in many years received. On *Lucullus's* arrival he found the dead bodies lying on the field of battel, but neglecting to bury them this farther exasperated his soldiers against him. After this the spirit of mutiny prevailed so much among them, that thenceforth retaining no more regard to him as their general they treated him only with insolence and contempt on all occasions, altho' he went from tent to tent, and almost from man to man to entreat them to march out against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* (who taking the advantage of this disorder, the former of them had recovered *Pontus*, and the other was then harrassing *Cappadocia*) yet he could not get them to stir. All that he could obtain of them was, that they would stay with him all the ensuing summer, but would not move out of the camp for any military action under his command; and they had received accounts from *Rome* of some votes there passed to the disadvantage of *Lucullus*, which encouraged them herein. So that he was forced to lye still in his camp, and suffer the enemy to range over the countrey without being able to do any thing to oppose them. And thus the case stood with him, till *Pompey* being sent by the people of *Rome* to succeed him in the management of this war arrived to take it out of his hands.

THIS happen'd in the beginning of the next year. For "then *Pompey* coming into *Galatia* with his commission from the *Romans*, *Lucullus* there delivered over the army to him, and returned to *Rome*, leaving his successor to reap the laurels of his victories. He "carried with him a great number of books, which he had gathered together out of the spoils of this war, and with them he erected a great library at *Rome*, which he made free for the use of all learned men, who in great numbers after this resorted to his house for it, and there they always found a kind, and generous entertainment.

POMPEY on his first entring on this war "drew into alliance and confederacy with him *Phraates*, who had the year before succeeded in the kingdom of *Parthia*; and also "made an offer of peace to *Mithridates*, but he reckoning himself as sure of the friendship and assistance of *Phraates* would not hearken to the proposal. But when he heard *Pompey* had been before-hand with him as to *Phraates*, he sent ambassadors to *Pompey* to treat about it. But *Pompey's* preliminaries being, that he should forthwith lay down his arms, and deliver up to him all deserters, this had like to have raised a mutiny in his army. For there being in it a great number of deserters, they could not bear the mention of their being delivered up to *Pompey*, nor the rest of the army to be deprived of their assistance in the war. Whereupon to quiet this matter *Mithridates* was forced to pretend to them, that his ambassadors were sent with no other intention, than to spy out the strength and state of the *Roman* army, and also at the same time to swear to them, that he would never make peace with the *Romans*, either on these or any other terms whatsoever. And indeed he was now better furnished for the war, than he had been for

^s Plutarchus in Pompeio.

^c Dion Cassius lib. 35. Plutarchus in Lucullo.

^u Plutarchus in Lucullo & Pompeio. Dion Cassius lib. 36. p. 22. ^w Plutarchus in Lucullo.

Isidor. Origin. lib. 6. cap. 3.

^x Dion Cassius lib. 36. Epirome Livii lib. 100.

^y Dion Cassius lib. 36. p. 22. Appian. in Mithridaticis.

many years before. For the mutiny of *Lucullus*'s soldiers having hinder'd him from entering on any action of war all the last year, ^z *Mithridates* took the advantage hereof to recover most of his lost kingdom, and there had gotten together another well appointed army for the farther prosecution of the war, and thinking that the wearing out of the *Romans* by delays, and distressing them in obstructing their supplies of provisions, was the readiest way to vanquish them, he for some time followed this method, wasting the countrey before them, and refusing to fight. And he had in part the success he proposed; for *Pompey* was hereby so far distressed, that he was forced to remove out of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia* into the lesser *Armenia*, for the better furnishing of his army with provisions, and other necessities for their subsistence, and *Mithridates* followed after him thither for the carrying on there also of the same methods of distressing him. But while he was thus endeavouring it in that countrey, ^a he was there surprized by *Pompey* in a night march, and utterly vanquished with the loss of the major part of his army, and himself hardly escaping was forced to flee northward beyond the springs of the *Euphrates* for the seeking of his safety. Whereon *Pompey* ^b having ordered the building of a new city in the place, where this victory was gained, which in commemoration of it he called *Nicopolis*, i. e. *the city of victory*, left there for the inhabiting of it such of his soldiers as were wounded, sick, aged, or otherwise disabled for the fatigues of war; and then marched with the rest into the greater *Armenia* against *Tigranes*, as being a confederate of *Mithridates* in this war against the *Roman* people.

At this time *Tigranes* was at war with his son of the same name. It hath been before mentioned that he married *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Mithridates*: By her ^c he had three sons, two of which he had on light occasions put to death; whereon *Tigranes* the third of them not thinking his life safe within the power of so cruel a father, ^d fled to *Phraates* King of *Parthia*, whose daughter he had married, who brought him back into *Armenia* with an army, and laid siege to *Artaxata* the capital of the kingdom. But finding the place strong and well provided with all necessities long to hold out, he left his son-in-law there with one part of the army to carry on the siege, and returned into *Parthia* with the other: Whereon *Tigranes* the father falling on his son with all his power, got a thorough victory over him, and drove him out of the countrey. In this distress he purposed to betake himself to *Mithridates* his grandfather, but meeting in his way to him the news of his defeat, and that therefore no help was to be had from him, ^e he fled to the *Roman* camp, and there by way of a suppliant cast himself into the hands of *Pompey*; who received him very kindly and was glad of his coming: For being then on his march into *Armenia*, he needed one that knew the countrey to be his guide in it; and therefore making use of him for this purpose, marched under his guidance directly toward *Artaxata*. At the news whereof ^e *Tigranes* being much terrified, as not being sufficiently provided to resist the power that was coming against him, resolved to cast himself upon the generosity and clemency of the *Roman* general,

^z Plutarchus in Lucullo & Pompeio. Appian. in Mithridaticis. Dion Cassius lib. 36

^a Plutarchus in Pompeio. Don Cassius lib. 36. Epitome Livii lib. 100. L. Florus lib. 3. cap. 5. Appian. in Mithridaticis. Eutropius lib. 6. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 4. ^b Dion & Appian. ibid. Strabo lib. 12. p. 555. ^c Appian. in Mithridaticis. ^d Appian. ibid. ^e Plutarchus in Pompeio, Appian. & Dion Cassius ibid.

and to make way for it sent to him the ambassadors of *Mithridates*; for *Mithridates* on his late defeat ^fsent ambassadors to him to desire refuge in his countrey, and his help for the repairing of his loss: But *Tigranes* not only denied him his help, and all admission in his countrey, but also seized his ambassadors, and cast them into prison, and did set a price of an hundred talents upon the head of *Mithridates* himself, should he be any where found within his dominions; pretending for all this that it was by his instigation that his son was in rebellion against him, but the true reason was to make way for his reconciliation with the *Romans*; and therefore he delivered these ambassadors unto them, and soon after ^gfollowed himself without any precaution taken, and entering the *Roman* camp, resigned both himself and kingdom to the pleasure and disposal of *Pompey* and the *Romans*; and in the doing hereof debased himself to so mean and abject an humiliation, that as soon as he appeared in the presence of *Pompey*, he plucked his crown or royal *Tiara* from off his head, and cast himself prostrate on the ground before him. *Pompey* hereon much commiserating his case, leaped from his seat, and kindly taking him by the hand lifted him up, put his crown again upon his head, and placed him on a seat at his right hand, and his son on another at his left; and having appointed the next day for the hearing of his cause, invited him and his son that night to sup with him: But the son refusing to come, out of displeasure to his father, and neglecting to shew him any respect, or to take the least notice of him at the interview, he much offended *Pompey* by this conduct. However on having heard the cause he did not wholly neglect his interest; for after having decreed that King *Tigranes* should pay the *Romans* six thousand talents for making war upon them without cause, and yield up to them all his conquests on this side the *Euphrates*, he ordered that he should still reign in his paternal kingdom of *Armenia* the greater, and his son in *Gordena* and *Sophena* (two provinces bordering on *Armenia*) during his father's life-time, and succeed him in all the rest of his dominions after his death, reserving to the father out of *Sophena* the treasure which he had there deposited, without which he would not have been able to pay the mulct of six thousand talents imposed on him. *Tigranes* the father joyfully accepted these terms, being glad even thus to be again admitted to reign: But the son having entertained expectations that were not answered by this decree, was highly displeased at it, and made an attempt to have fled for the raising of new disturbances: Whereon *Pompey* put a guard upon him, and on his refusal to permit his father to take away his treasure in *Sophena* cast him into prison, and afterwards on his being detected to have solicited the nobility of *Armenia* to renew the war, and also the *Parthians* to join in it, *Pompey* put him among those whom he reserved for his triumph, and after that triumph left him in prison, whereas most of the other captives, after they had born their part in that shew, were released, and again sent home into their own countries. *Tigranes* the father after the receipt of his treasure out of *Sophena* paid the six thousand talents, in which *Pompey* had mulcted him, and added over and above a donative to the *Roman* army, giving every common soldier fifteen drachms, each centurion a thousand, and

^f Plutarchus, Appianus & Dion Cassius, *ibid.*
tropius lib. 6. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2. cap. 37.

^g Plutarchus, Dion & Appian. *ibid.* Eu-

each military tribune ten thousand, whereby he obtained to be declared a friend and an ally of the *Roman* people.

POMPEY having thus composed matters in *Armenia*,^h marched northward after *Mithridates*. On his coming to the river *Cyrus* he was opposed by the *Albanians* and the *Iberians*, two potent nations dwelling between the *Caspian* and the *Euxine* seas, and confederates of *Mithridates*, but having overcome them in battel, he forced the *Albanians* to sue for peace, and having granted it to them wintered among them.

An. 65.
Aristo-
bulus II.
5.

EARLY the next year afterⁱ he marched against the *Iberians*, a warlike nation, which had never yet yielded to any superior, but had always held out against the *Medians*, *Persians*, and *Macedonians*, and submitted to neither of them during all the time that they in succession one after the other held the empire of *Asia*. *Pompey*, altho' he found some difficulties in this war, yet soon mastered them, and forced the *Iberians* to terms of peace. After his having reduced the people of *Colchis* also to a submission to him, and taken *Oltaces* their King prisoner (whom he afterwards caused to be led before him in his triumph) he marched back again upon the *Albanians*, who while he was engaged with the *Iberians* and *Colchians* had renewed the war; but having overthrown them in battel with a great slaughter, and slain therein *Cosis* the brother of^k *Orodes* their King, who commanded the army, he thereby forced *Orodes* to purchase the renewal of the last year's peace by large gifts, and also to send his sons to him as hostages for the keeping of it.

IN the interim^l *Mithridates* having wintered at *Dioscurias* (a place^m upon the *Euxine* sea, and there situated in the farthest part of the *Isthmus* which lies between that sea and the *Caspian*)ⁿ early the next spring did set out from thence for the countrey of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*,^o making his way thither through several *Scythian* nations that lay between, obtaining his passage of some of them by fair means, and of others by force. This^o kingdom of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus* is the same which is now the countrey of the *Crim Tartars*, and was then a province of the empire of *Mithridates*. He had^p placed one of his sons called *Machares* there to reign; but this young Prince having been hard pressed upon by the *Romans*, while they lay at the siege of *Sinope*, and had then by their fleet the mastery of the *Euxine* sea (which lay between that city and the kingdom of *Machares*) he made^q peace with them, and had ever since maintained the terms of it; by which having much anger'd his father he dreaded his approach, and therefore while he was on the way^r he sent ambassadors to him to make his peace with him, urging for his excuse, that what he did was by the necessity of his affairs driving him to it, and not by choice: But finding that his father was implacable, he endeavoured to make his escape by sea, but being intercepted by such ships as *Mithridates* had sent out for this purpose, he slew himself to avoid falling into his hands.

^h Epitome Livii, lib. 101. Plutarchus in Pompeio. Dion Cassius lib. 36. Appian. in Mithridaticis. ⁱ Plutarch. ibid. Dion Cassius lib. 37. p. 29. ^k So Florus, Eutropius and Orosius call him, but the name given by others is Orœses.

^l Appianus in Mithridaticis.

^m See Strabo lib. 11. p. 498. ⁿ Appian. ibid. Epitome Livii, lib. 101. Dion Cassius lib. 36. p. 25. Strabo lib. 11. p. 496. ^o Strabo lib. 11. ^p Memnon. cap. 56. Appian. ibid.

^q Epitome Livii lib. 98. Plutarchus in Lucullo. Appian. & Memnon. ibidem.

^r Appian. & Dion Cassius ibid. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 5.

POMPEY having finished his war in the north, and finding it impracticable to pursue *Mithridates* any farther that way, led back his army again into the southern parts, and ^s in his way thither having subdued *Darius* King of *Media*, and *Antiochus* King of *Commagena*, he ^t came into *Syria*, and having ^u by *Scaurus* reduced *Cæle-Syria* and *Damascus*, and ^w by *Gabinus* all the rest of those parts as far as the *Tigris*, he made himself master of all the *Syrian* empire; whereon ^x *Antiochus Asiaticus* the son of *Antiochus Eusebes* the remaining heir of the *Seleucian* family, who by the permission of *Lucullus* had now for four years reigned in some part of that countrey, after *Tigranes* had been forced to withdraw his forces from it, applied to him to desire to be re-established in the kingdom of his forefathers: But *Pompey* refusing to hearken to him stripp'd him of all his dominions, and reduced them into the form of a *Roman* province. And thus at the same time when *Tigranes* was permitted to reign in *Armenia*, who had much damaged the *Roman* interest by a long war, *Antiochus* was stripp'd of all, who never did them any hurt, or ever deserved any ill from them. The reasons given for it were, that the *Romans* had taken this countrey by conquest from *Tigranes*, and therefore were not to lose the fruits of their victory; and that *Antiochus* was a weak Prince of no courage or capacity to protect that countrey, and that therefore the putting of it into his hands would be to betray it to the ravages and depredations of the *Jews* and *Arabs*, which *Pompey* could not consent to: And therefore ^y *Antiochus* being thus deprived of his crown, was reduced to a private condition of life. And here ended the empire of the *Seleucidae* in *Asia*, after it had there lasted two hundred fifty eight years.

WHILE these things were a doing by the *Romans*, there happen'd great disturbances and revolutions in *Egypt* and *Judea*: For in *Egypt* the *Alexandrians* being weary of *Alexander* their King, rose in a mutiny against him, and ^z drove him out of the kingdom, and ^a called *Ptolemy Auletes* to the crown. He was the bastard son of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*: For *Lathyrus* had ^b no male issue by his wife that survived him, but he had several by his concubines; one of which was ^c that *Ptolemy* who had the kingdom of *Cyprus* after his father's death, and there reigned till injuriously deprived of it by the *Romans*, as will be hereafter related. Another was ^d this *Auletes*; he was also called *Dionysius Neos*, or *the new Bacchus*; both which names he had from infamous causes: For he had ^e much used himself to play on the pipe, and valued himself so much upon his skill herein, that he would expose himself to contend for victory in the publick shews; hence he had the name of *Auletes*, that is, *the piper*: And ^f he would often imitate the effeminacies of the *Bacchanals*, and in the same measures as they dance their measures in a female dress; and hence it was that he was called *Dionysius Neos*, or

^s Appian. in Mithridaticis. bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 5.

^t Appian. ibid.

^u Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 4. De

^w Dion Cassius lib. 37. p. 31. ^x Appianus in Mithridaticis. Justin. lib. 40. cap. 2. Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri. Xiphilinus ex Dione.

^y Some confound this *Antiochus* with *Antiochus Commagenus*, and hold that *Commagena* was given him by *Pompey*, when stripp'd of all the rest. But the testimony of history is contrary to this conjecture.

^z Suetonius in Julio Cæsare cap. 11. Trogius in prologo 39.

^a Trogius ibid. ^b Pausanias in Atticis; ibi enim dicit eum, Berenicem solam, cum obisset, prolem legitimam sibi superstitem reliquisse.

^d Trogius ibid. ^e Strabo lib. 17. p. 796.

^c Trogius in prologo 40.

^f Lucian. de non temerè credendo calumniæ.

the new Bacchus. He is reckoned to have as much exceeded all that reigned before him of his race in the effeminacy of his manners, as his grandfather *Phyſcon* did in the wickedneſs of them. *Alexander* on his expulſion^h fled to *Pompey* to pray his aſſiſtance for his reſtoration, and offered him great gifts, and promiſed him more to induce him hereto; but *Pompey* reſuſed to meddle with this matter, as being without the limits of his commiſſion: Whereonⁱ *Alexander* retired to *Tyre*, there to wait a more favourable juncture, and ſoon after died in that city. It is here to be remarked that *Ptolemy* the aſtronomer in his chronological canon names not *Alexander* at all among the Kings of *Egypt*, but begins the reign of *Auletes* from the death of *Lathyrus*, altho' it appears^k both from *Cicero* and *Suetonius*, that *Alexander* reigned fifteen years between. Perchance as *Ptolemy* King of *Cyprus* had that iſland immediately on his father's death, ſo likewiſe *Auletes* had at the ſame time ſome other part of the *Egyptian* empire for his ſhare of it, and for this reaſon *Ptolemy* the aſtronomer makes him the immediate ſucceſſor of *Lathyrus*, tho' he had not the whole kingdom of *Egypt* till fifteen years after.

THE diſturbances which were at this time in *Judæa*, and the revolution which happen'd thereon, had their original from the ambition and aſpiring ſpirit of *Antipater* the father of *Herod*: Of his original I have ſpoken before. He having his education in the court of *Alexander Jannæus*, and *Alexandra* his Queen who reigned after him, there^l wrought himſelf into the good liking of *Hyrcauus* the eldeſt of their ſons, hoping to riſe by his favour when he ſhould come to the crown after his mother. But when *Hyrcauus* was depoſed, and *Ariſtobulus* made King in his place, theſe meaſures which he had taken for his advancement were all broken; and his engagements in them having render'd him ſo obnoxious to *Ariſtobulus* as to exclude him all proſpect of favour from him, he ſet himſelf with all the craft which he was ſignally endowed with, to repair the fortunes of *Hyrcauus*, and reſtore him again to his crown; in order whereto he treated with *Aretas* King of *Arabia Petraea*, and engaged him to help *Hyrcauus* with an army for the accompliſhing of this deſign, and had by clandestine applications drawn in great numbers of the *Jews* for the promoting of the ſame purpoſe. But his greateſt difficulty was to excite *Hyrcauus* himſelf to the undertaking; for being a quiet indolent man, who loved eaſe more than any thing elſe, he had no ambition for reigning, and therefore had no inclination to ſtir a foot for the obtaining of it. But at length being made believe that his life was in danger, and that he had nothing to chuſe between reigning and dying if he ſtaid in *Judæa*, he was rouzed up by this argument to flee for his ſafety, and put himſelf into the hands of *Aretas*, who according to his agreement with *Antipater*^m brought him back into *Judæa* with an army of fifty thouſand men, and having there joined the *Jews* of *Hyrcauus*'s party, gave battel to *Ariſtobulus*, and gaining an abſolute victory over him, purſued him to *Jeruſalem*, and entering it without oppoſition, drove him with all his party to take refuge in the mountain of the temple, and there beſieged him, where all the Priests ſtood by him, but the generality of the people declared for *Hyrcauus*. This

^g Strabo lib. 17. p. 796.

^h Appian. in Mithridaticis.

ⁱ Cicero in oratione ſecundâ contra

Rallum.

^k Videas notas 2 & 1.

^l Joſephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 2. & de bello Judai-

co, lib. 1. cap. 5.

^m Joſephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 3. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 5.

... happen'd

happen'd in the time of their Passover, whereon *Aristobulus* wanting lambs and beasts for the sacrifices of that holy solemnity, agreed with the *Jews* that were among the besiegers to furnish him with them for a sum contracted: But when they had the money let down to them over the wall, they refused to deliver the sacrifices, and thereby impiously and sacrilegiously robbed God of that part of his worship which was then to have been performed to him: And at the same time they added another very heinous wickedness to this guilt; for there being then at *Jerusalem* one *Onias* a man of great reputation for the sanctity of his life, who had been thought by his prayers to have obtained rain from heaven in a time of drought, they brought him forth into the army; and, concluding his curses would be as prevalent as his prayers, pressed him to curse *Aristobulus*, and all that were with him. He long refused to hearken to them, but at length finding no rest from their importunities, he lifted up his hands toward heaven as standing in the midst of them, and prayed thus, "O Lord God, " rector of the universe, since those that are with us are thy people, and " they that are besieged in the temple are thy Priests, I pray that thou " wouldest hear the prayers of neither of them against the other:" Hereon they that brought him thither were so enraged against the good man, that they fell upon him with stones, and stoned him to death. But this was soon revenged upon them; for *Scaurus* being by this time come to *Damascus* with a *Roman* army, *Aristobulus* sent thither to him, and by the promise of four hundred talents engaged him on his side. *Hyrcaus* offered him the like sum, but *Scaurus* looking on *Aristobulus* as the more solvent of the two, and for other reasons taking the better liking to him, chose to embrace his cause before the other's; and *Gabinus* by a present of three hundred talents more out of *Aristobulus*'s purse was induced to do the same: And therefore they both sent to *Aretas* to withdraw, threatening him with the *Roman* arms in case of refusal. Whereon *Aretas* raising the siege, and marching off towards his own countrey, *Aristobulus* got together all the forces he could and pursued after him, and having overtaken him at a place called *Papyrion*, overthrew him in battel with a great slaughter, in which perished many of the *Jews* of *Hyrcaus*'s party, and among them *Cephalion* the brother of *Antipater*.

ABOUT this time ^o *Pompey* himself came to *Damascus*, where resorted to him ambassadors from all the neighbouring countries, especially from *Egypt* and *Judæa*: For the Kings of both these countries reigning in them by the expulsion of their immediate predecessors, thought it their interest to get the *Roman* power on their side for the maintaining of their usurpations. For this reason the ambassadors from *Egypt* presented *Pompey* with a crown of gold of the value of four thousand pieces of gold money, and those from *Judæa* ^p with a vine of gold of the value of four hundred talents, which was afterwards deposited ^q in the temple of *Jupiter* in the capitol at *Rome*, and there inscribed as the gift of *Alexander* King of the *Jews*. It seems they would not own *Aristobulus* to be King, and therefore did put his father's name upon it instead of his. While *Pompey* was in these parts ^r there came to him no fewer than twelve Kings to

ⁿ Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 4. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 5. lib. 14. cap. 5. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 5. Xiphilin. ex Dione.

^o Josephus antiq.

^p Josephus ibid.

^q Strabo apud Josephum antiq. lib. 14. cap. 5. Plinius lib. 37. cap. 2. ^r Plutarchus in Pompeio.

make their court to him, and were all seen at the same time attending upon him.

BUT many fortresses and strong places in *Pontus* and *Cappadocia* still holding out for *Mithridates*, *Pompey* found it necessary to march again into those parts to reduce them, which having on his arrival in a great measure accomplished he took up his winter quarters ^s at *Aspis* in *Pontus*. Among the places, which he reduced, one ^t called *Kavm*, i. e. *Newcastle*, was the strongest. There *Mithridates* had laid a great part of his treasure, and the best of his other effects, as reckoning the place impregnable, but it was not so against the *Romans*. *Pompey* took the place, and in it all that was there deposited. Among other things there found, were the private memoirs of *Mithridates*, which made discovery of many of his transactions, and secret designs. And there also were found his medicinal commentaries, ^u which *Pompey* caused to be translated into *Latin* by *Lenæus* a learned grammarian, that was a freed man of his, and they were afterwards publish'd by him in that language. For among many other extraordinary endowments, with which this Prince had accomplished himself, he was eminently skill'd in the art of physick. And particularly it is to be remarked of him, that he was the author of that excellent alexipharmical medicine, which from his name is now called *Mithridate*, and hath ever since been in great use among physicians, and is so even to this day.

An. 64.
Aristo-
bulus II.
6.

POMPEY having while he lay at *Aspis* settled the affairs of the adjacent countries, as well as their circumstances would then admit, as soon as the spring began ^w returned again into *Syria* there to do the same. For *Mithridates* being gotten into the kingdom of *Bosphorus* on the other side of the *Euxin* sea, there was no pursuing of him thither by a *Roman* army, but round that sea a great way about through many barbarous *Scythian* nations, and several deserts, which was not to be attempted without manifest danger of a total miscarriage. And therefore all that *Pompey* could do in this case ^x was to order the stations of the *Roman* navy in such manner, as to hinder all supplies of provisions and other necessaries from being carried to him; which having taken full care of he thought by this method he should soon break him, and therefore on his quitting *Pontus* ^y he said he had left behind him against *Mithridates* a fiercer enemy than the *Roman* army, that is famine and the want of all necessaries. That which made him so fond of this march into *Syria* was ^z a vain and ambitious desire, which he had of extending his conquests to the *Red-sea*. He had formerly, while he commanded first in *Africa*, and afterwards in *Spain*, carried them on to the western ocean on both sides of the *Mediterranean*, and had lately in his *Albanian* war made them reach as far as the *Caspian* sea, and if he could do the same as to the *Red-sea* also, he thought it would compleat his glory. On his coming into *Syria* he made ^a *Antioch*, and ^b *Seleucia* on the *Orontes* free cities, and ^c then continued his march to *Damascus*, intending from thence ^d to make war upon the *Arabians* for the carrying on of his victories to the *Red-sea*. But in his way thither he

^s Plutarchus ibid.

^t Strabo lib. 12. p. 556. Plutarchus ibid.

^u Plinius lib. 25. cap. 2.

^w Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 5.

^x Dion Cassius lib. 37. Plutarchus in Pompeio.

^y Plutarch. ibid.

^z Plutarch. ibid.

^a Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri.

^b Strabo lib. 16. p. 751. Eutropius lib. 6.

^c Josephus ibid.

^d Dion Cassius lib. 37.

Plutarchus in Pompeio. Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 6.

made many stops to examine into the conduct of the princes of those parts, and to hear the complaints, that were made against them. For in the declension of the *Syrian* empire many petty princes had set up on its ruins, and had cantoned themselves in several parts and districts of it, and there exercised great tyranny over their people, and as great depredations on their neighbours round them. These *Pompey*, as he passed through the countrey, summoned to him, and on hearing their causes ^c some of them he confirmed in their toparchies under the condition of becoming tributaries to the *Romans*, others he deprived, and some of them he condemned to death for their male-administrations. But *Ptolemy* the son of *Mennæus* Prince of *Chalcis*, who was the worst and wickedest of them all, escaped by virtue of his money. For having made himself very rich with his oppressions upon his people, and his plunders upon his neighbours, he presented *Pompey* with a thousand talents, and thereby redeemed both his life and his principality, and continued in the enjoyment of both a great number of years after.

ON *Pompey's* coming into *Cæle-Syria* ^f *Antipater* from *Hyrcaus*, and one *Nicodemus* from *Aristobulus*, addressed themselves to him about the controversy that was between these two brothers, each of them praying his patronage to the party from which they were delegated. *Pompey* having heard what was said by them on both sides, dismissed them with fair words, ordering, that both brothers should appear in person before him, promising, that then he would take full cognizance of the whole cause, and determine it as justice should direct. At this audience *Nicodemus* did much hurt to the cause of his master, by complaining of the four hundred talents which *Scaurus*, and the three hundred which *Gabinus* had extorted from him. For this made them both to be his enemies, and they being two of the greatest men in the army next *Pompey*, he was afterwards influenced by them to the damage of the complainant. But *Pompey* being then intent upon making preparations for his *Arabian* war could not immediately find leisure for this matter, and soon after an occasion happen'd, which forced him to lay aside for the present whatever he had to do in *Syria*, and march again into *Pontus*; it was as followeth,

BEFORE *Pompey* left *Syria* in the former year ^g there came thither to him ambassadors from *Mithridates* out of *Bosphorus* with proposals of peace. They offered in his behalf, that in case he might be allowed to hold his paternal kingdom as *Tigranes* had been, he would pay tribute to the *Romans* for it, and quit to them all his other dominions. To this *Pompey* answered, that he should then come to him in person in the same manner as *Tigranes* did. This *Mithridates* would not submit to, but offered to send his sons, and some of his principal friends; but this not being accepted of, he set himself to make new preparations for war with as great vigour as at any time before. *Pompey* having notice hereof found it necessary to hasten back again into *Pontus* to watch his proceedings. On his arrival thither ^h he fixed his residence for some time at *Amisus*, the ancient metropolis of that countrey, and while he continued in that place practised the same thing, which he had before blamed in *Lucullus*; for he

^c Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 5. Xiphilin. ex Dione Cassio.

^g Appianus in Mithridaticis.

^h Plutarchus in Pompeio.

^f Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 5.

there ⁱ settled the dominions of *Mithridates* into provinces, and distributed rewards, as if the war had been ended. Whereas *Mithridates* was then still alive, and with an army about him for the making of a terrible invasion into the very heart of the *Roman* dominions. In the distributing of his rewards ^k he gave the lesser *Armenia*, with several other territories and cities adjoining, to *Deiotarus* one of the Princes of the *Galatians* to recompense him for his adhering to the *Roman* interest during all this war, and honoured him with the title of King of these countries, whereas before he was ^l only a tetrarch among the *Galatians*. This is the same King *Deiotarus*, in whose behalf *Cicero* afterwards made ^m one of his orations. And at the same time ⁿ he made *Archelaus* high-priest of the moon, the great goddess of the *Comanians* in *Pontus*, with sovereign authority over the inhabitants of the place, among whom there were no fewer than six thousand persons devoted to the service of the goddess. This *Archelaus* was the son of that *Archelaus*, ^o who had the chief command of *Mithridates*'s forces in *Greece* during his first war with the *Romans*; but after that falling into disgrace with his master fled to the *Romans*. And he and his son having from that time adhered to the *Roman* interest, and done them thereby much service in all their wars in *Asia*, the father being now dead, the son for the reward of both had this high-priesthood of *Comana* conferred on him, which made him also Prince of that place, and the territory belonging thereto. He is the same who afterwards reigned in *Egypt*, as will be hereafter related.

WHILE *Pompey* was thus absent in *Pontus*, ^p *Aretas*, King of *Arabia Petraea* took the advantage of it to infest *Syria*, making incursions and depredations upon several parts of it. This ^q called *Pompey* back again into that country. In his way thither marching by the place, where the bodies of the *Romans* lay dead, that had been slain in the defeat of *Triarius*, he buried them ^r with great solemnity, which much ingratiated him with the army, whose greatest disgust against *Lucullus* was his having omitted it, when he marched by the same place soon after that defeat. From thence *Pompey* marched into *Syria* for his carrying on of the *Arabian* war according to the project above-mentioned.

IN the interim ^s died *Mithridates*, being driven by his own son to that hard fate of slaying himself. Finding no hopes of making peace with the *Romans* upon any tolerable terms, he ^t resolved to make a desperate expedition through the way of *Pannonia* and the *Trentine Alps* into *Italy* itself, and there assault them, as *Hannibal* did, at their own doors. In order hereto he got many forces together out of the *Scythian* nations for the augmenting of his former army, and sent agents to engage the *Gauls* to join with him on his approach to the *Alps*. But this undertaking contain-

ⁱ Plutarch. *ibid.* Epitome Livii lib. 102. Strabo lib. 12. p. 541. ^k Strabo lib. 12. p. 547. Eutropius lib. 6. ^l Strabo *ibidem.* ^m This oration was spoken in behalf of King *Deiotarus* before Julius Cæsar, and is still extant under the title *Pro Rege Deiotaro*. Galatia was formerly governed by four Tetrarchs, of which *Deiotarus* was now one. To his Tetrarchy *Pompey* added his grants without dispossessing the other Tetrarchs. But afterwards *Deiotarus* swallowed the other three Tetrarchies, and had all Galatia, when *Cicero* pleaded for him. Strabo lib. 12. p. 567. ⁿ Appian. in *Mithridaticis*. Strabo lib. 12. p. 558. & lib. 17. p. 796. ^o Plutarchus in *Sylla*. ^p Dion Cassius lib. 37. ^q Plutarchus in *Pompeio*. ^r Plutarch. *ibid.* ^s Plutarchus in *Pompeio*. Dion Cassius lib. 37. Appian. in *Mithridaticis*. Epitome Livii lib. 102. L. Florus lib. 3. cap. 5. ^t Appian. Dion Cassius, & L. Florus *ibid.*

ing a march of above two thousand miles through all those countries which are now called *Tartaria Crimæa, Podolia, Moldavia, Walachia, Transylvania, Hungaria, Stiria, Carinthia, Tyrol* and *Lumbardy*; and over the three great rivers of the *Borysthenes*, the *Danube*, and the *Po*, the thought hereof so frightened his army, that for the avoiding of it they conspired against him, and made *Pharnaces* his son their King; whereon finding himself deserted of all, and his son not to be prevailed upon to let him escape elsewhere, he retired into his apartment, and having there distributed poison to his wives, his concubines, and daughters, that were then with him, he took a dose of it himself, but that not operating upon him he had recourse to his sword to complete the work, but failing with that to give himself such a wound as was sufficient to cause his death, he was forced to call a *Gallic* soldier unto him, who had then newly broken into the house, to help dispatch him, and so died after he had lived seventy two years, and reigned sixty of them. He dreaded nothing more than to fall into the hands of the *Romans*, and be led in triumph by them; and therefore for the preventing of this he always carried poison about him, that if he could no otherway escape their hands, he might this way deliver himself from them. And the apprehensions, that his son might deliver him to *Pompey* caused that at this time he was so eager to dispatch himself. It's commonly said, that the poison did not work upon him, because he had by the frequent taking of his *Mithridate* so fortified his body against all poisons, that none could hurt him; but this cannot be true; for *Mithridate* hath no such effect against deadly poisons. Besides poisons according to their different sorts operating different ways, that is some by corroding, and some by inflaming, and others otherwise, not any one sort of medicine can be a universal antidote against all of them.

As to the character of this Prince, he was a very extraordinary person, both for the greatness of his spirit, and the endowments of his mind. He was naturally of a great capacity and understanding, and had added thereto all manner of acquired improvements. For he was learned in all the learning of those times, and altho' he had twenty two several nations under his dominion, he " could speak to every one of them in their own proper language. And he was of that great sagacity, and employed it so effectually in the observation and inspection of his affairs, that altho' a great number of plots and conspiracies had from time to time been framed against him, none of them escaped his discovery, excepting that in which he perished. He was a Prince " of great undertakings, and altho' he failed in most of those, wherein he had to do with the *Romans*, yet his spirit never sunk with his fortune, but it ever bore him up against all his misadventures; and after his greatest losses his wisdom and application always found means in some measure to repair them, and bring him again upon the scene of action; and thus it was with him to the last, having always as often as overthrown, *Antæus* like, risen up again with new vigour to maintain his pretensions. And his last undertaking for the invading of *Italy* sufficiently shews, that tho' his fortune often forsook him, yet his stout heart, his courageous spirit, and his enterprising genius never did.

" Plinius lib. 7. cap. 24. & lib. 25. cap. 2. Valerius Maximus lib. 8. cap. 7. Quintilian. lib. 11. cap. 2. Aurelius Victor in Mithridate. A. Gellius lib. 17. cap. 17. " Videas Dionem Cassium, Appianum, L. Florum, Plutarchum, aliosque.

And had not the treason of his own people at last cut him off, perchance in the latter part of his life the *Romans* might have found him a much more dangerous enemy to them, than at any time before: *Cicero* ^x faith of him, that he was the greatest of Kings next *Alexander*. It's certain the *Romans* had never to do with a greater crowned head in all their wars. But his vices on the other hand were as great as his virtues. The chiefest of them, and which were most predominant in him, were his cruelty, his ambition, and his lust. His cruelty was shewn in the murder of his mother and his brother, and the great number of his sons and his friends and followers, which at several times, and often on very slight occasions, he had put to death. His ambition was manifested by his many unjust invasions on other mens rights for the augmentation of his dominions, and the most wicked methods of treachery, murder and perfidiousness, which he often took in order hereto. His lust ^y appeared in the great number of his wives and concubines, which he had to serve it. Wherever he found an handsome young woman, he took her unto him into one or other of these two sorts, whereby the number of them became very great. Some of them he carried with him wherever he went, others he dispersed into his strong castles and fortified towns, there to be reserved for his use, either when he should come that way, or otherwise should think fit to send for them. But when reduced to any distress ^z he always poisoned those whom he could not safely carry off, or else otherwise dispatched them; and in the same manner in this case used his sisters and his daughters, that none of them might fall into the enemies hands. Only ^a one of his wives called *Hypsicratia* always accompanied him, wherever he was forced to take his flight. For being of a strong body, and a masculine spirit, she did cut off her hair, put on man's apparel, and accustomed her self to the use of arms, and the war-horse, rode always by his side in all his battels, and accompanied him in all his expeditions, and in all his flights, especially in the last of them, when after being vanquished by *Pompey* in the *Lesser Armenia* he made his dangerous and difficult retreat through the *Scythian* nations into the kingdom of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*; in all which journey she rode by his side by day, and took care both of him and his horse at night, doing to him the office of a valet in his lodgings, and that of a groom in his stable; for which reason *Mithridates* took great delight in her, as affording him by this attendance the greatest comfort he had in his calamities; and by reason of this masculine spirit in her, *Mithridates* was used to call her *Hypsicrates* in the masculine gender instead of *Hypsicratia*. But of all his wives ^b *Stratonice* by reason of her extraordinary beauty was most beloved by him, tho' she were no other than a musician's daughter. *Mithridates* in the decline of his affairs had placed her in a strong castle in *Pontus* called *Symphorium*, where finding her self like to be deserted she delivered the place to *Pompey* upon terms of safety for her self, and also for her son, which she had by *Mithridates*, in case he should happen to fall into the *Romans* hands, which *Pompey* having granted continued her in possession of that castle, and of most of the effects in it. Her son called

^x In Lucullo five academicarum quaestionum lib. 2. ^y Appian. in Mithridaticis. Plutarchus in Lucullo & Pompeio, alique. ^z Plutarchus & Appian. ibid. Dion Cassius lib. 36, & 37.

^a Plutarchus in Pompeio. Valerius Maximus lib. 4. cap. 6. Eutropius lib. 6.

^b Plutarchus in Pompeio. Appian. in Mithridaticis. Dion Cassius lib. 37. p. 33.

Xiphares was then with his father, while he yet remained in *Pontus*: Hereon the cruel man to be revenged on her carried this son of his to the opposite side of the *Fritih*, over against which the castle stood, and there slew him within her view, and left the dead body unburied on the strand. Many of these his wives and concubines fell into *Pompey's* hands during this war, on his taking the castles and fortresses where they were kept; and it is remarked of him to his great honour, that he meddled not with any of them, but sent them home all untouched to their parents and friends, who most of them were Kings or Princes, or other great men of those eastern parts. By these many wives and concubines he had a great number of sons and daughters; many of his sons he slew in his displeasure, and several of his daughters he poisoned, when he could not carry them off in his flights: However some of them fell into the hands of the *Romans*. Five of the sons and two of the daughters *Pompey* carried with him to *Rome*, and there caused them to be led before him in his triumph. Next *Hannibal* he was the most terrible enemy the *Romans* ever had, and their war with him was the longest of any. The continuance of it according to ^a *Justin* was forty six years, according to ^f *Appian* forty two, according to ^g *L. Florus* and ^h *Eutropius* forty, and according to ⁱ *Pliny* thirty; but according to the exact truth of the matter, tho' we reckon the beginning of the war from *Mitbridates's* seizing *Cappadocia*, (which gave the first occasion for it) from that time to the concluding of it in his death will be no more than twenty seven years; this for the sake of a round number *Pliny* calls thirty, and thereby comes the nearest to the truth.

POMPEY on his coming into *Syria* marched directly to *Damascus*, with purpose from thence to make war upon the *Arabians*. On his arrival at that city ^k the cause of *Hyrcaus* and *Aristobulus* was brought to his hearing, and they both there appeared in person before him according as he had ordered, and at the same time several of the *Jews* came thither against both. These last pleaded, "That they might not be governed by a King; that it had been formerly the usage of their nation to be governed by the High-priest of the God they worshipped, who without assuming any other title administered justice to them according to the laws and constitutions transmitted down to them from their fore-fathers; that it was true indeed the two contending brothers were of the sacerdotal race; but they had changed the former manner of the government, and introduced another form, that they might thereby subject the people to slavery." *Hyrcaus* on his part urged, "That being the elder brother he was unjustly deprived of his birthright by *Aristobulus*, who having left him only a small portion of land for his subsistence, had usurped all the rest from him; and as a man born for mischief practised piracy at sea, and rapin and depredation at land upon his neighbours." And for the attesting of what *Hyrcaus* had thus alledged, there appeared about a thousand of the principal *Jews*, whom *Antipater* had procured to come thither for that purpose. Hereto *Aristobulus* answered; "That *Hyrcaus* was put by from the government merely by reason of his incapacity to manage it, and not through any ambition of his; that being an una-

An. 63.
Hyrca-
nus 11. 1.

^a Plutarchus & Appian. ibidem.

^d Plutarchus & Appian. ibidem.

^e Lib. 37. cap. 1.

^f In Mithridaticis.

^g Lib. 3. cap. 5.

^h Lib. 6.

ⁱ Lib. 7. cap. 26.

^k Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 5. & de bello Judaico. lib. 1. cap. 5.

“ ãtive slothful man, and utterly unfit for the business of the publick, he
 “ fell into the contempt of the people ; and that therefore he was forced
 “ to interpose of necessity for the preserving of the government from fal-
 “ ling into other hands; and that he bore no other title in the state than
 “ what *Alexander* his father had before him.” And for the witnessing of this
 he produced several young gentlemen of the countrey in gaudy and splen-
 did apparel, who did not by their dress or by their behaviour bring any cre-
 dit to the cause of him they appeared for. *Pompey* on this hearing saw
 far enough into the cause to make him disapprove of the violence of *Ari-
 stobulus*; but however he would not immediately determine the contro-
 versy, lest *Aristobulus* being provoked thereby might obstruct him in his
Arabian war, which he then had his heart much upon: And therefore
 giving fair words to both brothers, he dismissed them for the present,
 promising that after he should have reduced *Aretas* and his *Arabians*, he
 would come in person into *Judea*, and there settle and compose all mat-
 ters that were in difference between them. *Aristobulus* perceiving which
 way *Pompey*’s inclinations stood, went away from *Damascus* in an huff
 without taking leave, and returning into *Judea*, there armed the coun-
 trey for his defence, which procedure much incensed *Pompey* against
 him.

IN the interim he prepared for his war against the *Arabians*; *Aretas*,
 tho’ he had hitherto contemned the *Roman* arms, ¹ yet when he found them
 so near him, and ready to make invasion upon him with their victorious
 army, he sent ambassadors to make his submission: However *Pompey*
 marched to *Petra* the metropolis of his kingdom, and having taken the
 place and *Aretas* in it, he put him into custody, but afterwards again re-
 leased him on his submitting to the terms required, and then returned to
Damascus.

ON his coming back thither being informed of the warlike preparations
 which *Aristobulus* was making in *Judea*, ^m he marched into that countrey
 against him. On his arrival thither he found *Aristobulus* in his castle of
Alexandrión, which was a strong fortress situated in the entrance of the
 countrey on an high mountain, where it having been built by *Alexander*
 the father of *Aristobulus*, it for that reason bore his name. *Pompey* there
 sent him a message to come down to him, which he was very unwilling to
 obey, but at length by the persuasion of those about him, who dreaded a
Roman war, he was prevailed with to comply, and accordingly went down
 into the *Roman* camp; and after having had some discourse with *Pompey*
 about the controversy between him and his brother, returned again into
 his castle; and this he did two or three times more, endeavouring by these
 compliances to gain *Pompey* on his side for the deciding in his favour the
 controversy between him and his brother: But still for fear of the worst
 he was at the same time arming all his castles, and making all other pre-
 parations for his defence, in case the sentence should go against him; which
Pompey having received an account of, forced him on his last coming
 down to him to deliver up all his castles to him, and to sign orders for this
 purpose to all that commanded in them; which *Aristobulus* being necessi-

¹ Plutarchus in Pompeio. Dion Cassius lib. 37. Appian. in Mithridaticis. ^m Josephus
 ibid. Plutarchus in Pompeio. Appian. in Mithridaticis. Dion. Cassius lib. 37. L. Florus
 lib. 3. cap. 5. Strabo lib. 16. p. 762. 763.

tated in this case to do, he grievously repented the putting of this force upon him; and therefore as soon as he was got again out of *Pompey's* hands, he fled to *Jerusalem* and there prepared for war. He being resolved to retain his kingdom, was actuated by two contrary passions about it, that is hope and fear: When he saw any reason to hope for *Pompey's* determination on his side, he complemented him with all manner of compliances to gain his favour; but when there was any cause given to make him fear the contrary, he took contrary measures: And this was what made him act with so much unsteadiness through all this whole affair. On this flight of his to *Jerusalem* *Pompey* marched after him, and the first place where he next pitched his camp was at *Jericho*; and thereⁿ he had the first news of the death of *Mithridates*. It was^o brought thither to him by special messengers sent from *Pontus* with letters to him about it: The messengers coming with their spears wreathed about with laurel, which was always a token of some victory or other important advantage gained to the state, the army was greedy to know what it was; and whereas they being newly encamped, there was in that place no tribunal as yet erected for the general from thence to speak to them, and it would require some time regularly to make it up with turfs laid one upon another, as was their usage where they encamped; for the supply of this defect they upon a sudden heaped up their pack-saddles one upon another, and thereby having made an advanced place, *Pompey* ascended up upon it, and from thence communicated to them, that *Mithridates* having laid violent hands upon himself was dead, and that *Pharnaces* his son having seized his kingdom, submitted that and himself to the *Roman* state, and that therefore the war which had so long vexed them was now at an end; which being very welcome news to the whole army, as well as to the general, they spent the remainder of the day in rejoicing for it.

JOSEPHUS on his making mention of *Pompey's* encamping at this time at *Jericho*,^p takes occasion from thence to tell us, that this city was famous for the balsam there produced, which is the most precious of unguents. It^q is a distillation from the balsam tree, which is a shrub that never grows higher than two or three cubits. About a foot from the ground it spreads into a great many small branches of the bigness of a goose quill: Incisions being made in them, from thence^r distilled the balsam during the months of *June*, *July* and *August*. The incisions were usually made with glass, a boning knife, or a sharp stone, and not with iron: For it is said,^s that if the tree were wounded with iron it immediately died; but this was not true, unless the incision were made too deep, of which there being danger from a sharp iron knife, for this reason only no such knife was made use of in this operation. *Pliny* tells us,^t that these balsam trees were no where to be found but in *Judea*,^u and there only but in two gardens, of which one contained about^v twenty *jugera*, and the other not so

ⁿ Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 6. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 5. ^o Plutarchus in Pompeio. ^p Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 6. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 5.

^q See Ray's Herbal, lib. 31. cap. 23. ^r Hence it is called opobalsamum, i. e. the gum or unguent coming by distillation from the balsam tree: For balsamum properly signifieth the balsam tree, and opobalsamum the unguent distilling from it: For ὀπός in the Greek language signifieth any gum, juice, or liquor distilling from any tree, or from elsewhere. ^s Plinius lib. 12. cap. 25. ^t Plinius ibid.

^u Pliny had this from Theophrastus, but doth not rightly render it: For what he renders by the Latin word jugera is in the Greek of Theophrastus πλῆθος. But the Latin jugerum contains two VOL. II. X x 2 Greek

so much. But now *Egypt* hath this tree, and *Judæa* none of it. The truth of the matter, as *Bellonius* and *Prosper Alpinus* tell us, is, neither *Judæa* nor *Egypt* is the natural countrey of these trees, but *Arabia the Happy*. Their argument for it is, that in *Arabia the Happy* they grow naturally, but not so in *Judæa* or *Egypt*, where they never grow, but as cultivated in gardens; and that in *Egypt* the best cultivation cannot keep them from decay, so that they are forced frequently to fetch thither new plants from *Arabia*. And what we have from *Josephus* is agreeable hereto: For he tells us (*Antiq. lib. 8. cap. 2.*) that among other valuable things which the Queen of *Sheba* brought with her from *Sheba* (which was in *Arabia the Happy*) to present King *Solomon* with, one was a root of the balsam tree: And from this root it's most likely were propagated all the other balsam trees that afterwards grew in *Judæa*; and *Jericho* being found the properest soil for them, it thenceforth became the sole place where they were found in that countrey. But the gardens in which they were there cultivated having been long since destroyed, there are now no more of those balsam trees to be found in *Judæa*: But there are many of them still in *Egypt*, and from thence and *Arabia* comes all the balsam which is now brought into these western parts: But all that is brought from *Egypt* is not the produce of that countrey, the greater part of it is brought thither from *Arabia* to *Alexandria*, and from thence to us; but now I understand the *East-India* company import it to us directly from *Arabia* by the way of the *Red-sea*. When it came to us only by the way of *Egypt*, it was imported thither from *Mecca* a city in *Arabia*, not far from the countrey where the balsam tree naturally grows; and hence physicians in their prescriptions call it *balsamum à Meccâ*, that is, the balsam of *Mecca*: But in our apothecaries shops it is here called *the balm of Gilead*, which name is given it upon supposition that the balm, which is said in scripture to come from *Gilead*, was the same with that which now comes from *Mecca*. But the *Hebrew* in the original text, which we translate balm, is *Zori*, which the Rabbins interpret to mean any gum of the resinous sort. In *Jeremiah* it is mentioned as a drug which the physicians used, and ^{*} in *Genesis* it is spoken of as one of the most precious products of the land of *Canaan*; and in both it is said to be from *Gilead*. If this *Zori* of the *Hebrew* text be the same with the balsam of *Mecca*, it will prove the balsam tree to have been in *Gilead* long before it was planted in the gardens of *Jericho*; and also before the Queen of *Sheba* brought that root of it to King *Solomon* which *Josephus* mentions: For the *Ismaelites* traded with it from *Gilead* to *Egypt*, when *Joseph* was sold to them by his brethren, and *Jacob* sent a present of it to the same *Joseph* as a product of the land of *Canaan*, when he sent his other sons to him into *Egypt* to buy corn. It seems most likely to me that the *Zori* of *Gilead*, which we render in our *English Bible* by the word balm, was not the same with the balsam of *Mecca*, but only a better sort of *turpentine* then in use for the cure of wounds and other diseases.

Greek *πλῆθος*. For a Greek *πλῆθος* contains an hundred foot square, that is, an hundred foot broad and an hundred foot long: But the Latin *jugerum* contains two Greek *πλῆθος* put together, for it is an hundred foot broad and two hundred foot long, so that 20 Greek *πλῆθος* contain only ten Latin *jugera*.

^{*} Chap. viii. 22. and chap. xlii. 2.

^{*} Chap. xxxvii. 25. and chap. xliii. 2.

FROM *Jericho* *Pompey* led his army to *Jerusalem*: On his approach thither *Aristobulus* repenting of what he had done went out to *Pompey*, and endeavoured to reconcile matters with him, by promising a thorough submission, and also a sum of money, so the war might be prevented. *Pompey* accepting the proposal, sent *Gabinus* one of his lieutenants with a body of men to receive the money: But when he came to *Jerusalem* he found the gates shut against him, and no money to be had; but was told from the walls, that those within would not stand to the agreement; whereon *Pompey* not bearing to be thus mocked clapp'd *Aristobulus* (whom he retained with him) in chains, and marched with the whole army directly for *Jerusalem*. It was by reason of its situation, as well as its fortifications, a very strong place, and might have held out long against him, but that they were divided within among themselves: That party which was for *Aristobulus* were for defending the place, especially by reason of the indignation with which they were moved at *Pompey's* making their King a prisoner: But those who favoured the cause of *Hyrchanus* were for receiving *Pompey* into the city; and they being the greater number, the other party retired into the mountain of the temple, and having broken down the bridges over the deep ditches and vallies that surrounded it, resolved there to maintain themselves: Whereon *Pompey* being received into the city by the other party set himself to besiege the place. Most of the sacerdotal order stuck by the cause of *Aristobulus*, and were shut up with those that seized the temple for the support of it; but the generality of the people were on the other side: And *Hyrchanus* at the head of them supplied *Pompey* with all necessaries within his power for the carrying on of the siege. The north-side of the temple being observed to be the weakest part of it, *Pompey* there begun his approaches: At first he offered the besieged terms of peace, but these being rejected, he forthwith begun with the utmost vigour to press the place. And for this purpose having gotten from *Tyre* battering rams, and all other engins of war proper for a siege, he applied them with the best skill, and the utmost diligence he was able, for the speedy forcing of the place: However it held out three months, and would have done so much longer, and perchance would at last have necessitated the *Romans* to have raised the siege, had it not been for the superstitious rigour with which the *Jews* observed their sabbath. Formerly it had been carried so high, ² that they would not defend their lives on that day, but if then assaulted, would rather patiently yield their throats to be cut than stir an hand in their own defence. But the mischief and folly of this being sufficiently made appear, in what they suffered from it in the first beginnings of the *Macca-bean* wars, ³ it was then determined, that a necessary defence of a man's life was not within the prohibition of the fourth commandment. But this being understood to hold good only against a direct and immediate assault, but not against any antecedent preparative leading thereto, it reached not in their opinion to the allowing of any work to be done on that day for the preventing or destroying the worst designs of mischief, till they came to be actually executed against them. ⁴ Although therefore they vigorously defended themselves on the sabbath day, when assaulted, yet they would not

^y Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 7. De bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 5.

² 1 Maccab. ii.

32—38.

^a 1 Maccab. ii. 41.

^b Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 8. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 5. Strabo lib. 16. p. 762, 763. Dion Cassius lib. 37.

then stir an hand either for the hindering of the enemies works, or the destroying of their engines, or the obstructing their erecting of them, as they did on other days. Which *Pompey* perceiving, ordered, that no assault should be made upon them during their sabbaths, but that those days should be employed wholly in carrying on their works, and in erecting and fitting their engines in such manner, as they might best do execution in the next days of the week following; in all which attempts the besieged never giving them any obstruction on those sabbaths for fear of breaking their law, the *Romans* observing the order mentioned took the advantage hercof, and by this means filled up the ditches, with which the temple was fortified, brought forward their engines of battery, and placed them to the best advantage without any opposition, and were thereby enabled to play them so effectually, that having at length beaten down a great strong tower, which drew a great part of the adjoining wall with it into the same ruin, a breach was made large enough for an assault, which *Cornelius Faustus* the son of *Sylla*, who had his station next it, immediately mounting drew the rest of the army after him, who on their thus entering the place made a dreadful slaughter of those whom they found within, so that it is reckoned no less than twelve thousand of them fell in this carnage, and none acted more cruelly herein than the *Jews* of the contrary faction did against their own brethren. Amongst all this scene of dreadful destruction it's remarked, ^c that the Priests that were then in the temple went on with the daily service of it without being deterred either by the rage of their enemies or the death of their friends, chusing rather to lose their lives amidst the swords of the prevailing adversary, than desert the service of their God; and many of them, while they were thus employed at this time, had their own blood mingled with the blood of the sacrifices, which they were offering, and fell themselves by the sword of their enemies a sacrifice to their duty; which was an instance of steady constancy much admired by *Pompey* himself, and is scarce any where else to be thoroughly parallel'd. Among the prisoners one was *Absalom* a younger son of *John Hyrcanus*, who having been contented to live in a private condition under *Alexander Jannæus* his brother had the benefit of his protection, and hitherto had never meddled with any publick business. But having married his daughter to *Aristobulus*, this now engaged him in his faction. Those prisoners who were found to have been the incendiaries of the war, *Pompey* caused to be put to death, and among them most likely this *Absalom* was one; for after this we hear no more of him, and since he was the father-in-law of *Aristobulus*, no doubt he was one of the chief among those that adhered to his faction.

AND thus after a siege of three months was the temple of *Jerusalem* taken by the *Romans* in the end of the first year of the 179th Olympiad, *Caius Antonius* and *M. Tullius Cicero* being then consuls at *Rome*, about the time of our *Midsummer*, and on the day which the *Jews* kept as a solemn ^dfast for the taking of *Jerusalem* and the same temple with it by

^c Josephus *ibid.* ^d That the temple was now taken on the day of a solemn fast is said, not only by Josephus in the places last above cited, but also by Strabo lib. 16. p. 763. The fast for the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar was on the ninth day of their month Tamuz, (2 Kings xxv. 31.) which usually falls about the time of our Midsummer sooner or later, according as their intercalations happen. But in their present Kalender it is translated to the 18th of that month.

Nebuchadnezzar King of *Babylon*. As soon as the *Romans* had thus made themselves masters of the place, *Pompey* with several others of the chief commanders of the army accompanying him went up into it, and not contenting themselves with viewing the outer courts 'caused the most sacred parts of the temple it self to be opened unto them, and entered not only into the holy place, but also into the holy of holies, where none were permitted by their law to enter, but the High-priest only once in a year on their great day of expiation; which was a profanation offered this holy place, and the religion, whereby God was there worshipped, which the *Jews* were exceedingly grieved at, and most grievously resented beyond all else that they suffered in this war. Though *Pompey* found in the treasures of the temple 'two thousand talents in money besides its utensils, and other things of a great value there laid up, 'yet he touched nothing of all this, but left it all there entire for the sacred uses to which it was devoted, without the least diminution of any part. And the next day after ordered the temple to be cleansed, and the divine service to be there again carried on in the same manner as formerly. However this did not expiate for his profanation of God's holy temple, and the impiety which he made himself guilty of thereby. Hitherto he had found wonderful success in all his undertakings, but in this act it all ended; for hereby having drawn God's curse upon him, he never prospered after. This over the *Jews* was the last of his victories.

ON his ^gconcluding this war he demolished the walls of *Jerusalem*, and then restored *Hyrchanus* to the office of High-priest, and made him also Prince of the countrey under the payment of tribute to the *Romans*, but would not allow him to wear a diadem, or to extend his borders beyond the old limits of *Judaea*; for he deprived him of all those cities, which had been taken from the *Cæle-Syrians* and *Phœnicians* by his predecessors. *Gadara* (which was one of them) having been lately destroyed by the *Jews*, he ordered to be rebuilt at the request of *Demetrius* his freed-man and chief favourite, who was a native of that place. And then having added that and all the rest of those cities to the province of *Syria* ^hhe made *Scaurus* president of it, and leaving him there with two legions to keep the countrey in order, returned towards *Rome*, carrying with him *Aristobulus* with *Alexander* and *Antigonus* his two sons and two of his daughters as captives to be led before him in his triumph. But *Alexander* while on the journey thither made his escape, and returned into *Judaea*, where he raised new troubles, as will be in its due place related.

IN 'this same year, of *Attia*, the wife of *Octavius* and daughter of *Julia* the sister of *Julius Caesar*, was born *Octavius Caesar*, who being adopted by his uncle *Julius* succeeded him in his estate and power, and being afterwards by the name of *Augustus* made supreme commander of the *Roman* empire, governed it with 'great felicity, and thorough peace, when *Christ* the Prince of peace and saviour of the world was by taking our nature upon him born into it. *Suetonius* tells us in his life of *Augustus*

^e Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 8. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 5. Lucius Florus lib. 3. cap. 5. Tacitus historiarum lib. 5. cap. 9. ^f Josephus ibidem. Cicero in oratione pro Flacco.

^g Josephus ibid. ^h Appianus in Syriacis, & de bell. civil. lib. 5. Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 8. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 5. ⁱ Suetonius in Augusto cap. 4, & 5. A. Gellius lib. 15. c. 7.

(chap. 94.) and quotes for it the authority of *Julius Marathus*^k who was a freed-man of *Augustus's*, and wrote his life, that a few months before the birth of this great Emperor there was an oracle given out, and then made publick, that nature was at that time producing a King, who should govern the *Roman* empire; at which the senate being terrified, for the preventing of it made a decree, that no male child born that year should be brought up; but that such of the senators, as had then pregnant wives, hoping each of them, that the oracle might be fulfilled in his family, took care that this decree was never carried into the treasury, and therefore through want of being there registered, received, and laid up among the publick records of the state, it lost its force, and had none effect. If this oracle were typically fulfilled in the birth of *Augustus*, it was ultimately and really so only in the birth of *Christ*, the spiritual King and Saviour of the whole world, the time whereof was then approaching.

POMPEY coming to *Amisus* in *Pontus* on his return from *Syria* had the body of *Mithridates* there sent to him from *Pharnaces* with many gifts to procure his favour. The gifts *Pompey* received; but as to the body, looking on the enmity to be dead with the person, he offered no indignity to it, but giving him the honour due to so great a King generously ordered his corps to be carried to *Sinope*, to be there buried among the sepulchres of his forefathers in the ancient burial place of the Kings of *Pontus*, adding such expences for funeral, as were necessary for the solemnizing of it in a royal manner. On this his last coming into *Pontus* he took in all the remaining fortresses and castles, that had been there held for *Mithridates*. For although they that had the command of them saw all lost on the death of *Mithridates*, yet they deferred the surrendering of them till *Pompey* himself should arrive, that putting all immediately into his hands they might not be made answerable for the embezzlements of under-officers. In some of these castles he found vast riches, especially at *Telaura*, where was the chief wardrobe or storehouse of *Mithridates*. For therein were two thousand cups made of the *Onyx* stone, and set in gold, with such a vast quantity of all sorts of plate, household goods and furniture, and also of all manner of rich accoutrements for war both for man and horse, that the questor or treasurer of the army was thirty days in taking an inventory of them.

AFTER this ^o *Pompey* having granted to *Pharnaces* the kingdom of *Bosphorus*, and declared him a friend and ally of the *Roman* people, he marched into the province of *Asia* so properly called, and there put himself into winter quarters in the city of *Ephesus*. While he lay there he distributed rewards to his victorious army, giving to each private soldier fifteen hundred drachms, and proportionably more to all the officers, according as they were in higher or lower posts of command in the army; on which occasion he expended out of the spoils taken in this war sixteen thousand talents; and yet reserved ^p twenty thousand talents more to be carried into the publick treasury at *Rome* in the day of his triumph, and to make this as glorious as he could, was what he had now a main view to.

^k Suetonius in *Augusto* cap. 79.

^l Dion Cassius lib. 37. Plutarchus in *Pompeio*.

^m Dion & Plutarchus ibidem. Appianus in *Mithridaticis*.

ⁿ Appian. in *Mithridaticis*.

^o Dion, Plutarchus, & Appian. ibid.

^p Plutarchus in *Pompeio*.

ON Pompey's having left Syria [¶] Aretas King of Arabia Petraea began again to be troublesome to that province, whereby Scaurus was there involved in a new war with him, and having marched too far after him into that desert countrey he fell into difficulties for want of provisions and other necessaries. Out of these he was extricated by the assistance of Hyrcanus and Antipater. For the former supplied him out of Judaea with all that he wanted; and the other by going in an embassy to Aretas induced him to buy his peace of Scaurus for three hundred talents of silver, which was much to the satisfaction of both. After this Scaurus being recalled [¶] Marcus Philippus was made president of Syria in his room.

POMPEY having spent his winter at Ephesus in the manner as mentioned, [¶] in the spring he passed from thence through the isles into Greece, and from thence to Brundisium in Italy, and so on to Rome, where having in an oration to the senate acquainted them that he had waged war [¶] with two and twenty Kings, and that whereas he had found the proper Asia the utmost province of the Roman empire, he had made it to be the middle of it by reason of the many provinces which he had conquered beyond it, a triumph was decreed him for these victories, but desiring to take it [¶] on his birth-day, which was past for this year, he deferred it till that day should come about against the next year after.

WHEN being forty five years old [¶] he solemnized this triumph for two days together with great pomp and glory, whercin were led before him 324 of the noblest captives, among which were Aristobulus King of Judaea, and his son Antigonus, Olthaces King of Colchos, Tigranes the son of Tigranes King of Armenia, and five sons and two daughters of Mithridates's. It [¶] was peculiar to this triumph of his, that on his entering the capitol he did not, as [¶] other triumphers used to do, put any of his captives to death, neither did he after his triumph was over, leave any of them in prison, excepting only Aristobulus and Tigranes, all the rest he sent home into their respective countries at the expences of the publick. Hitherto Pompey had shined in great honour above all else of his time, and had wonderful success in all his undertakings, for which he deservedly had the name of Magnus, i. e. the Great. But [¶] after this he sunk in his character and his power, till at length he fell to nothing, and died by vile and murderous hands in a strange land, where he wanted the honour of a funeral. By what fact he drew this curse upon him, I have already shewn; and therefore in this triumph the glory of this great man ending I shall with it here end this book.

[¶] Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 9. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 6.

[¶] Appian. in Syriacis.

[¶] Plutarchus in Pompeio. Appian. in Mithridaticis. Dion Cassius lib. 37.

[¶] Orosius lib. 6.

[¶] Plinius lib. 7. cap. 26. L. Florus lib. 3. cap. 5. *This was not then true, or at any time after. For proper Asia was never made the middle of the Roman empire. Beyond the Tigris it was never extended eastward, but at this time it reached westward as far as the Atlantic ocean, and from thence to proper Asia was more than double the distance of Tigris from that province.*

[¶] i. e. pridie Calend. Octob. Plin. lib. 7. cap. 26. & lib. 37. cap. 2.

[¶] Plutarchus, Appianus

& Dion Cassius ibid. Plinius ibid. Velleius Paternulus lib. 2. cap. 40.

[¶] Appian. in Mithridaticis.

[¶] Videas Josephum de bello Judaico lib. 7. cap. 24.

[¶] Videas de hac re verba Plutarchi in Pompeio.



THE
 Old and New TESTAMENT
 Connected in the
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 JEWS and Neighbouring Nations,
 FROM THE
 Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
 to the time of CHRIST.



PART II. BOOK VII.

An. 60.
 Hyrcanus II. 4.



POMPEY, *Crassus*, and *Julius Cæsar*^a having entered into a confederacy for the supporting of each other in all their pretensions upon the *Roman* state, thereby ingrossed in a manner the whole power of it, and divided it among themselves; which laid the first foundation of those civil wars which afterwards broke out between *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, and at length ended in the destruction of the old *Roman* government, by changing it from a republick to a monarchy, under which that empire sunk by quicker degrees than it had before risen. As long as *Crassus* lived he

^a Plutarchus in *Pompeio*, *Crasso*, *Julio Cæsare*, & *Lucullo*. Suetonius lib. 1. cap. 19. Apian. de bellis civilibus lib. 2. Dion Cassius lib. 37.

balanced the matter between the other two; but after his death neither of them being contented with a part, each contended to have the whole.
^b One of them could not bear an equal, nor the other a superior: And through this ambitious humour and thirst after more power in these two men, the whole *Roman* empire being divided into two opposite factions, there was produced hereby the most destructive war that ever afflicted it: And the like folly too much reigns in all other places. Could about thirty men be persuaded to live at home in peace, without enterprizing upon the rights of each other for the vain glory of conquest, and the enlargement of power, the whole world might be at quiet; but their ambition, their follies, and their humour leading them constantly to encroach upon, and quarrel with each other, they involve all that are under them in the mischiefs hereof, and many thousands are they which yearly perish by it: So that it may almost raise a doubt, whether the benefit which the world receives from government, be sufficient to make amends for the calamities which it suffers from the follies, mistakes, and male-administrations of those that manage it.

At this time flourished *Diodorus Siculus*, the famous *Greek* historian:
^c He was born at *Agryrium* in *Sicily*, from whence he had the name of *Siculus*, *i. e.* the *Sicilian*. He was the author of the general history called his *Bibliotheca*; he was thirty years in the collecting and writing of it, and employed so much diligence, pains and expence herein, that he travelled over most of the countries whose affairs are treated of in this history, that so he might with the greater accuracy write of them: And for this purpose ^d he tells us he went into *Egypt* in the first year of the hundred and eightieth olympiad, which was the sixtieth before *Christ*, the very year of which we now treat; *Ptolemy* surnamed *Dionysius Neos*, or *the new Bacchus*, then reigning there. This *Bibliotheca* contained forty books, of which only fifteen are now remaining, excepting some few fragments and abstracts out of the rest which are preserved in the works of other writers. It begins from the ancientest of times, and was continued down to this year. The five first books are still entire, but the five next are all wanting; the other ten still remaining are the tenth, the eleventh, and so on to the twentieth inclusive, with which all that is now extant of this author ends, in the year of the building of *Rome* 452, *M. Livius Dentor*, and *M. Æmylius Paulus* being then consuls. Of the other twenty five books we have nothing now left us but the fragments and abstracts which I have mentioned: Had they been all still entire, so valuable an history would have been very acceptable to the learned. The five first books, though they have a great intermixture of fable, yet contain many valuable particulars of true antiquity, which give much light to the holy scriptures; and the next five would have yielded much more, had they been still extant; and for this reason the loss of these five is more to be lamented than that of all the other twenty. This author lived to a very great age, for he continued down to the middle of the reign of *Augustus*.

THE time for which *Marcus Philippus* was appointed to govern *Syria* being expired, ^e *Lentulus Marcellinus* was sent from *Rome* to suc-

^b Nec quenquam jam ferre potest Cæsare priorem, Pompeiusve parem, Lucan. lib. 1. v. 125.

^c Vide Vossium de historicis Græcis, lib. 2. cap. 2.

^d Diodorus lib. 1. par. 1, & 2.

^e Appianus in Syriacis.

ceed him: Both of them had a great deal of trouble created them by the *Arabs*, who being a thievish sort of people, living mostly upon rapine and plunder, much infested that province during the time in which they governed it.

An. 59.
Hyrca-
nus II. 5.

JULIUS Cæsar being this year consul of *Rome* forced *Bibulus* his colleague to quit to him all the administration and power of the government, which he managed with great application and address for the advancement of his own interest. In order hereto ^s he raised vast sums of money by admitting foreign states into alliance with the *Romans*, and by granting to foreign Kings the confirmation of their crowns: And thus he extorted from *Ptolemy Auletes* only near six thousand talents. That King having only a contested title to the crown of *Egypt*, of which he was now in possession, he needed a declaration of the *Roman* senate in his favour, for the confirming and strengthening of him in that kingdom; for the procuring of this he paid unto *Cæsar* the sum mentioned; and by these and such like methods he amassed that treasure and wealth which enabled him for his after undertakings, and therefore from hence we may date the original of all his power. His next step hereto was, he procured by a decree of the people, ^h that when the year of his consulship should be expired, he should have *Illyricum* and both the *Gauls*, that is the *Cisalpin* and the *Transalpin*, for his province to govern it as præconsul for five years. He had assigned him an army of four legions to carry with him into this government, and from his entering on it begins the history of his commentaries.

An. 58.
Hyrca-
nus II. 6.

A. GABINIUS, the same who hath been above mentioned as one of *Pompey's* lieutenants in the *Mithridatic* war, being made consul for the ensuing year, ⁱ obtained by the means of *Clodius* then tribune of the people to have the province of *Syria* assigned to him.

THIS ^k *Clodius* was of the noble family of the *Claudii*, a young gentleman of great parts, and of a very bold and enterprizing genius, but excessive lewd. *Lucullus* having married one of his sisters, he accompanied him in his *Mithridatic* war, but having lost his favour by his misdemeanors, especially in being discovered to have corrupted his own sister, the wife of that general, he could not obtain under him such a post as he expected; at which being displeased, to work his revenge he set himself to corrupt the army, and was the main author of that mutiny in it against *Lucullus*, which made his last campaign in that war wholly ineffectual; for which being forced to get out of the reach of *Lucullus*, he fled into *Cilicia*, where *Marcus Rex* then governor of that province made him his admiral, but being vanquished by the pirates of that coast, against whom he was sent, and taken prisoner by them, he sent to *Ptolemy* King of *Cyprus* to supply him with a sum of money for the paying of his ransom; but *Ptolemy* being a niggardly sordid Prince sent him only two talents, which the pirates despising, rather chose to release *Clodius* for nothing than take so mean a ransom for him. On his return to *Rome* he there followed his lewd way of living, and having corrupted two others of his sisters, and also *Pompeia*

^f Plutarchus in *Cæfare*. Dion Cassius lib. 38.

^g Suetonius in *Julio Cæfare*, cap. 54.

^h Plutarchus in *Cæfare*. Dion Cassius lib. 38. ⁱ Cicero in orationibus pro domo sua, & pro P. Sextio, & de provinciis consularibus. Plutarchus in Cicerone. ^k Plutarchus in *Pompeio*, *Cæfare*, *Catone Uticensi*, *Cicerone*, & *Lucullo*. Dion. Cassius lib. 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40.

Cæsar's wife, and endeavoured under the disguise of woman's apparel to come to her into *Cæsar's* house, while the chief women of *Rome* were there celebrating sacred mysteries, at which no man was to be present, he was for these crimes brought to a publick trial, in which *Cicero* was one of the witnesses against him; but by bribing the judges with great sums of money he escaped the punishment he deserved. After this procuring himself to be adopted by a *Plebean*, he thereby renounced his nobility, and got to be chosen tribune of the people, and in that office very much disturbed the *Roman* state; and that he might gain *Gabinus* the consul to be on his side, who was altogether as wicked as himself, he procured that this province of *Syria* was assigned him by the suffrages of the people, and accordingly at the end of the year he departed thither.

AFTER this *Clodius* resolving to make use of his office for the revenging of himself first on *Ptolemy* King of *Cyprus*, for not finding him money enough to pay his ransom, and also, on *Cicero* for giving evidence against him in his last trial, fully effected both: For first¹ he caused a decree to pass the people for seizing the kingdom of *Cyprus*, the deposing of *Ptolemy* the King of it, and confiscating all his goods, without any just cause for the same. This^m *Ptolemy* was a bastard son of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, and brother of *Ptolemy Auletes* King of *Egypt*, and on the death of his father succeeded him in this island. He was in his manners altogether as vile and vicious as his brother, but being withal exceeding niggardly and fordid he had amassed vast wealth, and to gain all this was the chief motive which induced the *Roman* people to concur with *Clodius* for his ruin. And it is trulyⁿ reckoned one of the unjustest acts that the *Romans* to this time ever did: For *Ptolemy* had been admitted as a friend and ally of the *Roman* people, and had never offended them or done them any hurt or displeasure, whereby to deserve this usage from their hands; but all was done merely out of a greedy and rapacious desire to take what he had. The only shew of justice for it was, that *Alexander* late King of *Egypt* dying at *Tyre*, as hath been above mentioned, did by his last will and testament leave the *Roman* people his heirs, and that therefore the kingdom of *Egypt*, and with it *Cyprus* which was an *Appendix* of *Egypt*, passed to the *Romans* by virtue of this donation. The^o matter of this will had been insisted on at *Rome* soon after the death of *Alexander*, and motions had been there made for the seizing both of *Egypt* and *Cyprus* by virtue of it: But they having lately taken possession of *Bithynia* by virtue of the will of *Nicomedes*; and of *Cyrene* and *Libya* by the like will of *Apion*, who were the last Kings of those countries, and reduced them both into the form of *Roman* provinces, the senate thought it would not be to their credit, but would on the contrary bring them under the imputation of being over greedy for the grasping into their hands all foreign dominions, should they on this pretence seize *Egypt* and *Cyprus* also; and besides the *Mithridatic* war not being at that time over, they feared this might involve them in a new war before they were rid of the other, and therefore they did no more at that time on the claim of the said will than send to *Tyre* to fetch from thence

¹ Plutarchus in *Catone Uticensi*. Dion Cassius lib. 38. L. Florus lib. 3. cap. 9. Strabo lib. 14. p. 684. ^m *Frogus* prolog. 40. Strabo ibid. in eo enim loco dicit hunc *Ptolemæum* fuisse fratrem patris *Cleopatræ*, illius scil. quæ ultimo regnavit in *Egypto*. ⁿ Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2. cap. 45. ^o *Cicero* in orationibus primâ & secundâ in *Bullum*.

all the effects which *Alexander* there left at his death, and dropp'd all the rest. But ^p now this pretence as to *Cyprus* was again revived, and to gratify *Clodius's* revenge and the covetousness of the people of *Rome*, the decree passed among them for the seizing of it, and all that *Ptolemy* there had; and *Cato*, the justest man in *Rome*, was sent much against his will to execute it; which was done not only that by that character of so just a man some reputation might be given to this unjust act, but especially that thereby a way might be made for *Clodius* with the more ease to execute his revenge upon *Cicero*. He designed to bring an accusation against him before the people, for that he had while consul put to death several of those who were of *Catiline's* conspiracy, by the order of the senate only, without bringing them to a legal trial: But foreseeing that he should have much opposition herein from *Cato*, for the preventing of it, contrived to send him out of the way on this expedition; and he being accordingly gone on it from *Rome*, *Clodius* obtained his design upon *Cicero*, and caused him to be banished *Rome* and *Italy*; whereon he went into *Greece*, and there continued, till after sixteen months he was again recalled.

CATO coming to *Rhodes* in his way to *Cyprus* ^q sent to *Ptolemy* to persuade him quietly to recede, promising him hereon the high-priesthood of *Venus* at *Paphos*, on the revenues whereof he might be supported in a state of plenty and honour, but he would not accept hereof. To resist the *Roman* power he was not able, and to be less than a King after he had so long reigned he could not bear, and ^r therefore resolving to make his life and his reign end together he put all his riches on shipboard, and launching out into the sea, purposed by boring his ship thorough to make both his riches and himself sink into the deep, and there perish together: But when it came to the execution he could not bear that his beloved treasure should be thus lost; he continued still in the resolution to destroy himself, but he could not bring his heart to destroy that, and therefore expressing greater love to his dear self than to himself, carried it all back to land, and having laid it all up again in its former repositories ^s he poisoned himself, and left all that he had to his enemies, as if he intended thereby to reward them for his death. All this *Cato* the next year after carried to *Rome*; amounting in the whole to such a sum as had scarce before been brought into the publick treasury in any of the greatest triumphs.

WHILE *Cato* was at *Rhodes* in his way to *Cyprus* ^t there came thither to him *Ptolemy Auletes* King of *Egypt* and brother to the other *Ptolemy* that was King of *Cyprus*. When the *Alexandrians* heard of the intentions of the *Romans* to seize *Cyprus*, ^v they pressed *Auletes* to demand that island to be restored to *Egypt*, as being an ancient appendant of that kingdom, or else in case of denial to declare war against them; which *Auletes* refusing to do, this refusal joined with what they had suffered from him by the exactions wherewith he had oppressed them to raise the money with which he purchased the favour of the great men at *Rome*, anger'd them so far, ^u that they drove him out of the kingdom, and he was then going to

^p Plutarchus in *Catone Uticensi*, & in *Cicerone*. Dion Cassius & Strabo *ibid*.

^q Plutarchus in *Catone*.

^r Valerius Maximus, lib. 9. cap. 4.

^s Plutarchus in *Catone*.

^t Dion Cassius lib. 39. p. 101. L. Florus lib. 3. cap. 9. Strabo lib. 14. p. 684. Appian. de bellis civilibus, lib. 2. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. 14. Valerius Maximus, *ibid*. Velleius Paterculus, lib. 2. cap. 45.

^v Plutarchus in *Catone*.

^u Dion Cassius lib. 39.

^u Dion Cassius & Plutarchus *ibid*. Epitome Livii lib. 104.

Rome there to solicit the assistance of the senate for his restoration. On ^whis coming to *Cato* and entering into discourse with him about his affair, *Cato* blamed him for quitting that state of honour and happiness which he was possessed of in his kingdom, and thus exposing himself to the disgrace, trouble and contempt which as an exul he must expect to meet with. And as to the help he expected from *Rome*, he laid before him what great gifts and presents for the obtaining of it would be extorted from him by the great men of that city, whose greedy expectations he freely told him were such, that altho' *Egypt* were to be sold, the purchase money would not be sufficient fully to satisfy them: And therefore he advised him to return again into *Egypt*, and there make up all differences with his people, offering himself to go with him to help him herein. *Ptolemy* at first approved of this advice, and resolved to be guided by it; but being beaten off it by the worse advice of his followers, he went forward to *Rome*, where he soon found by full experience all to be true that *Cato* had told him: For he was there made pay great attendance on the leading men of the commonwealth, and expend vast sums among them to procure them to favour his cause, and after all, when there was no more left to be extorted from him, ^xan oracle was trump'd up out of the *Sibylline* books, whereby it was pretended the *Romans* were forbidden to give him any help in this case. So that after having for a year's time solicited this matter at *Rome*, and expended vast sums in it, he was forced to depart from thence without success.

IN the mean while ^ythe *Alexandrians* after *Auletes's* departure from them not knowing what was become of him, placed *Berenice* his daughter on the throne, and sent an embassy into *Syria* to ^z*Antiochus Asiaticus*, who by his mother *Selene* was the next male heir of the family, to invite him to come into *Egypt*, and there marry *Berenice* and reign with her; but the ambassadors on their arrival in *Syria* finding him just dead, returned without success.

BUT understanding that *Seleucus* his brother was still living, they ^asent an embassy to him with the same proposal, which he readily accepted of; but *Gabinus* (who was now come into his province) at first hinder'd his going, but however either with his consent or without it he afterwards went; but ^bhe being a very sordid and base-spirited man, and ^chaving given an especial instance of it in robbing the sepulchre of *Alexander* of the golden case which his body was deposited in, *Berenice* soon grew weary of him, and to be rid of an husband whom she justly loathed, ^dcaused him to be put to death. After that ^eshe married *Archelaus* High-priest of *Comana* in *Pontus*, of whom we have above fully spoken. From *Porphyry* in *Eusebius* we are told that it was *Philip* the son of *Grypus*, whom the second embassy invited into *Egypt*; but it being now above twenty six years since there hath been any mention made of him in history, it's most likely that he had been long dead before this time; and besides had he been now alive he would have been too far advanced in years for the

An. 57.
Hyrca-
nus II. 7.

^w Plutarchus in Catone. ^x Dion Cassius lib. 39. *The words of this pretended oracle were these. If the King of Egypt comes to desire your help deny him not your friendship, but aid him not with your forces; if you do otherwise you shall have trouble and danger.* ^y Dion Cassius lib. 39.

Strabo lib. 17. p. 796. Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri. ^z Porphyrius ibid.

^a Porphyrius ibid. Strabo lib. 17. p. 766. ^b Suetonius in Vespasiano cap. 19. Strabo ibid.

^c Strabo lib. 17. p. 794. ^d Strabo lib. 17. p. 796. ^e Strabo ibid. & lib. 12. p. 558.

marriage

marriage proposed, it being now forty years since he succeeded his father in the kingdom of *Syria*. The person therefore whom the second embassy here mentioned called out of *Syria* into *Egypt* after the death of *Asiaticus* must have been his younger brother, for he was called thither as next heir, and that the brother of *Asiaticus* then only was. There is often mention made of this younger brother of *Asiaticus* by such as write of those times, but none of them, who speak of him as such, acquaint us of his name. But what *Strabo* tells us of *Seleucus Cybrosactes* puts it beyond doubt, that he was the person. For he tells us of him, ² that he was called into *Egypt* to marry *Berenice*, and that he was of the *Seleucian* family, both which put together plainly prove this *Seleucus* could be none other, than the younger brother of *Asiaticus*; for after *Asiaticus*'s death there was none other remaining of the *Seleucian* family, but this younger brother of his only. And therefore when he was put to death, as is above-mentioned, in him ended the whole race of *Seleucus*, and none of it were any more left to survive the loss of that empire, which they once possessed.

ALEXANDER the eldest son of *Aristobulus*, while he was carrying prisoner to *Rome* by *Pompey*, having made his escape, as hath been already mentioned, returned into *Judæa*; and ^h having there gotten together an army of ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, and seized *Alexandrium*, *Machærus*, *Hyrkania*, and several other strong castles, he well fortified and garrisoned them, and from thence ravaged the whole countrey. *Hyrcanus* being too weak to take the field against him, he would have fortified *Jerusalem* for his defence, by rebuilding the walls which *Pompey* had demolished; but the *Romans* not permitting this, he was forced to call them into his aid; whereon *Gabinus* president of *Syria*, and *M. Antonius* who was general of the horse under him, came into *Judæa* with a great army for the quelling of these troubles, and being there joined by *Antipater*, *Pitholus*, and *Malichus* with those *Jews* under their command, that were of *Hyrcanus*'s party, they came to a battel with *Alexander* near *Jerusalem*, wherein *Alexander* being overthrown with the loss of three thousand men slain, and as many taken prisoners, fled to *Alexandrium*, where *Gabinus* having pursued him, there shut him up and besieged him. But that castle being naturally strong, as situated upon the top of an high mountain, and also well fortified by art, it could not easily be taken; *Gabinus* therefore leaving one part of his army to block it up marched with the other part round the countrey to take view of the condition it was in, and finding *Samaria*, *Azotus*, *Gaza*, *Raphia*, *Anthedon*, *Jamnia*, *Scythopolis*, *Apollonia*, *Dora*, *Marissa*, and several other cities lying in ruins, as having been demolished in their wars with the *Asmoneans*, he ordered them all again to be repaired, and then returned to the siege of *Alexandrium*, where repaired to him the mother of *Alexander*, a very wise and discreet woman, who being solicitous for her husband and children that had been carried captive to *Rome*, in order to obtain favour for them endeavoured to recommend her self to the *Romans* all she could, that so she might be the better enabled to intercede in their behalf, and therefore having with this view done them all manner of service, wherever she had power, she thereby so ingratiated her self with *Gabinus*, and got to

^f Cicero in Verrem lib. 4.
bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 6.

^g Lib. 17. p. 796.

^h Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 10. & de

great an interest in him, that she obtained every thing of him that she desired. And therefore by her means a treaty of peace being commenced, *Alexander* surrendered *Alexandrium*, and all his other castles, which being immediately rased to the ground by the advice of this lady, that they might not become the occasion of another war, he was thereon dismiss'd with pardon and impunity for all that was past.

AFTER this *Gabinus* going up to *Jerusalem* ⁱrestored *Hyrcaus* to the high-priesthood, but made a very considerable alteration in the civil government, changing in a manner the whole form of it, and reducing it from a monarchy to an aristocracy. Hitherto ^kthe government had been managed under the Prince by two sorts of councils or courts of justice, one consisting of twenty three persons called the lesser sanhedrim, and the other of seventy two persons called the great sanhedrim. Of the first sort there was one in every city, only in *Jerusalem*, because of the greatness of the place and the multiplicity of business thence arising, there were two of them sitting apart from each other in two distinct rooms. Of the other sort there was one only always sitting in the temple at *Jerusalem* till that time. The lesser sanhedrims dispatched all affairs of justice arising within the respective cities where they sat, and the precincts belonging to them. The great sanhedrim presided over the affairs of the whole nation, received appeals from the lesser sanhedrims, interpreted the laws, and by new institutions from time to time regulated the executing of them. ^lAll this *Gabinus* abolish'd, and instead hereof erected five courts or sanhedrims, investing each with sovereign power independent of each other. The first of them he placed at *Jerusalem*, the second at *Jericho*, the third at *Gadara*, the fourth at *Amathus*, and the fifth at *Sephoris*; and having under these five cities divided the whole land into five provinces, he ordered all to repair for justice to those courts, which he had established in them; that is each to the court of that province of which he was an inhabitant, and there every thing was ultimately determin'd. The tyranny of *Alexander Jannæus* had made the *Jews* weary of regal government: And therefore they had formerly ^mpetitioned *Pompey* for the abolishing of it at the time when he heard the cause of the two brothers at *Damascus*; and in compliance with them he went so far, as ⁿto take away the diadem, and the name of King, though he did not the power. For when he restored *Hyrcaus* he gave him the sovereign authority though under another style. But now they prevailed with *Gabinus* to take away the power as well as the name, which he effectually did by the alteration I have mentioned. For hereby he changed the monarchy into an aristocracy, and instead of the Prince thenceforth the nobles of the land had in these five courts the sole government of it. But afterwards ^o*Julius Caesar* on his passing through *Syria* after the *Alexandrian* war re-invested *Hyrcaus* in the principality, and restored again the old form of the government as in former times. But besides these two sorts of sanhedrims or courts, ^pthere was a third among the *Jews*, which was not affected by any of these alterations, but stood

ⁱ Josephus ibid. ^k Vide Talmudis tractatum sanhedrim, & Maimonidem in sanhedrin aliosque de hac re scriptores Rabbinicos. *The English reader may find an abstract of all that is said in these authors of this matter in Lightfoot's prospect of the temple, chap. 20. sect. 2. and chap. 22.*

^l Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 10. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 6. ^m Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 5. ⁿ Josephus antiq. lib. 20. cap. 8. ^o Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 17.

^p Talmud in Sanhedrim.

the same under all of them ; and this was the court of three, which was for the deciding of all controversies about bargains, sales, contracts, and other such matters of common right between man and man, in all which cases one of the litigants chose one judge, and the other another, and these two chose a third, which three constituted a court to hear and ultimately determine the matter in contest. And something like this I hear is now in *Denmark*, whereby such cases as with us make long and chargeable suits, are summarily heard and finally determined by a like court of three in the same manner chosen, before which each party pleads his own cause and hath speedy justice awarded him without the assistance of solicitors, attorneys, or any other such agents of the law. Thus much may serve for the information of the *English* reader, concerning the sanhedrims or courts of justice, which were anciently in use among the *Jews*. Those who would dive farther into the knowledge of them may read the mishnical tract *Sanhedrim*, and the *Gemara* upon the same, *Maimonides's* tract under the same title, *Selden de Synedriis*, *Cock's Sanhedrin*, and others.

TOWARDS the latter end of the year ^a *Aristobulus* late King of *Judaea*, who was led in triumph by *Pompey*, and after that shut up in prison at *Rome*, having with his son *Antigonus* made his escape thence returned into *Judaea*, and there raised new troubles. For immediately great numbers resorted to him, among whom was *Pitholaus*, who hitherto had been one of the chief leaders on the side of *Hyrcaus*, and was at present governor of *Jerusalem* ; but having now taken some disgust, for what it is not said, went over to the other side, carrying with him a thousand men well armed. *Aristobulus* having out of all those, that came in unto him, selected such as had arms, formed with them an army, and dismissed all the rest. He first re-edified *Alexandrium*, and having furnished it with a strong garrison marched with the rest, being about eight thousand men, towards *Machærus*, another strong place beyond *Jordan*, lately demolished, designing to restore and garrison that also in like manner as he had *Alexandrium*. But *Gabinus* hearing of these doings sent *Sisenna* his son with *Antonius* and *Servilius* two of his chief lieutenants against him, who having overtaken him in his march to *Machærus*, and forced him to an engagement, vanquished him with the slaughter of five thousand of his men. *Aristobulus* with a thousand of the remainder got to *Machærus*, and there they endeavoured to fortify and maintain themselves. But on the coming up of the *Romans* to them they were soon overpower'd ; for after two days resistance the place was taken, and *Aristobulus* being grievously wounded was taken in it with *Antigonus* his son, and both were sent back again to *Rome* into their former gaol. But *Gabinus* having informed the senate that he had promised the wife of *Aristobulus* on her procuring the yielding up of the castles, that her children should be released, it was accordingly performed. For *Aristobulus* only being retained in chains, *Antigonus* and all the rest of his children were permitted to depart, and return again into *Judaea*.

An. 56.
Hyrca-
nus II. 8.

ORODES and *Mithridates* the sons of *Phraates* King of *Parthia* conspiring against their father impiously became the authors of his death, after he had reigned over the *Parthians* about twelve years. The ambi-

^a Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 11. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 6.
Appianus in Parthicis & Syriacis. Plutarchus in Craſſo.

^r Dion Cassius lib. 39.

tion of reigning having been the cause of this parricide, it became the cause also of great contention between the two brothers, while each strived to possess the throne, which they had by their horrid wickedness made vacant. *Orodes* being the elder brother first took possession of it, but was soon displaced and driven into banishment by *Mithridates*. But he having soon made himself odious to the *Parthians* by his cruelty, *Surenas*, who next the throne held the first place of honour and power in that kingdom, took the advantage of it again to bring back *Orodes*, to whose interest he had all along adhered, and replaced him again on the throne. Whereon *Mithridates* being forced into the banishment from which his brother was returned fled to *Gabinus*, and on his arrival in *Syria* finding him preparing for an expedition against the *Arabs*, he persuaded him rather to turn his arms against the *Parthians* for the effecting of his restoration. And *Gabinus's* heart being wholly set upon gain, he was easily prevailed on to hearken to him, as knowing that the *Parthians* being a rich nation most plunder was there to be had. And accordingly he set himself on his march that way, taking *Mithridates* along with him for his guide. But on his having passed the *Euphrates* he was accosted with another proposal; for thither came to him *Ptolemy Auletes* the deprived King of *Egypt*, with letters from *Pompey*, and offered him ten thousand talents to re-establish him again in his kingdom. The reward being very great, and the enterprise much less dangerous, both these considerations together induced him to undertake the matter; and therefore quitting his intended expedition against the *Parthians* he repassed the *Euphrates*, and marched thorough *Palestine* directly into *Egypt*; whereon *Mithridates* finding his cause deserted returned into *Babylonia* and there seized *Seleucia*, where *Orodes* straightly besieging him brought him to that distress, that he voluntarily surrendered himself out of hopes of having his life spared as being a brother; but *Orodes* looking on him more as an enemy than as a brother, caused him to be slain before his face.

ON *Gabinus's* arrival on the borders of *Egypt*, " he sent *Antony* with a body of horse to seize the passes, and open the way for the rest of the army to follow. This was the famous *Mark Antony*, who afterwards as triumvir governed one third part of the *Roman* empire for several years. He accompanied *Gabinus* into *Syria* as general of the horse under him, as hath been already mentioned, and in that service first signalized himself. Being a young man of great courage and a bold spirit he was the chief promoter of this expedition, though most of the other general officers were against it: But *Antony* giving his opinion as best agreed with *Gabinus's* greediness, carried it against them all. And as he was the chief adviser of this undertaking, so also was he the most vigorous actor in it, and by his first success herein made way for all the rest; for he not only secured all the passes which he was sent to seize, but took also *Peleusium*, which was on that side the key of *Egypt*, and the taking of it opened the way and became the inlet to all the rest of the kingdom. For this success " he was much beholden to *Hyrchanus* and *Antipater*, who not only assisted the Ro-

* Dion Cassius lib. 39. Plutarchus in Antonio. Cicero in oratione pro Rabirio Posthumo. Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 11. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 6. Appian. in Syriacis & Parthicis.

† Justin. lib. 42. cap. 4.

‡ Plutarchus in Antonio.

§ Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 11.

& de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 6.

mans in their march with all necessaries, but by letters prevailed with the *Jews* of the countrey of *Onion* near *Pelusium* to be helpful unto them, without which *Antony* could not so soon have made himself master of that city. * *Archelaus* was at this time King of *Egypt*, as having been called thither after the death of *Seleucus Cybiosactes* to marry *Berenice*, and reign with her in that kingdom, as hath been already related. He having contracted an intimate friendship with *Gabinus*, while he served under *Pompey* as one of his lieutenants in the *Mithridatic* war, he came out of *Pontus* into *Syria* to him on his obtaining that province, to be there assisting to him in his wars, and there also made an intimate friendship with *Antony*; and no doubt but it was with the knowledge and approbation of both of them, that when called from *Syria* into *Egypt* he accepted of the invitation. However nothing of this could secure him from this invasion: The avarice of *Gabinus* took place of all regard to the friendship he had formerly with him.

An. 55. Hyrcanus II. 9. *GABINIUS* as soon as he was acquainted of *Antony's* success² marched with his whole army into the very heart of *Egypt*. This was in the middle of winter: For then the *Nile* being at the lowest, *Egypt* was at that time the fittest for an invasion. However *Archelaus* being a very valiant and a very sensible man omitted nothing that could be done for his defence, but stood his ground in several conflicts against the invaders. But the *Egyptians* being an effeminate dastardly sort of people, forward to mutiny against all orders of war, and backward to all acts of valour in it, he could make no work of it with such hands, but being overpowered by the well-disciplin'd forces of the *Romans*, was at length finally vanquished, and himself slain in the battel, valiantly fighting in the defence of the cause which he had undertaken. After his death² *Antony* had so much regard to the friendship that had been between them, that as soon as he heard of his being slain, he commanded his body to be fought for on the field of battel, and caused it to be buried with a royal funeral, which gained him the love of the *Egyptians* ever after. And perchance it was procured by a like favour from *Gabinus*, that his son was appointed by the *Romans* to succeed him at *Comana*. But these after-acts were of too little value to make any amends for the loss of his kingdom and his life, which they had so unjustly deprived him of.

AFTER *Archelaus* was slain all *Egypt* was soon reduced, and forced again to receive *Auletes*, who was thereon thoroughly restored to his kingdom; and for the better securing of him in it *Gabinus* left some of his *Roman* forces with him to be for his guard,^b who settling at *Alexandria* soon exchanged the *Roman* manners for the *Egyptian*, and degenerated into the effeminacy of those among whom they dwelt. *Auletes* as soon as he was again resettled in the throne^c put *Berenice* his daughter to death for having worn his crown in the time of his exile, and after that proceeded to cut off most of the rich men that had been of the party against him; that by the confiscation of their goods he might raise the money promised *Gabinus* for his restoration.

* Dion Cassius lib. 39. Strabo lib. 12. p. 558. & lib. 17. p. 796. Plutarchus in Antonio. Livii Epitome lib. 105. y Strabo lib. 12. p. 558. & lib. 17. p. 796. z Dion Cassius lib. 39. Plutarchus in Antonio. a Plutarchus in Antonio. b Cæsaris comment. de bello civili lib. 3. Lucan. lib. 10. v. 402. c Strabo lib. 17. p. 796. Dion Cassius lib. 39. Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri.

GABINIUS having accomplished in *Egypt* all that he intended by his expedition thither, found reason to hasten back again into *Syria*, great disorders having there arisen in his absence. On ^dhis going into *Egypt* he had entrusted the government in the hands of *Sisenna* his son, a raw youth of neither age nor experience adequate to such a charge, and left so few forces with him, that had he been ever so well capacitated otherwise, he could not with them have been able to do any service; whereon the country was filled with thieves and free-booters, who ravaged it all over without controul, there being neither head nor hands then in the province sufficient to repress them. And ^e*Alexander* the son of *Aristobulus* taking advantage of these disorders raised new troubles in *Judea*: For having gotten together a great army, he ranged with it all over the country and slew all the *Romans* he could any where find, and drove all the rest to take refuge in mount *Gerizim*, where he straightly besieged them, and there *Gabinus* found him on his return; where seeing the great multitude of those he had with him he thought it best first to deal with them by fair means, and therefore sent *Antipater* to them to endeavour by promises of impunity and oblivion again to reduce them to quiet; and he had that success to prevail with many of them to desist from their revolt, and return again to their own houses: But *Alexander* having gotten about him an army of thirty thousand men well appointed for the war, resolved to encounter *Gabinus*; but after a fierce fight near mount *Tabor* he was vanquished with the slaughter of ten thousand of his men, and the rest were dissipated and put to flight. After this ^f*Gabinus* going up to *Jerusalem*, and having settled all things there according to the mind of *Antipater*, marched thence against the *Nabatheans*, and having overcome them led back his army into *Syria*, and there prepared for his return to *Rome*.

For *Pompey* and *Crassus* being this year consuls, had on their entering on their office ^gobtained, by a decree of the *Roman* people, that *Spain* and *Africa* should be assigned to *Pompey* for five years, and *Syria* and the neighbouring countries to *Crassus* for the like term, for their consular provinces, with full authority to take with them such forces as they should think fit to raise, and to make war wherever they should see cause according to their own judgment, without having recourse to the senate or the people of *Rome* for their order about it, as all other governors were in this case obliged to do. Hereon *Crassus* ^hsent a deputy to receive the government of *Syria* from *Gabinus*, but he refused to make resignation of it, till afterwards he was forced to quit the province by a more powerful command, that of the people and senate of *Rome*: For ⁱ*Gabinus* had been an excessive corrupt governor in his province, doing any thing for bribes, and selling every thing for money, and extorting great sums in all places, and from all persons, wherever any could be gotten, and by all manner of means how unjust and oppressive soever. The ^kclamour which this raised all over the province came from all parts of it very loud to *Rome*

^d Dion Cassius lib. 39. ^e Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 11. ^f Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 11. ^g Dion Cassius lib. 39. Epitome Livii lib. 105. Plutarchus in Crasso, Pompeio, & Catone Uticensi. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 2. ^h Dion Cassius lib. 39. ⁱ Dion Cassius ibid. Cicero in oratione de provinciis consularibus, & in oratione contra Pisonem. ^k Notwithstanding this clamour it is to be observed Josephus gives him a laudable character, as if he had acquitted himself with honour in the charge committed to him. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 11.

against him; which so much anger'd both the senate and people, that they called him home to answer these accusations; but that ¹ which most exasperated them was his *Egyptian* expedition: For it was contrary to the law for any governor of a province to go out of the limits of it, or begin any new war without express order from the people or senate of *Rome* for it; and also there was then published an oracle out of the *Sibylline* books, which forbade the *Romans* at that time to meddle with the restoration of the King of *Egypt*; against all which *Gabinus* having acted without any regard to law, right, or religion, the people of *Rome* were hereby so far provoked against him, that they would immediately have proceeded to sentence of condemnation against him without tarrying his return, had not *Pompey* and *Crassus*, the consuls of this year, interposed to hinder it; the first out of friendship to him, and the other to earn the bribe by which he was corrupted. But on his return the next year after three actions were commenced against him, one of treason, and the other two of corruption, bribery, and other high misdemeanors. The first by virtue of his money, which was liberally expended on this occasion in bribing the judges, he hardly escaped by a ^m majority of six votes only of the seventy that judged his cause. But being cast in the other two, ⁿ he was sent into banishment, and there lived in poverty, till *Cæsar* brought him back again ^o in the time of the civil wars. For most of the money which he had raked together by oppression, bribery and corruption, was spent in bribing and corrupting others, that so he might escape the punishment which he deserved. And thus his vast treasure which he brought with him out of the east was wasted in the same way of iniquity in which it was gotten. He having been consul when *Cicero* was banished, and then helped forward by his authority that sentence against him, that great orator being now again returned home, remembering this injury and suitably resenting it, aggravated his crimes to the utmost against him in his speeches both to the senate and people, and particularly we find him so doing in some of his orations still extant.

CRASSUS ^p having his mind much intent upon his eastern expedition, for which he had obtained a decree of the people in the beginning of the year, was very busy towards the end of his consulship in lifting soldiers and making all other preparations for it. But ^q the tribunes of the people then in office not approving of his purpose of making war with the *Parthians* did all they could to obstruct him herein, and would fain have reversed the decree that gave him authority for it; but being overpower'd in this attempt by military force they turned their endeavours into curses; and ^r one of them pursued him with most horrid and dreadful execrations, as he marched with his army out of *Rome* for this war, which were all executed upon him in the lamentable manner in which it miscarried.

CRASSUS going into his province with an eager desire of amassing all the wealth he was able, was no sooner arrived in *Syria* but he set himself upon all those methods, whereby he might best satiate this thirst. And

An. 54.
Hircanus II. 10.

¹ Dion Cassius lib. 39. ^m Cicero ad Atticum lib. 4. ep. 16. & ad quintum fratrem lib. 3. ep. 4. ⁿ Dion Cassius lib. 39. ^o He died in those wars in *Cæsar's* service. Hirtius de bello Alexandrino, cap. 43. ^p Plutarchus in Crasso. ^q Plutarch ibid. Dion Cassius lib. 39. ^r Plutarchus & Dion Cassius ibid. Florus lib. 3. cap. 11. Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 46. Appianus de bellis civilibus lib. 2. Cicero de divinatione lib. 1.

being told of the riches of the temple at *Jerusalem* ^she marched thither with part of his army to make seizure of it. *Eleazar* one of the priests was then treasurer of the temple. Among other things, which he had under his charge, one was a bar of gold of the weight of three hundred *Hebrew Minae*. This for the better securing of it he had put into a beam, which he had caused to be made hollow for the reception of it, and placing this beam over the entrance, which was from the holy place into the holy of holies, caused the veil which parted these two places, to be hung thereat. Perceiving *Crassus*'s design for the plundering of the temple he endeavoured to compound the matter with him, and therefore telling him of such a bar of gold in his custody promised to discover and deliver it to him upon condition that he would be satisfied with it, and spare all the rest; *Crassus* accepted of the proposal, and solemnly promised with an oath, that on having this bar of gold delivered to him he would be contented with it, and meddle with nothing else. Whereon *Eleazar* took down the beam and delivered it to him; but the perfidious wretch had no sooner received it, but forgetting his oath he not only seized the two thousand talents which *Pompey* left there untouched, but ransacking the temple all over robb'd it of every thing else, which he thought worth taking away to the value of eight thousand talents more. So that the whole of this his sacrilegious plunder which he took thence amounted to ten thousand talents, which is above two millions of our money. And with this thinking himself sufficiently furnished for the *Parthian* war ^tcaused a bridge of boats to be made on the *Euphrates*, and forthwith marched over it, and invaded the territories of the King of *Parthia*, without having any other cause for it, than his insatiable avarice after the riches and treasures of the country. The *Romans* ^uhad first by *Sylla*, and afterwards by *Pompey*, made leagues of peace and alliance with this people, and they had never complained of any infractions of them, or any other injuries, that might give just reason for a war: And therefore the *Parthians* not expecting any such invasion were not then prepared in those parts to withstand it. Whereon ^w*Crassus* over-ran a great part of *Mesopotamia*, and took many cities without opposition, and had he pursued his advantage he might have taken *Seleucia* and *Ctesiphon* also, and made himself master of all *Babylonia*, as well as *Mesopotamia*. But the summer being spent he repassed the *Euphrates*, and put his army into winter quarters in the cities of *Syria*, leaving only seven thousand foot and one thousand horse behind to garrison the places he had taken; whereby he gave leisure for the *Parthians* to get ready that army against the next year's campaign, with which they wrought his destruction. And whereas he ought on his return into *Syria* to have taken care, that during that winter his soldiers should have been well exercised for the war, and every thing else put in due preparation for it, he neglected all this; and acting the part of a publican rather than of a general, employed himself wholly in examining into the revenues of the province, and screwing them up to the utmost height he was able, and in using all other methods of exaction, whereby to en-

^s Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 12. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 6. ^t Plutarchus in Crasso.
^u L. Florus lib. 3. cap. 11. ^w Dion Cassius lib. 40. Plutarchus in
 Crasso. Appian. in Parthicis.

rich himself; and the plundering of the temple at *Jerusalem* was not the only sacrilege he was guilty of, he did the same all over the province, wherever any riches were to be gotten, especially at *Hierapolis*; for there being in that city an ancient temple of the *Syrian* goddess called * *Atargetis*, where much treasure was laid up, as having been the collection of many years, he seized it all, and was so greedy of securing the whole of it, that lest any should be detained or embezzled, he spent a great deal of his time to see it all told out and weighed before him. On his last coming out of this temple his son going before him stumbled at the threshold, and he immediately after it upon him. This was afterwards interpreted as an ill omen, foreboding that destruction which they soon after fell into in their battel against the *Parthians*, the son first, and afterwards the father.

An. 53.
Hyrcanus II. 11.

As soon as the season of the year grew proper *Crassus* called all his army together out of their several quarters for the prosecuting of the war, which he had begun upon the *Parthians*. They not expecting a war the last year, were then unprovided to receive him, but having the respite of all the last winter, they had now gotten ready a very great army for their defence. But before they entered with it on any action, ambassadors were sent from *Orodes* their King to the *Roman* general, to know for what reason he made war upon him; to which having received no other answer, but that he would declare it when he should come to *Seleucia*, returned with certain notice that nothing but war was to be expected; and therefore *Orodes* having divided his army into two parts marched in person with one of them towards the borders of *Armenia*, and sent the other under the command of *Surenas* into *Mesopotamia*, who as soon as he was there arrived retook several of those places which *Crassus* had made himself master of the former year; whereon the garrison soldiers that escaped, fleeing to the *Roman* camp fill'd it with a terrible report of the number, power, and strength of the enemy, which did cast such a damp upon the whole army, that not only the common soldiers, but also the general officers fell in their courage as to this expedition; so that some of them, and especially *Cassius*, *Crassus's* questor (the same who was afterward a chief actor in the murder of *Julius Caesar*, and was then next the general the most considerable person in the army) persuaded *Crassus* to stop a while, and well consider the matter over again, before he proceeded any farther in it. At this same time came to him *Artabazes* or *Artavasdes* (for he is called by both names) King of *Armenia*, who had lately succeeded *Tigranes* his father in that kingdom. He brought with him six thousand horse, which were only his life guard. Besides these, he told *Crassus* he had ten thousand *Curiaffiers*, and thirty thousand foot ready for his service. But advised him by no means to march his army through the plains of *Mesopotamia*, but to take his way through *Armenia* into the *Parthian* dominions. His reasons for it were, that *Armenia* being a rough mountainous countrey, the *Parthian* horse, of which their army did mostly consist, would there be useless; and also there he could take care, that his army should be plentifully provided with all necessaries, both which would be otherwise, if he led his army thorough the plains of *Mesopotamia*; for

* Concerning this goddess see above Part II. Book IV. under the year 163.
Plutarch. & Appianus ibid.

† Dion Cassius,
the

the *Parthian* horse would there have their thorough advantage against him; and he would often in that countrey meet with sandy desarts, where he would be distressed for want both of water, and all other provisions for his army. This was the best advice that could be given him, but being condemned to suffer the destruction which his sacrilegious robbing God's temple at *Jerusalem* deserved, he despised it all, telling *Artabazes* that having left many valiant *Romans* to garrison the towns which he had taken the last year in *Mesopotamia*, he was necessitated to take that way, that they might not be deserted to the mercy of the enemy; but that as to his auxiliaries he accepted of them, and ordered him speedily to bring them to him; and the prospect of so considerable a reinforcement chiefly encouraged him, contrary to the advice of the wisest about him, to proceed on this expedition; and therefore without any farther delay he passed the *Euphrates* at *Zeugma*, and again entered *Mesopotamia* with his army. But *Artabazes* on his return finding *Orodes* on his borders with a great army, was forced to stay at home to defend his own countrey, and therefore could not give *Crassus* the assistance which he had promised him.

² ON *Crassus's* being thus entered *Mesopotamia*, *Cassius* advised him to put in at some of his garrison'd towns, and there rest and refresh his army for a while, till he should have gained certain intelligence of the number, strength, and power of the enemy, and in what place and posture they were in; but if he thought not fit to make any such delay, that he should take his march to *Seleucia* down along the banks of the *Euphrates*; for by keeping close to that river he would avoid being surrounded by the *Parthians*, and by his ships upon it he might be constantly supplied with provisions and all other necessaries, which he should be in want of; but while he was considering on this advice, and thinking to follow it, there came to him a crafty *Arabian* who beat him off these and all other measures, excepting those which tended to his ruin, whereinto at length he effectually led him. He was the head of an *Arabian* tribe (such as the *Greeks* called *Phylarchs*, and the present *Arabs*, *Sheks*) and having formerly served under *Pompey* was well known to many in the *Roman* army; and looked on as their friend, and for this reason he was made choice of, and sent by *Surenas* to act this part; and he did it so artfully and effectually that the ruin of *Crassus* and his army was chiefly owing hereto. He is by different authors called ^aby different names; but whatever his name was, on his coming to *Crassus* he persuaded him off from that wise and good advice which *Cassius* had given him, telling him that the *Parthians* durst not stand him, that he had nothing else to do for the gaining of an absolute victory over them, but to march against them and take it; and offered himself for a guide to conduct him the directest way to them, which *Crassus*, beguiled by his fair words and bewitched by his flattery, accepted of; whereon he led him into the open plains of *Mesopotamia*; and altho' *Cassius* and others suspected the treachery of this man, and therefore pressed *Crassus* no longer to follow him, but to retreat to the mountains, where he might best be able to baffle the power of the *Parthian* horse, and messengers then came to his camp from *Artabazes* of purpose to per-

² Plutarchus in *Crasso*. Appian. in *Parthicis*. Dion Cassius lib. 40. ^a By Dion Cassius he is called *Augarus* or *Abgarus*, by Plutarch *Ariamnes*, by Florus *Mazeres*, and by Appian *Acbarus*.

suade him to the same thing; yet being overpowered by the false and lying pretences of this man he still followed him, till at length the traitor having led him into a sandy desert, where the *Parthians* might have the best advantage to destroy him, rode off to *Surenas* to acquaint him of it, who thereon falling upon him gave a terrible defeat to the whole *Roman* army; wherein *Publius Crassus* the general's son, and great numbers of other *Romans* were slain, and the rest forced to flee to *Carrhæ* (the ancient *Haran* of the holy scriptures) nigh which the battel was fought, where they rested the day after; but the night following *Crassus* endeavouring to escape committed himself to the guidance of one *Andromachus* another traitor, who having led him into the midst of bogs and morasses he was there overtaken by *Surenas* and slain, and many other noble *Romans* there underwent the same fate with him. *Cassius* at first accompanied *Crassus* in his retreat; but soon finding reason to suspect that *Andromachus* conducted him with as much treachery as his last *Arabian* guide, returned again to *Carrhæ*, and from thence with five hundred horse made his way back into *Syria* by a valiant and well conducted retreat. This defeat was the greatest blow which the *Romans* had at any time received since the battel of *Cannæ*, having lost in it ^b twenty thousand men slain and ten thousand taken prisoners; the rest making their escape by several ways into *Armenia*, *Cilicia*, and *Syria*, after that again gathered together, and ^c formed an army under *Cassius* in *Syria*; whereby he was enabled to preserve that province from falling into the hands of the enemy. *Crassus* made a great number of false steps in the whole conduct of this war; and altho' he was often warned and told of them, yet being deaf to all good advice he obstinately followed his own delusions till he perished in them; for being for his impious sacrilege at *Jerusalem* justly destin'd to destruction, God did cast infatuations into all his councils for the leading him thereto. *Orodes* ^d was at this time in *Armenia*, having there made peace with *Artabazes*: For *Artabazes* on the return of the messengers, which he last sent to the *Roman* camp, finding by the account which they brought him of the measures which *Crassus* took in that war, that he must necessarily be undone, compounded all matters with *Orodes*, and on giving one of his sisters in marriage to *Pacorus* the son of *Orodes* restored himself to full amity with him by this alliance. And while they were sitting together at the nuptial feast, in came a messenger who presented *Orodes* with the head and hand of *Crassus*, which *Surenas* had caused to be cut off, and sent to him. This much encreased the joy and mirth of the feast; and it is said ^e that melted gold was then poured in the mouth of the decollated head by way of mockage, as if they would this way satiate his great and greedy thirst after it. However *Surenas* did not long rejoice in this victory; for *Orodes* envying him the glory of it, and also growing jealous of the great augmentation, which accrued herefrom to his power and interest, ^f soon after caused him to be put to death. This *Surenas* ^g was a very extraordinary person, tho' he was but 30 years old, yet he was of consummate wisdom and discretion, in valour and prowess he exceeded all of his time, and as to his person no one was of a larger size, or better shaped. And for wealth,

^b Plutarchus in *Crasso*.^d Plutarchus in *Crasso*.^f Plutarchus in *Crasso*.^c Dion Cassius lib. 40. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 13.^e Dion Cassius lib. 40. L. Florus lib. 3. cap. 11.^g Plutarchus *ibid*.

power, and authority he was much above all others, next the King the first man in the kingdom. The honour of crowning the King belonged to him by his birth, it having been long in his family, and by right of inheritance descended to him. Whenever he travell'd from place to place, he always had a thousand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for the service of his wives and concubines, and a thousand completely armed horsemen for his life-guard, with a great many more light armed, besides his retinue of servants, which amounted to ten thousand more. However all this could not secure him; for still having a tyrant above him, he lost his life by his command in the manner as I have mentioned.

THE *Parthians* thinking to find *Syria* after the late defeat of the *Roman* An. 52. Hyrcanus II. 12. army void of defence^h made an invasion upon that countrey: But *Cassius* on his escape thither having gotten together the army I have mentioned, gave them such a warm reception that they were forced to repass the *Euphrates* with baffle and disappointment. They came now but with a small army expecting no opposition; but when they found that they had to deal with another sort of man than *Crassus*, and that he had greater strength about him than they could stand before, they retreated again into their own territories to fetch more forces for a second invasion. In the interimⁱ *Cassius* went to *Tyre*, and having settled all matters on that side of the province, marched into the countrey of the *Jews*, and there besieged *Tarichæa* a city on the southern shoar of the lake of *Gennesareth*, where *Pitholaus* had shut himself up with the remainder of *Aristobulus's* faction, to which he had lately revolted. *Cassius* having taken the place carried all into slavery whom he took therein, only *Pitholaus* he put to death by the advice of *Antipater*, as the likeliest way to quell the faction which he then headed. After this having forced *Alexander* the son of *Aristobulus* to terms of peace, he marched to the *Euphrates* to oppose the *Parthians*, who were preparing to make another invasion into *Syria*.

M. CALPURNIUS Bibulus^k had *Syria*, and *M. Tullius Cicero*^l *Cilicia* assigned them by the *Romans* for their consular provinces. This *Bibulus* was the same who had been consul with *Julius Cæsar*. *Cicero* soon went to his charge, but *Bibulus* making delays *Cassius* still continued to govern *Syria*, and it was well for the *Roman* interest in that province that he did so, the affairs of it then needing an abler man than *Bibulus* to manage them: For as soon as the spring grew up *Pacorus*^m the son of *Orodes* King of *Parthia* passed the *Euphrates* with a great army, and invaded *Syria*. *Pacorus* being then very young had only the name of general, *Osaces* an old and experienced commander, who was sent with him, had truly the direction and government of the whole war. On his entrance into *Syria*ⁿ he marched on to *Antioch*, and laid siege to the place, shutting up *Cassius* with all his forces in it. ^o*Cicero*, who was now in his province, receiving intelligence hereof from *Antiochus* King of *Commagena* gathered together all the forces he could, and marched to the eastern borders of his province lying next *Armenia*, that being there he might not

^h Dion Cassius lib. 40.

ⁱ Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 12. de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 6.

^k Dion Cassius lib. 40.

^l Plutarchus in Cicerone. Cicero ad familiares lib. 3. ep. 2.

^m Dion Cassius lib. 40. Cicero ad familiares lib. 15. ep. 1, 2, 3, 4. Et ad Atticum lib. 5. ep. 18.

ⁿ Dion Cassius ibid.

^o Cicero ad familiares lib. 15. epist. 1, 2, 3, 4.

only keep the *Armenians* from invading *Cappadocia*, but also be nigh at hand to assist *Cassius* in case of need. And at the same time he sent other forces towards the mountain *Amanus* for the same purpose, ^p who falling on a great party of *Parthian* horse, which had that way entered *Cilicia*, cut them off all to a man. An ^q account hereof, and of *Cicero's* approach coming to *Antioch*, much encouraged *Cassius* and his men in the defence of the place, and so discouraged and intimidated the *Parthians*, ^r that despairing of carrying the place they raised the siege, and marching to *Antigonia* another *Syrian* city in the neighbourhood, sat down before it. But having there as little success as at *Antioch*, by reason of their utter unskillfulness of managing such sieges, were forced in like manner to rise from before it, and march off. Whereon *Cassius* laying an ambush in their way, and having drawn them into it, gave them a thorough defeat, slaying great numbers of their men, and *Osaces* their general among them. Hereon the *Parthian* army repassed the *Euphrates*, but towards the end of the summer they returned again, ^s and wintered in *Cyrrhestica* a northern district of the province of *Syria*. In the interim *Bibulus* being come into his province, *Cassius* delivered to him the government, and returned to *Rome*.

CICERO on his hearing of the departure of the *Parthians* from *Antioch*, ^t turned his forces against the inhabitants of mount *Amanus*, who lying between *Syria* and *Cilicia* (for that mountain is the common boundary of both) submitted to the governors of neither of these provinces, but lived in a state of war with both, making continual inroads and depredations upon those countries. These *Cicero* totally subdued, taking all their castles, and destroying all their strong holds. After ^u this he fell upon another barbarous and savage sort of people in those parts who called themselves the *Eleuthero-Cilices*, i. e. the free *Cilicians*, pretending never to have yielded subjection to any of the Kings that bore rule over those countries; and having taken all their cities, utterly subdued them, and brought them under order, to the great comfort and satisfaction of all their neighbours, to whom they were a constant plague. Hereon *Cicero* was saluted *Imperator* by his army, which was a title usually given by the *Roman* soldiers to their general after some signal victory; and on his return from this war, he was received ^v with the general joy and acclamation of all his provincials for his good success therein, and the benefit which they received from it. And for this he had on his coming back to *Rome*, ^y the honour of a triumph offered to him, but the civil wars between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* being then ready to break out, he waved it for that reason, as not thinking any publick solemnity of rejoicing proper when the publick state of his country was just falling under so great a calamity.

This same year ^z died *Ptolemy Auletes* King of *Egypt*; ^a he left behind him two sons, and two daughters. By his ^b will he bequeathed his

^p Cicero ad familiares lib. 15. ep. 4. ^q Cicero ad familiares lib. 2. ep. 10. & ad Atticum lib. 5. ep. 20, & 21. ^r Dion Cassius lib. 40. Cicero ibid. ^s Dion & Cicero ibid. Velleius Paternulus lib. 2. cap. 46. Epitome Livii lib. 108. Sextus Rufus in breviario. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 13. Eutropius lib. 8. Cicero in Philippicâ undecimâ. ^t Cicero ad Atticum lib. 5. epist. 21. & lib. 6. epist. 1. ^u Plutarchus in Cicerone. Cicero ad familiares lib. 15. epist. 4. & lib. 2. epist. 10. & ad Atticum lib. 5. ep. 20. ^v Plutarchus in Cicerone. Cicero ad familiares lib. 2. epist. 10. & lib. 15. ep. 4. & ad Atticum lib. 5. epist. 20. ^w Cicero ad Atticum lib. 5. epist. 21. ^y Plutarchus in Cicerone. ^z Ptolemæus Astronomus in Canone. Cicero ad familiares lib. 8. epist. 4. ^a Cæsar's Comment. de bello civili lib. 3. ^b Cæsar's comment. ibid. Dion Cassius lib. 42.

crown to the eldest of his sons and the eldest of his daughters, ordering them to be joined to each other in marriage according to the usage of their family, and both jointly together to govern the *Egyptian* kingdom; and because they were both at that time very young (*Cleopatra* the eldest of them being then but seventeen) he committed them to the tuition of the *Roman* senate. This was the *Cleopatra*, who was afterwards so infamous for her lascivious amours, especially with *Marc Antony* the *Roman* *Triumvir*.

BIBULUS being now in his province, had thither brought him from *Alexandria* ^{An. 50. Hyrcanus II. 14.} the ill news of the death of two of his sons, young men of great hopes, who were there slain by the *Roman* horse-men, whom *Gabinus* left in that city for a guard to *Ptolemy Auletes*, on his restoring him to his kingdom. *Cleopatra*, who then governed *Egypt* with her brother, sent the murderers to *Bibulus*, that he might revenge this fact in such manner as he should think fit. But he sent them back with this message, that the revenging of this wrong belonged not to him, but to the senate of *Rome*.

AND while he was under this grief, he had another trouble brought upon him by the *Parthians*, who made another invasion upon *Syria*; ^afor they having wintered in *Cyrrhestica* on this side the *Euphrates*, as soon as the season was proper, again took the field, and marching to *Antioch*, besieged that city a second time, with *Bibulus* and all his forces in it. *Bibulus* bore the siege without making as much as one sally for the driving of the enemy thence. But what he durst not attempt by force, he effected by craft. For ^chaving by his agents encouraged *Ordonopantes* a noble *Parthian*, who had been much disgusted by *Orodes*, to raise a rebellion against him, this army was called back to suppress it; whereby *Bibulus* and the whole province of *Syria* were delivered from a war, which very much distressed them. At the end of the year, the time of his government expiring, ^ehe returned to *Rome*, and arrived there when the war between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* was just breaking out, in which war joining with *Pompey*, ^ghe became his chief admiral, and died of sickness in that office on board the fleet, which he commanded for him.

FOR the differences between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* arising to that height, that they could no otherwise be decided, but by the sword, ^h*Cæsar* in the beginning of our *December* passed the *Rubicon*, and thereby begun that war between them, which brought destruction upon them both, and at length ended in the total subversion of the *Roman* republick. On this march of *Cæsar's*, *Pompey* with all of his party left *Rome*, and hasted to *Brundisium*, thence to pass over into *Epirus*, and *Cæsar* pursued him to that port. But altho' he arrived thither on the 26th of *December*, seven days before *Pompey's* departure thence, yet he could not hinder his passage.

^c Valerius Maximus lib. 4. cap. 1. Cæsar's comment. de bello civili lib. 3. Seneca ad Marciam.

^d Cicero ad familiares lib. 2. epist. 17. & lib. 12. epist. 19. ad Atticum lib. 6. epist. 8. & lib. 7. epist. 2. ^e Dion Cassius lib. 40. ^f Cicero ad Atticum lib. 7. epist. 3.

^g Cæsar's comment. de bello civili lib. 8. ^h Plutarchus in Cæsare, Pompeio, Catone & Cicerone, & Antonio. Cæsar's comment. de bello civili lib. 1. Dion Cassius lib. 41. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 2.

An. 49.
Hyrcanus II. 15.

FOR on the third of *January* following he sailed out of the port of ⁱ *Brundisium*, and landed with all the forces he had about him on the other side of the *Adriatic*, in the countrey where he intended, and there did set himself to gather together such an army as might enable him to stand the enemy, for which *Cæsar* allowed him a whole year's time: For as soon as *Pompey* was gone from *Brundisium*, he returned back from thence, and in sixty days time having reduced all *Italy* under him came to *Rome*. On his arrival thither, having comforted the people with fair words and promises of doing all things for the advantage of them and the republick, ^k he released out of prison *Aristobulus* King of *Judea*, and sent him with two legions into his own countrey to promote his interest there, and in the neighbouring parts of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Arabia*. But those of *Pompey's* party found means to give him poison in his way, whereof he died. And whereas ^l *Alexander* the son of *Aristobulus* had, on the expectation of his father's return, raised forces to join him on his arrival, *Pompey* sent orders to *Scipio* to put him to death; and therefore having caused him to be taken and brought to *Antioch*, there condemned him in a formal trial, and cut off his head. This *Scipio* was ^m *Q. Metellus Scipio*, who had been consul with *Pompey* three years before, and then married him to *Cornelia* his daughter; she being then a widow on the death of *Publius Crassus* her former husband, who was slain with his father in the *Parthian* war. On *Bibulus's* return ⁿ he was appointed president of *Syria*, and on *Pompey's* leaving *Rome* was hasten'd thither with *Cneius* the eldest of *Pompey's* sons to secure that province to him, and all their shipping for the augmenting of his fleet: And to oppose him herein was it that *Cæsar* released *Aristobulus* and sent him into *Judea*. And had he arrived there with the forces assigned him, he would no doubt have fully answered the end for which he was ordered thither, and very much embarrassed, if not wholly baffled, all *Pompey's* designs in those parts.

FROM *Rome* *Cæsar* ^o passed into *Spain*: For that province being in *Pompey's* hands with several forces there attached to his interest, *Cæsar* thought not fit to leave such a countrey behind him in the power of his enemy, and therefore marched thorough *Gallia* thither, and having subdued *Afranius*, *Petreius*, and *Varro*, *Pompey's* lieutenants in that countrey, and settled the whole province in his interest, he returned again to *Rome* about the time of the autumnal equinox. On his arrival thither he was declared dictator, but after eleven days again laying down that office, he and *Servilius Isauricus* were elected consuls for the ensuing year: ^p And immediately after he hasten'd away to *Brundisium*, there to pass the *Adriatic* into *Greece* against *Pompey*. And having in order hereto directed all his forces to rendezvous at that city, he sailed over from thence with seven of his legions, and having safely landed them at a port near the promontory of *Ceraunium*, he sent back *Calenus* one of his lieutenants with his fleet to bring over the rest which he left behind; but several months pas-

ⁱ Plutarchus, Cæsar & Appian. ibid. Lucius Florus lib. 4. cap. 2. Suetonius in Julio Cæsare.

^k Dion Cassius lib. 41. Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 13. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 7.

^l Josephus ibid. ^m Plutarchus in Pompeio. Dion Cassius lib. 40, 41. Cæsaris comment. de bello civili lib. 3.

ⁿ Cæsaris comment. de bello civili lib. 1. Plutarchus in Pompeio. Cicero ad Atticum lib. 9. ep. 1.

^o Plutarchus in Cæsare. Cæsaris comment. de bello civili lib. 1, & 2. Dion Cassius lib. 41. ^p Cæsaris comment. de bello civili lib. 3. Plutarchus in Cæsare, & Antonio. Dion Cassius lib. 41.

fed before *Antony*, who had the command of them, found an opportunity to gain a safe passage for them over that sea, by reason of *Pompey's* fleet, which had beset all those coasts to intercept them.

IT being about the end of *October* that *Cæsar* landed his seven legions on the *Grecian* side of the *Adriatic*, there to prosecute the war against *Pompey*, almost a whole year had passed since he last marched back from *Brundisium* for the reducing of *Italy* and *Spain*. And therefore *Pompey* having all this time to furnish himself with forces for this war, ^a had now gotten together a very numerous army out of *Græcia*, *Asia*, and all the eastern countries, and also as potent a fleet to support his interest at sea. But the season being winter, it would permit neither of the fleets to be abroad at sea, nor the armies to take the field at land; so that both sides lay still in their winter quarters.

BUT when the spring came on ^r both sides prepared for action, and *Cæsar* having now gotten the rest of his forces over to him, each army ^{Ar. 48. Hyrcanus II. 16.} took the field, and encamped against each other near *Dyrrachium*, now called *Durazzo*. In several skirmishes *Cæsar* had the better; but at length in one of them he received so great a defeat, that he acknowledged he must then have been utterly undone had *Pompey* seen his advantage and pursued it. This having made him pass the ensuing night without sleep, by reason of the trouble of his mind for what had happen'd, he spent it wholly in considering the ill state of his affairs, and by revolving it over in his thoughts came to see, ^s that he had been guilty of a great error in carrying on this war against *Pompey* on the sea side, where the enemy had a great fleet absolutely to command those seas, and he none at all: For hereby *Pompey's* army was constantly supplied with all necessaries, and *Cæsar's* on the other side as much distressed for want of them; and therefore condemning himself for this conduct, he resolved immediately to alter it, and accordingly decamped the next day, and marched towards *Thessaly*, where was plenty of all things, purposing thereby to draw *Pompey* after him to a battel, or else to fall on *Scipio Pompey's* father-in-law, who was then in *Macedonia*. I have above mentioned how he was sent from *Rome* before *Pompey* receded from thence to be provincial governor of *Syria*. On his arrival thither he grievously pillaged and oppressed that countrey with all manner of exactions to raise money for the carrying on of this war in the behalf of his son-in-law, for whose cause of all others he expressed the greatest zeal; whereby having set on foot an army at land, and equipped a great fleet at sea, he marched with the army towards *Greece*, there to join *Pompey*, and committed the fleet to the charge of *Cneius*, *Pompey's* eldest son, who taking in fifty other auxiliary ships from *Egypt*, sailed with them to the *Adriatic*, and there joined the rest of his father's fleet. *Scipio* in his march having led his forces through the *Lesser Asia*, and augmented them in his way with as many others as he could pick up in those countries, had passed the *Hellespont* with them, and was at this time come as far as *Macedonia*, in order to join *Pompey* for the strengthening him in this war; and there *Cæsar* purposed to fall

^a *Cæsar's* comment. de bello civili lib. 3. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 2. Dion Cassius lib. 41.

^r Plutarchus in *Cæfare*, *Pompeio*, *Catone*, & *Antonio*. *Cæsar's* comment. de bello civili lib. 3. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 2. Dion Cassius lib. 41.

^s *Cæsar's* commentar. de bello civili lib. 3.

upon him, if *Pompey* should not march after him to prevent it. *Pompey* and those with him not being at all aware of the true reasons which put *Cæsar* upon this march, took it to have been the consequence of his defeat the day before, as if after that he durst not stay there any longer, and therefore marched after him as in pursuit of one that fled: And *Cæsar* having taken his rout thorough *Epirus* and *Acarnania* in a way which was somewhat about, *Pompey*, the sooner to come up with him, took the shortest cut through *Macedonia*. In this march *Scipio* joined *Pompey*, and *Domitius Calvinus* joined *Cæsar* with their armies, and both at length met in the plains of *Pharsalia* in *Thessaly*, where it came to a decisive battel between them. *Cæsar's* army consisted of ^t twenty two thousand foot, and a thousand horse; but *Pompey's* was above twice as many: For he had forty five thousand foot, and five thousand horse; but they being most of them raw and inexperienced men, gotten together out of the effeminated nations of *Lesser Asia* and the east, they could not stand before *Cæsar's* veterans; and therefore notwithstanding the great superiority of their number, they were soon vanquished and broken, ^u fifteen thousand being slain, twenty four thousand made prisoners of war, their camp taken, and all the rest dissipated and driven to flee for their lives. ^w *Pompey*, when he found his camp lost, as well as the battel, fled in disguise, and having gotten to the next sea-port on the *Thessalian* shoar, passed over to *Mitylene*, in the island of *Lesbus*, where he had some time before sent *Cornelia* his wife with *Sextus* his younger son; and having there taken them on board his ship, sailed down the *Archipelago*, and put in at *Attalia* in *Pamphylia*. As soon as it was known that he was in that port, there came thither to him some ships from *Cilicia*, and about two thousand soldiers, and with them sixty *Roman* senators, who had escaped the late battel. Hearing, while here, that his fleet was still safe, and that *Cato* having gathered together the remains of his broken army had put them on board his ships, and sailed with them for *Africa*, he reflected with much grief on the great error he had committed in being drawn from the sea-shoar to fight *Cæsar* in the inland countrey: For had he continued still near his fleet, he might on failing at land either have reinforced his army from sea, or else have shipp'd it off into some other part of the *Roman* empire; and there have a-new tried his fortune. But it being now too late to remedy this false step, it only remained to be considered what next was to be done in the present case. His first resolution was to land in ^x *Syria*, and seize that province, and he hoped there to have for his better support the friendship of *Orodes* King of *Parthia*, to whom he had sent *Lucius Hirtius* to pray his assistance, or at least a safe retreat into his kingdom in case of need. But ^y *Orodes* on the hearing of *Pompey's* misfortune, not only denied him his assistance, but clapp'd his ambassador in chains. When *Pompey* first passed over from *Brundisium* into *Epirus*, there to raise an army against *Cæsar*, ^z he had solicited among others *Orodes* for his aid in this war. *Orodes* promised what he desired, but demanded *Syria* for his reward; and that not being granted

^t Plutarchus in *Cæsare*. *Cæsaris* comment. de bello civili lib. 3. ^u This is *Cæsar's* own account in his commentaries of the civil war, book the third, but Plutarch and Appian reckon the number of the slain to be no more than six thousand, and quote for it *Asinius Pollio* a *Roman* historian contemporary with *Cæsar*.

^w Plutarchus in *Pompeio*. *Dion Cassius* lib. 42. *Cæsaris* comment. ibid.

^x *Cæsaris* comment. ibid.

^y *Dion Cassius* lib. 42.

^z *Dion Cassius* lib. 41.

him, he took this denial for a pretence, not only to deny *Pompey* his request, but also to imprison the ambassador by whom he made it. But the true meaning of it was, he had no mind to embark in a lost cause, and therefore took this method to renounce it. And upon this same principle, and at the same time ^a the people of *Antioch* in conjunction with the *Romans* then in that city, seized the castle of *Antioch* in order to exclude him thence, and forbid all of his party to approach that place on pain of death. *Pompey* on his arrival in *Cyprus*, in his way to *Syria*, hearing of both these particulars, steered his course towards *Egypt*, not then knowing where else to go. He had been a great friend to *Auletes* the father of the present King, and by his procurement chiefly was it, that when expelled his kingdom, he was again restored to it, and therefore he expected to have been received and assisted with equal kindness by his son. ^b On his arrival in *Egypt* he found *Ptolemy* with an army on the sea-shoar between *Pelusium* and mount *Casius*, and *Cleopatra* his sister with another army not far from him: For he having deprived her of that share in the government which was left her by *Auletes*'s will, and driven her out of the kingdom, she had raised an army in *Syria* and *Palestine*, for the obtaining of her restoration, and was now at war with her brother about it. *Pompey* on his drawing near to land sent messengers to *Ptolemy* to pray his protection and aid in his present distress; *Ptolemy* being then a minor, was under the tuition of *Pothinus* the eunuch that bred him up, and *Achillas* the general of his army. These two taking *Theodotus* a rhetorician, who was the King's *præceptor*, and some others into consult with them, advised together what answer to return. Some were for receiving him, and others for rejecting him, but *Theodotus* was for neither; but in a pressing rhetorical speech set forth to them, that the only safe course they had to take was to dispatch him: For ^c he argued, should they receive him *Cæsar* would be revenged on them for their abetting his enemy; and should they refuse to receive him, and he elsewhere gather strength, and again recover his power, he then would be revenged on them for this refusal; that therefore the only way to secure them from both was to cut him off: For this would make *Cæsar* their friend, and prevent the other from doing them any hurt as an enemy; for, said he in the words of the proverb, dead men do not bite. This way of reasoning having drawn all the rest to his opinion, they all resolved on it as the safest course they could take; and *Achillas* with *Septimius* a *Roman* commander, then in the service of the King of *Egypt*, and some others were sent to execute it; who having in a small boat brought *Pompey* from his ship on pretence of conducting him to *Ptolemy*, as soon as they came nigh the shoar fell upon him and slew him; and having cut off his head cast his dead carcass upon the strand, where he had no other funeral but what *Philip*, an enfranchised bond-man of his, and a poor old *Roman*, who came thither by accident, could give him by making him a funeral pile of the broken pieces of an old boat that lay wrecked on the shoar: And thus ended the life of this great man in the fifty ninth year of his age. No man had enjoyed greater prosperity till he

^a Cæsar's comment. de bello civili lib. 3. bellis civilibus lib. 2. Cæsar's comment. ibid. in Asia, caused him to be put to death for this. See Plutarch in the life of Brutus, and in the life of Pompey.

^b Plutarchus in Pompeio & Bruto. Appian. de Brutus afterwards meeting this Theodotus

^c Brutus afterwards meeting this Theodotus

prophaned the temple of God at *Jerusalem*; after that his fortunes were in a continual decline, till at length, to expiate for that impiety, he was thus vilely murdered in the confines of that countrey, where he had committed it. This was done in the sight of his wife and his son, and the rest that accompanied him, whereon they made off to sea with all the haste they were able. *Cornelia* and *Sextus* escaped first to *Tyre*, and then to *Cyprus*, and from thence into *Africa*; but most of the other ships were taken by the *Egyptian* gallies that pursued after them, and all that were found on board them were cruelly put to the sword, amongst whom was *Lucius Lentulus* the former year's consul, who was the chief author of the war, by obstinately rejecting all the proposals that were made by *Cæsar* for peace.

IN the mean time ^d *Cæsar* pursuing *Pompey* the same way, in which he fled, sailed into *Egypt* after him, and came to *Alexandria* just as the news arrived thither of his death, and soon after on his entering the place he was presented with his head; at the sight of which he wept, and turned away his face from it with abhorrence, as from an ungrateful spectacle, and ordered it to be buried in a proper place with all honourable solemnities. *Cæsar* for the greater expedition made this pursuit with very few forces: For on his coming to *Alexandria*, he had ^e no more with him, than eight hundred horse, and three thousand two hundred foot. The rest of his army he left behind in *Greece*, and the lesser *Asia*, under the conduct of his lieutenants, for the prosecuting of the advantages of his late victory, and the securing of his interest in those parts. And therefore confiding on his good fortune, and the fame of his great success at *Pharsalia*, he landed at *Alexandria* with these only, which had like to have proved his ruin. For these not being sufficient to defend him from the mob and mutinies of that turbulent city, he very narrowly escaped perishing by them: For ^f the *Etesian* winds then blowing from the north, which continue in those parts during all the dog-days (in the beginning of which *Cæsar* entered that port) these hinder all ships from sailing out of *Alexandria* as long as these winds last, ^g and therefore did put a necessity upon him of tarrying there during all that season. In ^h this vacant time he employed himself in calling in the debt owed him by *Auletes*, and in hearing and determining the controversy between *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* his sister. I have above mentioned how *Auletes*, when *Cæsar* was first consul, engaged him by a bribe of ten thousand talents to get him to be confirmed in his kingdom by the *Romans*, and enrolled among the friends and allies of that powerful state; part only of this sum was then paid, for the rest he bound himself in the obligation of a debtor afterwards to discharge it. This debt now *Cæsar* called for as needing it to pay his soldiers, and ex-

^d *Cæsar's* Comment. de bello civili lib. 3. Plutarchus in *Cæsare*. Dion Cassius lib. 42.

^e *Cæsar's* Comment. ibid.

^f By *Etesian winds* are meant such, as blow at stated times of the year, from what point of the compass soever they come. For they are so called from the Greek word ἔτος, i. e. a year, and originally denote yearly, or anniversary winds, such as our sea-men call *Monsoons* and *trade-winds*, which in certain parts of the world come and continue constantly blowing the same way for certain stated seasons of the year. Thus the north winds, which during the dog-days constantly blow upon the coasts of *Egypt*, that lye upon the *Mediterranean*, and thereby hinder all ships from sailing out of *Alexandria* for that season, are called *Etesiae* in *Cæsar's* commentaries. And so in other authors the west wind, and also other winds are called *Etesiae* or *Etesian*, where they come at certain times, and continue blowing for certain seasons of the year. De hac re videas *Salmasii* exercitationes *Plinianas* in *Solinum* p. 421, &c.

^g *Cæsar's* comment. ibidem. Dion Cassius lib. 42.

acted it with rigor; ^h and *Pothinus*, who was *Ptolemy's* chief minister, by several artifices made this rigor appear to the people much greater than it was. For he bared their temples of their silver and gold utensils, and made the King, and all the great officers of the court, as well as himself, to eat and drink only in earthen and wooden vessels, pretending that *Cæsar* had taken away all their silver and gold, that by so giving out, he might the more excite the people against him. But that which most exasperated them, and at length drove them into a war against him, was the second article mentioned, ⁱhis calling *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* before him to be judged by him as to the controversy that was between them; for he had sent out his peremptory order to each of them to dismiss their armies, and bring their cause to his hearing for a final decision. This was looked on as a violation of the majesty, and an invasion upon the sovereign authority of their King, who being an independent Prince owned no superior, and therefore was not as a subject to be judged by any man. But to this *Cæsar* answered, that he did not take upon him to judge as a superior, but as an arbitrator appointed by the will of *Auletes*. For thereby he had put his children under the tuition of the *Roman* state, and all the power of the *Romans* being now vested in him as their dictator (to which office he had been appointed at *Rome*, ^kas soon as they there heard of the death of *Pompey*) it belonged to him to arbitrate and determine this controversy as guardian of those children by virtue of that will; and that he claimed it no otherwise, than to execute that will, and settle peace between the King and his sister, according to the purport of it. This quieting all for the present, the cause was accordingly brought to *Cæsar's* hearing, and advocates were appointed on both sides to plead before him the matter, which was in contest between them. But ^l*Cleopatra* hearing that *Cæsar* was lasciviously given to the love of women (as indeed he was to great excess, tho' he never suffered it to hinder him in any business) she laid a plot to take hold of him by this handle, and thereby attach him first to her person, and next to her cause; for she being a very wanton woman made nothing of prostituting her self to any one, either for her lust, or her interest, according as she was actuated by either of them. And therefore sending to *Cæsar* she complained, that her cause was betrayed by those that managed it for her; and therefore prayed, that she might be permitted to come in person to him, and plead it her self before him; which being granted her, ^mshe came secretly into the port of *Alexandria* in a small skiff towards the dusk of the evening; and the better to get to *Cæsar* without being stopt or obstructed by her brother, or any of his party, who then commanded the place, she caused her self to be tied up in her bedding, and thus to be carried to *Cæsar's* apartment on the back of one of her servants; who having laid down his burden at *Cæsar's* feet, and untied it, up started the lady with the best airs she could put on. *Cæsar* was much pleased with the ingenious contrivance of her thus coming to him, but

^h Plutarchus in *Cæsare*. Dion Cassius lib. 42. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 15.

ⁱ *Cæsaris* comment.

de bello civili lib. 3. Plutarchus in *Cæsare*. Dion Cassius lib. 42.

^k For the Romans on their

bearing that the war was thus determined in favour of *Cæsar* making haste to heap honours upon him, made him dictator for a year, gave him tribunitial power during life, and decreed him many other powers, privileges, and honours. All which he immediately assumed as soon as notified to him, notwithstanding his absence from Rome.

^l Dion Cassius lib. 42.

^m Dion Cassius *ibid.* *Cæsaris* com-

ment. de bello civili lib. 3. Plutarchus in *Cæsare*.

much more with the lady, with whose beauty being at the first sight thoroughly smitten in the manner as projected, he lay with her that night, and thereby begot on her a son, who afterwards was from his name called *Cæsarion*. By this favour thinking himself engaged to do all things for her interest, the next morning he sent for *Ptolemy*, and pressed him to receive his sister again upon her own terms. By which *Ptolemy* finding that *Cæsar* from being judge was become her advocate, and understanding also, that she was then with him in that part of the palace where he lodged, he fell into a rage hereat, and springing out from him to the people in the street, he tore his diadem from his head, and flinging it on the ground, complained with tears and bitter clamour, that he was betrayed, and told his story in such a manner as raised the whole city in an uproar, and brought them upon *Cæsar* in an universal tumult, and with the fury which in such cases is usual. The *Roman* soldiers who were near him seized *Ptolemy*, and secured him within *Cæsar*'s power. But notwithstanding this, the rest of his forces being then scattered all over the city in their quarters, as not suspecting what had happen'd, and therefore not being at hand to help him, he must necessarily have been over-born and torn in pieces by the enraged multitude, but that coming out to them in a safe place aloft, and from thence speaking to them, and assuring them that all things should be done, as they would have, he with difficulty appeased them for that time. And accordingly the next day having called the people together in a general assembly he brought out *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* to them, and then causing their father's will publicly to be read, wherein it was ordained, that his eldest son and his eldest daughter should according to the usage of their ancestors be joined in marriage, and both jointly reign together under the guardianship of the *Roman* people, he decreed by virtue of that guardianship, which was he said then vested in him as dictator, that *Ptolemy* the present King, as being the eldest son, and *Cleopatra*, as being the eldest daughter of the said *Auletes*, should according to the tenour of the said will reign in *Egypt*, and *Ptolemy* the younger son of the said *Auletes*, and his other daughter named *Arsinoe*, should reign in *Cyprus*. This last he added by way of gift the better to appease the people, that so he might escape their fury, which he was then in great fear of; for this island had for some time before been subjected to the *Romans*, as hath been above related. This contented the whole assembly, and pleased all except *Pothinus*; for he having been the cause of the breach between *Cleopatra* and her brother, and also of her expulsion out of the kingdom, justly feared, that both his authority and his life would be brought into danger by her return, and therefore did all he could to hinder the execution of this decree, in order whereto he not only sowed new discontents, and new jealousies among the people, but also prevailed with *Achillas* to bring his army from *Pelusum* to *Alexandria* for the driving of *Cæsar* thence. His arrival put all things there again in confusion; *Achillas* having twenty thousand men with him despised the paucity of *Cæsar*'s forces, and thought immediately to have crushed him. But *Cæsar* so well disposed those forces which he had, by placing them to the best advantage in the streets and avenues in that quarter of the town, which he had taken possession of, that he easily sustained the assault, and therefore

^a Dion Cassius *ibid.* ^o Dion Cassius lib. 42. *Cæsar's* comment. *ibid.* Plutarchus in *Cæsare*.

on their failing of success here, they carried the war to the port, projecting to seize the fleet there at anchor, and therewith to shut up *Cæsar* by sea, and exclude him from having either succours or provisions brought him that way. But *Cæsar* prevailing there also, ordered all that fleet to be set on fire, and at the same time seized the tower of *Pharus*, and placed a garrison in it. By these means he fully secured his communication with the sea, without which he must have been soon ruined. Some of the ships when on fire driving to the shoar, communicated their flames to the adjoining houses, which spreading into that quarter of the city called *Bruchium*, consumed the noble library that was there laid up, which had been the collection of several ages, and then contained four hundred thousand volumes, whereof a full account hath already been given.

CÆSAR finding a dangerous war thus begun upon him, ^p sent for succours to all the adjacent parts, from which he could soonest have them, and in an especial manner wrote to *Domitius Calvinus* his lieutenant in the proper *Asia* of the great danger he was in, who forthwith sent him two legions, the one by sea, and the other by land. That which was sent by the sea arrived in time, but the other which marched by land never came into *Egypt*, the war being over before they could reach it. But ^a none did him better service than *Mithridates the Pergamenian*; for being sent by him into *Syria* and *Cilicia*, he brought him those forces from thence, which extricated him from all his danger in the manner as will be by and by related.

CÆSAR in the interim, ^r that he might not be forced to fight the numerous forces of the enemy, till his succours should arrive, otherwise than when he should see cause so to do, fortified that quarter of the city where he lay with walls, towers, and other works, including within them the palace, a theatre lying next the palace, (which he made use of as a castle) and a passage to the harbour. While these things were a doing, the King being still detained in *Cæsar's* quarters, ^s *Pothinus*, while he was there attending on him as his governor and chief minister, carried on a correspondence with *Achillas*, and by letters secretly conveyed to him, gave him intelligence of all things from thence, and encouraged him vigorously to push on the war; some of which letters being intercepted, and the treason thereby discovered, *Cæsar* caused him to be put to death for it. Hereon ^t *Ganymede* another eunuch of the palace, who had the bringing up of *Arfinoe* the king's younger sister, fearing the same punishment, as having been in the same interest, and the same designs with him, secretly conveyed the young Princess out of *Cæsar's* quarters, and fled with her to the army, who wanting one of the royal family to head them gladly received her, and made her Queen. But *Ganymede* outwitting *Achillas*, ^u caused an accusation to be formed against him, as if he had betrayed to *Cæsar* the fleet, which he burnt in the harbour, and having thereby procured, that he was put to death, succeeded him in the chief command of the army, and thenceforth also took on him the prime administration of all other the

^p *Cæsar's* comment. de bello civili lib. 3. *Dion Cassius* lib. 42. *Plutarchus* in *Cæsare*. *Hirtius* de bello Alexandrino.

^a *Hirtius* de bello Alexandrino. *Dion Cassius* lib. 42. *Josephus* antiq. lib. 14. cap. 14.

^r *Cæsar's* comment. de bello civili lib. 3. ^s *Cæsar's* comment. ibid. *Dion Cassius* lib. 42. *Plutarchus* in *Cæsare*.

^t *Cæsar's* comment. ibid. *Dion Cassius* lib. 42.

^u *Hirtius* de bello Alexandrino. *Dion Cassius* lib. 42.

affairs of that party, for which he was thoroughly qualified; for he was a very crafty discerning person, and found out many subtle devices for the distressing of *Cæsar* during the remainder of the war. By ^wone of which having spoiled all the fresh water in his quarters, he had very nigh undone him by it: For the *Alexandrians* having no other fresh water for their common use but that of the *Nile*, ^{*}as at present, so then, had all the city vaulted underneath their houses for the reception and keeping of it. Once a year, when the *Nile* was at the highest, it flowed through the artificial canal which was drawn from that river to the city, and there running into those vaults through a sluice made for this purpose, from thence filled them all, they being all built without any partitions in a general communication from one to another under the said houses; and there it served for the common use of the inhabitants all the year after, every man having an open hole or well in his house, through which letting down into those vaults, either buckets or pitchers, he drew up what water he needed. *Ganymede* having stopped up all the communications which these vaults in *Cæsar*'s quarters had with those of the rest of the town, poured into them from the sea so much salt water by artificial engines contrived for that purpose, as spoiled all the fresh water which was repositied and kept in them. This when perceived raised a general uproar among *Cæsar*'s soldiers, and he must have been forced immediately to have departed at all disadvantages, but that having ordered wells to be dug, by going deep enough he found springs of fresh water sufficient to supply the want of that which was spoiled.

AFTER this ^y*Cæsar* having received an account that the legion *Calvinus* sent him by sea was arrived on the coast of *Libya* not far from him, he went thither with his whole fleet to bring them safe to *Alexandria*. *Ganymede* getting intelligence hereof, sent all the *Egyptian* fleet which he had then at hand to intercept him in his return. This produced a fight between the two fleets, in which *Cæsar* having gotten the victory, brought all his legion safe with him to *Alexandria*, and had not night come on too soon, all the enemies ships must have fall'n into his hands. *Ganymede* to repair this loss, and others before sustained, (for *Cæsar* had by this time destroyed at several times above an hundred and ten of their ships of war) gathered together all the remaining ships that could be gotten from every mouth of *Nile*, and out of them another fleet being formed, enter'd the port of *Alexandria*. This ^zproduced another fight at sea, in which *Cæsar* had again the victory, but in pursuit of it ^alanding in the island of *Pharus*, and attempting to take the town in that island, and the mole leading to it called the *Heptastadium*, he was beaten off with the loss of above eight hundred of his men, and had like to have been lost himself in the rout: For finding the ship in which he endeavoured to escape ready to sink, by reason of the numbers of those who had crowded into it, he threw himself into the sea, and with difficulty got off by swimming to the next ship of his in the port. While thus he made his escape ^ahe carried some valuable pa-

^w Hirtius de bello Alexandrino. Plutarchus in *Cæfare*. ^{*} Alexandria is at present thus vaulted under-ground, and to this day they there keep the water of Nile in those vaults for common use all the year round in the same manner as is described by Hirtius. See Thevenot's travels, part 1. book 2. chap. 2. ^y Hirtius ibid. ^z Hirtius ibid. Dion Cassius lib. 42. Suetonius in Julio *Cæfare* cap. 64. Plutarchus in Julio *Cæfare*. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 2. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 15. ^a Dion Cassius, Plutarchus, Suetonius, & Orosius ibid.

pers which he had then about him in one hand, and swam with the other, and so saved both himself and them.

AFTER this loss *Cæsar*^b was persuaded to send King *Ptolemy* to the *Egyptian* army in compliance with their desire, and on a promise made him, that when they should have their King they would make peace with him; but after they had him at the head of the army, they pressed on the war with greater vigour than before, and by their fleet endeavoured to intercept all *Cæsar*'s provisions by sea. This produced another sea fight near *Canopus*, in which *Cæsar* had again the victory, but by this time *Mithridates* of *Pergamus* was near at hand with his auxiliary army out of *Syria*.

IT hath been above mentioned how *Cæsar* sent him into *Syria* and *Cilicia* to bring him from thence all the forces he could raise in those countries for his assistance. This commission he executed with so much diligence and prudence, that he soon got together a considerable army, in the effecting of which he was much helped by *Antipater* the *Idumean*: For he not only joined him with three thousand *Jews*, but he prevailed with *Hyrcaus*, and with several of the neighbouring Princes of *Arabia* and *Cæle-Syria*, and with the free cities of *Phœnicia* and *Syria* in like manner to send him in their aid. With these forces *Mithridates*, having *Antipater* in person with him, marched into *Egypt*, and on his coming to *Pelusium*, stormed and took that city, which was owing chiefly to the valour of *Antipater*: For he first mounted the walls where the breach was made, and thereby made way to those that followed to enter and take the place. From thence marching towards *Alexandria*, as they were to pass the province of *Onion* they found all the avenues seized by the *Jews*, who were the inhabitants of that part of *Egypt*, and thereby were obtruded from proceeding any farther; and this must have disappointed the whole expedition, but that *Antipater* partly by his own authority, and partly by that of *Hyrcaus*, and the letters which he delivered to them from him, brought them over to *Cæsar*'s party. On the hearing of which the people of *Memphis* did the same, and *Mithridates* was plentifully supplied with all necessaries from both. On his coming to the^d *Delta*, *Ptolemy* sent an army thither to oppose his passing the *Nile*; this produced a battel, in which *Mithridates* commanded one part of the army, and *Antipater* the other. *Mithridates* at first was beaten off his ground, till *Antipater* having routed the adversary on his part came in to his assistance; whereby the battel being again restored, the *Egyptians* were put to a total rout, and *Mithridates* and *Antipater* pursuing the advantage, drove them out of the field with a great slaughter, and having taken their camp, forced those that escaped to repass the *Nile*.

HEREON *Ptolemy*^e marched with his whole army for the oppressing of them, and *Cæsar* did the same for their support, and on his joining them soon brought the matter to a decisive battel, in which *Cæsar* having gotten an absolute victory, *Ptolemy* on his endeavouring to escape in a boat

^b Hirtius de bello Alexandrino. Dion Cassius lib. 42. lib. 14. cap. 14, & 15. Dion Cassius ibid.

^c Hirtius ibid. Josephus antiq.

^d The Nile a little below Memphis parting into two branches, whereof one runs to Pelusium now Damietta, and the other to Canopus now Rossetto, these two branches on each side with the shoar of the Mediterranean at the bottom make the form of the Greek capital letter delta; hence all that part of Egypt included within these two branches was called delta.

^e Hirtius de bello Alexandrino. Dion Cassius lib. 42. Plutarchus in Cæsare.

on the *Nile*, was sunk with it and drowned in that river: Hercon *Alexandria* and all *Egypt* submitted to the conqueror. *Cæsar* returning from this victory, enter'd *Alexandria* about the middle of our *January*, and no one there any more opposing him, he settled the kingdom under *Cleopatra*, and the surviving *Ptolemy* her younger brother as King and Queen, which was in effect to put the whole into her hands, this *Ptolemy* being then no more than eleven years old. It was for the sake of this lewd woman, and the lascivious conversation he had with her, that *Cæsar* made this dangerous and infamous war; and therefore having fully master'd it by this victory, he made it turn the most he could to her advantage; and his wanton dalliances with her detained him longer in *Egypt* than his affairs could well admit: For altho' he had in *January* settled all matters in that country, yet it was not till the latter end of *April* following that he departed thence. ^g For *Appian* tells us he had been nine months in *Egypt* at this time, and he came not thither till towards ^h the end of *July* in the preceding year. Having ⁱ taken *Arsinoe* prisoner in this war, he carried her to *Rome* with him, and caused her to be there led in bonds before him in his triumph, but after that shew was over, he ^k dismiss'd her from her imprisonment: But being ^l banished by him from *Egypt*, that she might not create new troubles in that kingdom to the disturbance of that settlement of affairs which he had there made, she took up her residence in the province of the proper *Asia*; for there *Antony* found her after the battel of *Philippi*, and ^m at the request of *Cleopatra*, caused her to be put to death. Before *Cæsar* departed from *Alexandria*, ⁿ in acknowledgment of the assistance he had from the *Jews*, he confirmed all their privileges in that city, and ordered a pillar to be there erected, whereon by his command all these privileges were engraven, and also his decree confirming the same.

THAT which hasten'd *Cæsar* out of *Egypt* at this time was the war of *Pharnaces* King of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, son of *Mithridates* late King of *Pontus*: For ^o finding the *Romans* deeply engaged in the civil wars between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, he took the advantage hereof to attempt the recovery of his father's dominions in *Asia*. And therefore leaving *Asander* his lieutenant in *Bosphorus*, he passed the *Euxin* sea, and took possession of *Colchis* and the *Lesser Armenia*, and several places in *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*. After the battel of *Pharsalia*, ^p *Cæsar* had sent *Domitius Calvinus* with part of his army against him, committing to his government all the provinces of *Lesser Asia*. But *Domitius* ^q having the misfortune to be vanquished in this war, *Pharnaces* thereon made himself master of all the remaining parts of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, and being puffed up with this success, carried it with great pride and cruelty towards all in the *Roman* interest, and having seized all *Bithynia*, was preparing to pass from thence

^f Suetonius in *Julio Cæsare* cap. 52. *Appianus* de bellis civilibus lib. 2. p. 484. *Dion. Cassius* lib. 42. p. 206. ^g De bellis civilibus lib. 2. p. 484. ^h See above.

ⁱ *Dion Cassius* lib. 43. p. 223.

^k *Dion* ibid.

^l *Hirtius* de bello Alexandrino.

^m *Josephus* antiq. lib. 15. cap. 4. *Appian.* de bellis civilibus lib. 5. ⁿ *Josephus* antiq. lib. 14. cap. 17. & contra *Apionem* lib. 2. ^o *Plutarchus* in *Cæsare*. *Hirtius* de bello Alexandrino. *Dion Cassius* lib. 42. *Appian.* de bellis civilibus lib. 2. & in *Mithridaticis*.

^p *Hirtius* de bello Alexandrino. *Dion Cassius* lib. 42.

^q *Hirtius*, & *Dion Cassius* ibid.

Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 2.

into the province of proper *Asia*. An account of all this coming to *Cæsar* in *Egypt*, 'it roused him up from that lethargy which *Cleopatra's* charms had bewitched him into, and put him again upon action; whereon leaving part of his forces in *Egypt* for the protection of *Cleopatra*, 'he passed about the end of *April* with the rest into *Syria*. While he was in that countrey, ' *Antigonus* the son of *Aristobulus* late King of the *Jews* came to him, and much lamenting his father's and brother's death, (the former of which had been poisoned, and the other beheaded for being adherents to his cause) prayed him to take compassion of him, and restore him to his father's principality, and at the same time made heavy complaints of *Antipater* and *Hyrchanus*, and of the wrongs which he said he had suffered from them. But *Antipater* being then attending upon *Cæsar*, defended his own and *Hyrchanus's* cause so well against him, that *Cæsar* rejecting the accusations of *Antigonus* as of a turbulent and seditious person, decreed " that *Hyrchanus* should hold the office of High-priest at *Jerusalem*, and the principality of *Judea* with it to him and those of his family after him in perpetuity of possession, and appointed *Antipater* to be procurator of *Judea* under him, and ordered this decree to be engraven in tables of brass in *Greek* and *Latin*, and to be hung up in the capitol at *Rome*, and in the temples of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Askalon* in *Phœnicia*. By virtue of which decree *Hyrchanus* was again re-established in the sovereignty of *Judea*, the aristocracy of *Gabinus* abolished, and the government again restored to the same state in which it had been under him, and the great *Sanhedrim*, before *Gabinus* made that alteration in it which hath been above mentioned. All this was brought about by *Antipater*; for he was a person of that wisdom and foresight, and thereby had acquired such an interest in *Judea*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, and all *Palestine*, that he made himself necessary to all *Roman* governors that came into those parts; and to none was he more so than unto *Cæsar*, who owed his deliverance at *Alexandria*, and the success with which he concluded that war, wholly to him: For without him *Mithridates* could never have raised that army for his assistance, by the help of which he conquered. And he was by this time grown strong in his family, as well as in his interest and power: For " he had by his wife *Cyprus* four sons now grown up to maturity of age, and of great reputation for valour and wisdom; the eldest was *Phasaëlus*, the second *Herod*, the third *Joseph*, and the youngest *Pheroras*, and he had also by the same wife a daughter called *Salome*, who was the *Erinnys* of her family, continually creating feuds and divisions in it by her intrigues, whereby she very often perplex'd her brother *Herod's* affairs, and yet maintained an interest with him to his last. Her character will be best understood by her actions which will be hereafter related.

CÆSAR after some stay in *Syria* * made *Sextus Cæsar* his kinsman president of that province, and then ' hasten'd northward against *Pharnaces*. On his arrival where the enemy was, he without giving any respite either

' Hirtius & Dion Cassius *ibid.* Plutarchus in *Cæsare*. ' Hirtius, Plutarchus & Dion Cassius *ibid.* Appianus de bellis civilibus lib. 2. Suetonius in *Julio Cæsare* cap. 35. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 16. ' Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 15. de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 8.

" Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 17. & lib. 20. cap. 8. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 7, & 8.

" Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 12. * Dion Cassius lib. 47. p. 342. Hirtius de bello Alexandrino. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 3. & lib. 4. ' Hirtius *ibid.* Plutarchus in *Cæsare*. Dion Cassius lib. 42.

to himself or them^z immediately fell on, and gained an absolute victory over them; an account whereof he wrote to a friend of his in these^a three words, *veni, vidi, vici*, i. e. *I came, I saw, I overcame*; which short expression of his success very aptly setting forth the speed whereby he obtained it, he affected it so much, that afterwards when he triumphed for this victory, he caused these three words to be written on a table, and carried aloft before him in that pompous shew. This victory being gained^b near the place where *Triarius* was vanquished by *Mithridates*, it thereby repaired the honour of the *Roman* militia, which was lost by that defeat. After this, all being^c again recovered that *Pharnaces* had possessed himself of in this war, he^d fled to *Sinope* with a thousand horsemen, which were the whole remainder of his vanquished army, and having slain the horses, he put the men on board his ships in that port, and sailed with them back to *Bosphorus*. But^e *Asander*, whom he left his lieutenant in that country, having by this time set up for himself, he was no sooner landed, but the usurper got him into his power, and having put him to death, reigned in his stead. Hereon *Cæsar*^f gave *Mithridates* the *Pergamenian* that kingdom in reward for the service he did him in *Egypt*, and at the same time made him one of the tetrarchs of *Galatia*; the^h latter he had a title to in the right of his mother, who was descended from one of the former tetrarchs, and the former he might have laid claim to in the right of his father: For he wasⁱ supposed to have been the son of King *Mithridates*, his mother having been one of his concubines after the death of *Menodotus* of *Pergamus* her husband, and therefore he was bred up by that Prince, and called by his name. But *Cæsar* in making him King of *Bosphorus* gave him only an empty title: For the possession being in *Asander*, he was to recover it by war, in the prosecution of which, instead of gaining the kingdom he^k lost his life, being vanquished and slain in battel by *Asander*; who after this held the kingdom of *Bosphorus* without any farther opposition, the *Romans* by reason of their intestine broils that still continued among them, not being at leisure to give him any disturbance. *Cæsar* having settled all matters in *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, and the other parts of *Lesser Asia*,^l returned through *Greece* to *Rome*, and was there again chosen dictator for the ensuing year.

In the interim^m *Antipater* having accompanied *Cæsar* through all *Syria* to the utmost confines of the province, there took his leave of him, and returned again into *Judæa*: And soon after going thorough that country in a general progress over it, he settled the civil government under *Hircanus* in all parts of it according to *Cæsar*'s decree, in the same manner as it had been before *Gabinus*'s alteration; andⁿ appointed *Phasaëbus* his eldest son to be governor of *Jerusalem*; and *Herod* his second son to be governor of *Galilee*, he being then twenty five years old. The printed books of *Josephus* have it that *Herod* was at this time only fifteen years old,

^z Appian. lib. 2. p. 485. Plutarchus in Cæsare.

^a Suetonius in Julio Cæsare cap. 37.

^b Dion Cassius lib. 42. p. 207. Appian. in Mithridaticis.

^c Hirtius ibid. & Dion Cassius

lib. 42. Plutarchus in Cæsare.

^d Appian. in Mithridaticis p. 254.

^e Dion Cassius lib. 42.

^f Dion Cassius & Appian. ibid.

^g Hirtius de bello Alexandrino. Appianus in Mithrida-

^h Strabo lib. 13. p. 625.

ⁱ Strabo ibid.

^j Hirtius de bello Alexandrino.

^k Strabo lib. 13. p. 625.

^l Plutarchus in Cæsare. Dion Cassius lib. 42.

^m Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 16. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 8.

ⁿ Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 17.

but that is an age which doth not suit with such a charge, or the actions which he immediately performed in it; and besides it doth not accord with what *Josephus* hath elsewhere written: For speaking of the last sickness, of which *Herod* died about 44 years after this time, he tells us, that he fell into it^o about the seventieth year of his age. But if he were now but fifteen, he could not have exceeded the 60th year of his age when that sickness first seized him. It is most likely some transcriber by mistake wrote (ιε) the numerical *Greek* letters for fifteen instead of (κε) the numerical letters for 25, and from that copy the mistake hath been transmitted into our printed books. *Herod* being of a very active genius, and in the vigour of his youth, was no sooner in his government, but^p to signalize himself therein, he fell upon a knot of thieves who much infested *Galilee* and the neighbouring parts of *Cæle-Syria*, and having taken *Hezekiah* their ring-leader, with several of his associates, he put them all to death, whereby he gained great reputation among all of those parts, and made his name known with honour to *Sextus Cæsar* the president of the province. But those who envied the prosperity of *Antipater*, and the growth and greatness of his power, laid hold of this handle to accuse *Herod* to *Hyrchanus* for putting these men to death without legal trial, and prevailed with him so far as to obtain a citation from him to summons *Herod* to answer for it before the *Sanhedrim*; where having made his appearance cloathed in purple, and surrounded with his guards, this so over-awed the *Sanhedrim*, that they sat all silent, not one of them opening his mouth to say a word against the criminal, excepting only *Sameas*, who being the only man among them of that integrity and courage as not to be frightened out of his duty, on the silence of all the rest rose up, and first accusing *Herod* of audaciousness in thus appearing in an habit not proper for a criminal, and of violence in bringing such an armed force with him into the court, as if he intended to make the publick administration of justice more dangerous to the judges than to the malefactor; in the next place turned his accusation upon *Hyrchanus* and the court, and upbraiding them of their cowardice in permitting this, he prophetically told them, that though they were now for sparing *Herod*, time should be when he would not spare them, but that the just judgment of God should by his hands be executed upon them for it; and so afterwards it accordingly happen'd: For when *Herod* came to be King of *Judæa*, he did put every one of them to death, (excepting this *Sameas* and *Pollio* his master) and also *Hyrchanus* himself, as will be hereafter related. However *Hyrchanus* did all he could to get *Herod* to be acquitted, being influenced hereto not only by his affection for the young man, but also by a menacing letter which he had received from *Sextus Cæsar* in his behalf. But the major part of the court now roused by *Sameas*'s speech being inclined to condemn him, he could not gain him an acquittal, and therefore to save him from a sentence of condemnation he adjourned the court to the next day, and in the interim advised *Herod* to be gone; who accordingly in the night withdrawing from *Jerusalem*, went to *Damascus*, and there putting himself under the protection of *Sextus Cæsar*, whom he found in that place, he defied the *Sanhedrim*, and did from thence let them know, that he would appear no more before them; which they re-

^o Josephus antiq. lib. 17. cap. 8.
lib. 1. cap. 8.

^p Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 17. & de bello Judaico

sented with great indignation, but could now no otherwise express it, than by venting their complaint against *Hyrcaus* for permitting it to be thus done.

An. 46.
Hyrca-
nus II. 18.

ON *Herod's* coming to *Sextus Caesar* ^a he so far ingratiated himself with him, that for a sum of money, with which he presented him, he obtained of him the government of *Cæle-Syria*. Whereon he got together an army, and marched with it into *Judea* to be revenged on *Hyrcaus*, and the *Sanhedrim*, intending no less than to depose *Hyrcaus*, and cut off the whole *Sanhedrim*, because of the indignity they made him undergo by their late process against him. But *Antipater* and *Phasael* interposing made him desist from this attempt.

SCIPIO and *Cato* ^rheading the remains of *Pompey's* faction in *Africa*, and having with the assistance of *Juba* King of *Mauritania* made themselves masters of all that province, and gotten forces together sufficient to enlarge themselves farther, *Cæsar* in the latter part of the former year had passed over thither ^r to suppress them, and having there rendezvoused all his forces together about the middle of *January* this year, immediately marched against the enemy; and in the beginning of the *February* following coming to a battel with them gave them a total overthrow, whereon *Cato* slew himself at *Utica*, and *Scipio*, *Juba*, *Petræus*, and the other chiefs, who commanded in this war, perished in their flight; and *Cæsar* having settled the province returned again to *Rome*, carrying with him *Juba* the son of King *Juba*, then a lad, ^r whom he caused to be led before him in his triumph instead of his father. However from this captivity he gained the benefit of having a *Roman* education, ^r whereby he became one of the learnedest men of the age in which he lived; in regard whereto *Augustus* afterwards made him King of *Getulia* in *Africa*, and gave him in marriage *Cleopatra Selene* the daughter of Queen *Cleopatra* by *Marc Antony*. The eminentest of his works was his *Roman history*, which he wrote in *Greek*, and is quoted often and with great approbation by the ancients, but is now wholly lost, as are also all his other works. One of them, which was of the affairs of *Affyria*, and collected mostly from the writings of *Berosus*, would have been of great use to us in the writing of this history, had it been still extant. But before *Cæsar* left *Africa* ^r he gave order for the rebuilding of *Carthage*, and the same year was *Corinth* also rebuilt by his like order; so that as these two famous cities were destroyed in the same year, they were now both of them just an hundred years after again rebuilt in the same year. And two years after *Roman* colonies ^u were sent into each of them for the replenishing of them with new inhabitants: From this colony at *Corinth* were descended those *Corinthians*, to whom *St. Paul* wrote his two epistles.

At this time ^w *Cæcilius Bassus* created great disorders in *Syria*. He ^w was a *Roman* of the *Equestrian* order, and had fought on the side of *Pompey* in the battel of *Pharsalia*; after that overthrow he fled to *Tyre*, and there lying hid under the disguise of a merchant associated several to him,

^a Josephus *ibid.* ^r *Hirtius de bello Africano. Plutarchus in Cæsare. Dion Cassius lib. 43.*
^s *Plutarchus ibid.* ^r *Vide Vossium de historicis Græcis lib. 2. cap. 4.* ^v *Appian. de bellis*
Punicis in fine. ^u *Dion Cassius lib. 43. Strabo lib. 17. p. 833. Pausanias in Eliacis in initio*
& *in Corinthiacis in initio. Solinus cap. 27.* ^w *Dion Cassius lib. 47. Libo apud Appianum*
de bellis civilibus lib 3. p. 576. Epitome Livii lib. 114. Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 17. & de
bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 8.

that had been favourers of *Pompey's* cause, and underhand engaged in his party many of the *Roman* soldiers, that came thither to garrison the city. Whereon being at length taken notice of by *Sextus Cæsar* for these doings, and called before him to answer for them, he pretended to be going to the assistance of *Mithridates* of *Pergamus* for the recovery of the kingdom of *Bosphorus* given him by *Cæsar*, and that all his preparations were in order thereto; and having persuaded *Sextus* to believe him he was dismissed as innocent; whereby having gained farther opportunity for the carrying on of his plot, as soon as he had gotten into it a number of conspirators sufficient for the putting of it in execution, he seized *Tyre*; and giving out that *Cæsar* was vanquished and slain in *Africa*, and that thereon he was now appointed to be governor of *Syria*, he assumed the title of president of that province, and by this forgery having augmented his forces to the bulk of an army he marched out with them against *Sextus Cæsar*; but being vanquished and beaten he was forced to retreat back to *Tyre*, and there lye by for some time to be cured of his wounds received in the conflict; whereby being discouraged from attempting any thing farther by open force against *Sextus*, he at length by treachery and underhand dealing worked his destruction. For this *Sextus Cæsar* being a young man much given to voluptuousness, and making his army to attend him in all places, where he went for his pleasure, this much disgusted his soldiers; which *Bassus* having full notice of instigated them by his emissaries to kill him, which they having accordingly effected, they all thereon declared for *Bassus*, and joined themselves to him, excepting only some few who detesting this Assassination separated from the rest, and retired into *Cilicia*. Whereon *Bassus* seizing *Apamea* fortified that place, and made it the seat of his residence, and there took on him the government of the whole province. But **Antistius Vetus* having put himself at the head of those who had thus retreated into *Cilicia*, and drawn to him several others of the *Cæsarian* party in that countrey, marched back with them into *Syria*. And there the sons of *Antipater* having joined him with auxiliaries from *Judea* sent him by their father, and others doing the same from other parts, some to revenge the murder of *Sextus* out of the abhorrence they had of that fact, and others to court the favour of the dictator, he became enabled thereby to drive *Bassus* out of the field, and having cooped him up in *Apamea* there besieged him with a close siege. But *Bassus* being a valiant man and skilful soldier, defended himself so well that *Antistius* not being able to get any advantage against him was forced towards the end of the year to retreat, and respite all hostilities for a while, till better furnished with new preparations, and more forces for the war.

CÆSAR being returned from his *African* expedition undertook the reformation of the *Roman kalendar*, and happily ^y effected it by forming the *Julian* year, which the world hath had the benefit of ever since. This belonged to him to do ^zas High-priest of *Rome*, which was an office he

*Dion Cassius & Josephus ibid. yPlutarchus in Cæsare. Dion Cassius lib. 43. p. 227. Suetonijs in Julio Cæsare cap. 40. Plinius lib. 18. cap. 25. Censorinus de die natali cap. 8. Macrobius Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 14. Ammianus Marcellinus lib. 26. cap. 1. Videas etiam Scaligerum, Petavium, Calvisium, aliosque chronologos & astronomos de hac re. z For the intercalating of the year, and the whole ordering of that matter belonged to the college of the Pontifices, of which Cæsar as Pontifex maximus was the head.

had long been in before he was either dictator or consul, and there was now very great need for this to be done. For at this time by reason of the faults of the former kalendar the beginning of *January* was carried back to the time of our present *Michaelmas*, and all their solemn times and festivals were put out of their due order by this means. The former year, which the *Romans* went by till this time, consisted of twelve lunar months; but twelve lunar months falling eleven days short of a solar year, it was the office of the High-priest with the college of the *Pontifices* to add such intercalations as should make all even; this they usually did by casting in another month every second year which did alternatively consist of twenty two days one time and twenty three another: This short month was called *Merkidinus*; and the place in the *Roman* kalendar, where it was intercalated, was between the 23^d and the 24th of *February*. But the *Pontifices*, who had the authority of making these intercalations, executing it very arbitrarily, sometimes irregularly intercalating the month *Merkidinus* where they ought not, and sometimes as irregularly omitting to intercalate it where they ought, according as they had a mind to prolong or abbreviate the time of the annual magistrates then in office, hereby it came to pass, that great disorders got into the political as well as into the astronomical part of the year; and therefore for the bringing of a remedy to both, *Cæsar* found it necessary to make this reformation; which effectually prevented all such disorders for the future. For hereby he settled the year to a fixed and stated form always to go unvariably the same, without leaving it to any man's arbitrary power to disturb it, which he accomplished by these following methods. 1st, He abolished the lunar year, consisting of twelve lunar months, or 355 days, which the *Romans* had hitherto gone by, and instead thereof introduced the use of the solar year, consisting of the time in which the sun goes thorough the zodiac and comes about again to the same point from which it did set out. 2^{dly}, Having according to the best observations of those times stated this revolution to be made in 365 days and six hours, of these he made his solar year to consist. 3^{dly}, These 365 days he distributed into twelve political or artificial months instead of the lunar and natural months before in use, which consisted some of 31 days, and some of 30, and one, that is *February*, of 28 days. 4^{thly}, The six hours over and above in four years making a day, he added it in the beginning of every fifth year, making that year thereby to consist of 366 days, and this is that which we call the leap year. 5^{thly}, This day he added between the 23^d and the 24th day of *February* in the same place in the *Roman* kalendar, where formerly their intercalated month *Merkidinus* was inserted in their old form; and this addition being made by putting the latter of those days twice in the kalendar, and that day being there called *Sextus Kalendarum*, the putting of this *Sextus dies bis*, i. e. twice, is the reason why this leap year is called *Annus Bissextilis* in *Latin*, and from hence by us the biffextile. But in our almanacks instead of putting this 24th day of *February* twice in the said leap years we number on the days as before, so as in every such leap year to

y Plutarchus in *Cæfare*. Dion Cassius lib. 43. p. 227. Suetonius in *Julio Cæfare* cap. 40. Plinius lib. 18. cap. 25. Censorinus de die natali cap. 8. Macrobius Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 14. Ammianus Marcellinus lib. 26. cap. 1. Videas etiam Scaligerum, Petavium, Calvisium, aliosque chronologos & astronomos de hac re. ^a It is most commonly called *Sextus Kalendas*, i. e. *Sextus dies ante Kalendas*.

make that month consist of 29 days. 6^{thly}, He began this year at the ^b kalends, or first day of *January*, on which all the annual magistrates of the *Romans* first entered on their offices. 7^{thly}, This first of *January* he then fixed to the ^c winter solstice, though now it hath over-run that time several days, by reason that the said *Julian* solar year is eleven minutes longer than the natural solar year: For the natural solar year according to the best and accuratest observations consists of no more than 365 days, five hours, and forty nine minutes, but the *Julian* containing 365 days and six hours, consists of eleven minutes more, which in 130 years making a day, this hath occasioned that every 130 years the first of *January* in the *Julian* kalendar over-runs that time of the natural year, where it was first placed, one whole day, which is the only fault that is to be found in this form. ^dGregory the thirteenth, Pope of *Rome*, in the year 1582, endeavoured to correct this fault by proposing a new form, which from his name is called the *Gregorian*, wherein he ordained, that in every four centuries three leap years should be omitted, that is, one in the beginning of each of the three first of them without making any alteration in the fourth. This indeed brings the matter nearer to the truth, but doth not fully reach it: And therefore it hath not met with such general approbation, but that still in all the dominions of the King of *Great Britain*, as well as in some other places, the *Julian* form is still retained as the better of the two. The reckoning by this last is called the old style, and the reckoning by the other the new. 8^{thly}, *Cæsar* to bring this form into practice, besides the month *Merkidinus*, which was intercalated in *February*, added to this present year two other months more, which he inserted between the months of *November* and *December*, so that thereby he made that year to consist of 445 days, that is 355 days for the ordinary *Roman* year, 23 for the intercalated month *Merkidinus*, and 67 days for the other months added between *November* and *December*. All these added together made this year the longest the *Romans* ever had, which putting many of their affairs out of their usual order, hence it was called by them the year of confusion. In the settling of this matter *Cæsar* made use of the assistance of *Sosigenes* an astronomer of *Alexandria* for the astronomical calculation, and that of *Flavius* a scribe for the forming and digesting of it into a kalendar according to the *Roman* manner, that is, in distributing the days of each month into their kalends, ides, and nones, and affixing the festivals, and other solemn times, to the days in which they were to be observed. But *Cæsar* being slain soon after this, the *Pontifices*, who succeeded in the care of this matter, not well understanding it, instead of making the intercalation of the leap year after every fourth year in the beginning of the fifth, did it after the third in the beginning of the fourth, and so it went for thirty six years following, by which means twelve years having been inter-

^b Formerly the *Roman* year consisted of ten months, and began from the first of March; hence July was called Quintilis, and August Sextilis, because they were the fifth and sixth months in that old *Roman* year; and for the same reason the months of September, October, November, and December have their present names; that is, because they were the 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th months in that old *Roman* year. Numa afterwards made their year to consist of twelve months, by adding January and February; but this made no alteration in the names of the other months. ^c Censorinus.

^d Spondani annales sub anno 1582. § 14, 15, &c. Videas etiam Petavium, Calvisium, Beverigium, Strauchium, aliosque chronologos. ^e Suetonius in Augusto cap. 31. Plinius lib. 18. cap. 25. Solinus cap. 1. Macrobius Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 14. Videas etiam Salmasii exercitationes in Solinum cap. 1.

calated or made leap years instead of nine, the error was then perceived; whereon *Augustus Cæsar* then *Roman* Emperor, for the bringing of this again to rights, ordered, that for the twelve years next ensuing no leap year should be at all made, whereby the three supernumerary days, which were erroneously cast in, being again dropped, this form hath ever since gone without any alteration, till that made by Pope *Gregory* the 13th, which I have mentioned.

An. 45.
Hyrca-
nus II. 19.

IN the kalends of *January Cæsar* ^fenter'd his fourth consulship, and ^ffrom thence began the first *Julian* year according to the order of reformation, which he made the year preceding. After this ^g*Cæsar* passing into *Spain* there vanquished in the battel of *Munda* the last remainders of *Pompey's* party, slaying *Cneius* the eldest of his sons, and *Labienus* and *Attius Varus* the chief supporters of that interest; whereby having quieted that province he returned to *Rome* in the *October* following with full victory, and therefore looking on the civil war as now fully concluded, ^hfor the composing of all matters, and the reconciling to him, as far as in him lay, the minds of all that had been against him, ^hhe issued out an act of oblivion or general pardon, granting impunity and thorough indemnity to all that had acted against him in the late war. Hereon he was made ⁱperpetual dictator, and ^khad many other honours and powers granted to him, whereby he had the whole authority of the *Roman* state put into his hands; and so was made, though not in name, yet truly and in effect, sovereign Prince of their whole empire.

IN the interim the war in *Syria* went on; ^lfor *Statius Murcus*, who was sent by *Cæsar* to succeed *Sextus* in the presidency of *Syria*, being there arrived, joined *Antistius* with three legions, which he brought with him, and thereon they having again shut up *Bassus* in *Apamea* renewed the siege of that place. While this siege was continued, ^mboth sides solicited the aid of the neighbouring Princes and cities. *Alcaudonius* an *Arab* King being on this occasion sent to by both sides ⁿcame with all his forces, and planting himself between *Apamea* and the camp of the *Cæsarians*, that covered the siege, offered himself by way of auction to that side which would give most for him, and *Bassus* having bidden highest accordingly had him; and ^o*Pacorus* with his *Parthians* coming also to his assistance about the same time, these two re-inforcements added such strength to him, that he forced the *Cæsarians* again to raise the siege.

An. 44.
Hyrca-
nus II. 20.

CÆSAR on the first day of the next year enter'd on his fifth and last consulship, and ^phaving then received a request from *Hyrcanus* to permit him again to repair the walls of *Jerusalem*, which *Pompey* had caused to be pulled down, he readily granted it in consideration of the service he had done him both in *Egypt* and *Syria*; and a decree was accordingly passed at *Rome* for this purpose; which being carried to *Jerusalem*, *Antipater* by virtue thereof immediately set about the work, whereby that city was again fortified as in former times. This *Josephus* tells us was

^f Censorinus de die natali cap. 8.
de bello Hispaniensi. Lucan. &c.

^g Plutarchus in Cæsare. Dion Cassius lib. 43. Hirtius
^h Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 56.

ⁱ Epitome Livii lib. 116. Plutarchus in Cæsare.

^k Plutarchus ibid. Dion Cassius lib. 43.

^l Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 17. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 8. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 3. & lib. 4. Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 69.

^m Strabo lib. 16. p. 752.

ⁿ Dion Cassius lib. 47. Strabo ibidem.

^o Dion Cassius ibid. Cicero ad Atticum lib. 14.

epist. 9.

^p Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 17.

done in *Cæsar's* fifth consulship; and about the same time was it also decreed by the senate, ^a that in honour of him the fifth month hitherto called *Quintilis* should thenceforth be called *Julius* from his name, which is our *English July*.

CÆSAR ^r had for his colleague in this year's consulship *M. Antony*; but intending a war against the *Parthians*, for the revenging of the death of *Crassus*, and the *Romans* slain with him at the battle of *Carrhæ*, he resigned his own consulship, and ^s substituted in his stead *Publius Cornelius Dolabella*, a young man of 25 years of age, ^t who had married *Tullia* the daughter of *Cicero*. But when all things were ready for this expedition, on the *ides* of *March*, *i. e.* the fifteenth of that month, four days before he intended to set out on it, ^u he was murdered in the senate-house by a conspiracy of senators. This was a most base and villanous act, and was the more so in that the prime authors of it, *Marcus Brutus*, *Decimus Brutus*, *Cassius*, and *Trebonius*, and some others of them, were such as *Cæsar* had in the highest manner obliged; yet it was executed under the notion of an high heroic virtue, in thus freeing their country from one whom they called a tyrant; and there are not wanting such as are ready even in our days to applaud the act. But divine justice declared it self otherwise in this matter: For ^w it pursued every one of them that were concerned herein, with such a just and remarkable revenge, that they were every man of them cut off in a short time after in a violent manner either by their own or other mens hands. *Cæsar* was ^x a very extraordinary person, of great parts, polite literature, and thorough abilities in all the arts of war and civil government, and of equal diligence and application in the use and pursuit of both. However many of his enterprizes being enter'd upon with great rashness, this abundantly proves, that he owed the success which he had in them only to an over-ruling power of providence on his side, which having set him up as a fit instrument for the work which he brought to pass, carried him thorough all dangers and hazards to the full accomplishing of it; and after that, when there was no more for him to do, cast him off to perish like a rod, which is thrown into the fire when no more to be used. The work was God's, but it being malice and ambition that excited him to be the instrument in the execution of it, he justly had for the reward thereof that destruction by which he fell. Having found in two or three of his attempts the hand of providence with him, he afterward presuming hereon, often ventured on very hazardous undertakings, without having any other prospect of succeeding in them than from the confidence which he had in that which he called his good fortune; and he never failed in any of them: For ^y he fought fifty battles without missing of success in any of them unless at *Pharus*, where he swam for his life, and once at *Dyrrachium*. And in these battles he is said to have slain ^z eleven

^a Dion Cassius lib. 44. Appianus de bellis civilibus lib. 2. Macrobius Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 12. Censorinus de die natali cap. 9. ^r Plutarchus in Cæsare, Bruto, Cicerone, & Antonio. Dion Cassius lib. 43. Cicero in Philippicis. ^s Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 2. Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 58. Dion Cassius lib. 42. p. 200. lib. 43. in fine. ^t Plutarchus in Cicerone. ^u Plutarchus in Cæsare, Antonio, Bruto, & Cicerone. Dion Cassius lib. 44. Suetonius in Julio Cæsare cap. 80, 81, &c. Epitome Livii lib. 116. L. Florus lib. 4. cap. 2. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 2. ^w Plutarchus in Cæsare. ^x Plin. lib. 7. cap. 25. Plutarchus in Cæsare. ^y Plinius ibid.

hundred ninety two thousand men, which sufficiently proves him to have been a terrible scourge in the hand of God for the punishment of the wickedness of that age in which he lived; and consequently he is to be reputed the greatest pest and plague that mankind then had therein. But notwithstanding this his actions have with many acquired great glory to his name, whereas true glory is due only to those who benefit, not to those who destroy mankind.

THE murder of *Cæsar*² was followed with great confusions and disturbances all over the *Roman* empire. *Antony* being consul, ^a headed the *Cæsarean* party, and ^a by an oration made at *Cæsar*'s funeral, so far excited the people against the murderers, that they were all forced to leave *Rome*; and *Antony* governed all there till *Octavius* arrived. ^b This *Octavius* was the son of *Caius Octavius* by *Atia* the daughter of *Julia*, sister of *Julius Cæsar*, and therefore he being his nephew, and nearest male relation, ^c he adopted him for his son, and by his will ^c made him heir to three quarters of his estate, giving the other quarter to two others of his relations. Intending to carry him with him to the *Parthian* war, ^d he had sent him before to *Apollonia* on the other side the *Adriatic* to head his army which he had there provided for that expedition, till he himself should arrive to march forward with them for the prosecuting of it: And there he had been ^e six months when his uncle was murdered. On his hearing of it ^e he immediately passed over to *Brundisium* in *Italy*, and as soon as landed there, ^f declaring himself the adopted son and heir of *Julius Cæsar*, instead of the name of *Caius Octavius*, which he had thitherto gone by, he called himself *Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus*, and by this name was he afterwards known, till that of *Augustus*, which was given him after his victory at *Actium*, swallowed all the rest. The name of *Cæsar* immediately on his assuming of it, drew to him the soldiery, and most of the others that had been of his uncle's party; and therefore as he passed from thence to *Rome*, he was accompanied with a very numerous attendance, and all the way as he went others continually flocked into them to shew their respects to him. He came ^g to *Naples* on the first of *May*, from thence approaching *Rome*, ^h he was met and conducted thither by vast numbers of the *Roman* people. The next morning ⁱ getting about him a great many of his friends, he presented himself before the tribunal of *Caius Antonius* the brother of *Marcus*, then *prætor* of the city, and there declared before him, according to the *Roman* law and usage in this case, his acceptance of his uncle's adoption, and had it register'd among the publick acts of the city. Hereon taking upon him the executing of his uncle's will, by which he was made his heir, ^k a controversy arose between him and *Antony* about some part of the deceased's estate, which the latter thought to have swallowed; but their main contest was, which of them should succeed *Cæsar* in his power and interest, concerning which each having put themselves

² Plutarchus in *Cæsare*, *Antonio*, *Bruto*, & *Cicerone*. Dion Cassius lib. 44, & 45.

^a Plutarchus ibid. Dion Cassius lib. 45. Suetonius in *Julio Cæsare* cap. 83, 84, &c.

^b Suetonius in *Augusto*. Dion Cassius lib. 45. in initio. ^c Suetonius in *Julio Cæsare* cap. 83. Plutarchus in *Cicerone*.

^d Plutarchus in *Antonio* & *Bruto*. Suetonius in *Augusto* cap. 8. Epitome *Livii* lib. 17. ^e Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 3. p. 531.

^f Dion Cassius lib. 45. Appian. ibid. Epitome *Livii* lib. 117. *Julius Obsequens* de prodigiis.

^g Cicero ad *Atticum* lib. 14. epist. 10.

^h Appian. ibid. Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 59.

ⁱ Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 3. p. 534. ^k Plutarchus in *Antonio* & *Cicerone*. Dion Cassius lib. 45. Appian. ibid. Epitome *Livii* lib. 117.

upon the utmost struggle, the adopted son carried it against the other, both in the favour of the people, and the number of the soldiery that resorted to him: Whereon ¹ *Antony* was forced to quit *Rome*, and leave *Octavianus* in the sole mastery there both of the senate and people; which management in thus overwitting one who had been so long experienced in all the affairs both of peace and war, was a great instance of wisdom in so young a man, he being then no more than eighteen years old, and going of the nineteenth: For ^m he was born on the ninth of the kalends of *October*, i. e. *September* the twenty third, in the year before *Christ* sixty three, and therefore did not compleat the nineteenth year of his age till the twenty third of *September* in this year. ⁿ *Antony* finding he could not with the utmost of his endeavours make himself strong enough to overpower *Octavianus* either in *Rome* or *Italy*, marched with all the forces he could get together into *Gallia Cisalpina*, with design to dispossess *Decimus Brutus* of that province, who was lately vested in it by a decree of the senate, and seize it to himself. This produced the siege and battel of *Mutina*, now called *Modena*, of which an account will be given among the actions of the next year.

IN the interim ^o *Q. Martius Crispus* coming out of *Bithynia* with three legions of soldiers to the assistance of *Murcus*, the siege of *Apamea* was the third time renewed and carried on, till *Cassius* came and did put an end to it. *Cæsar* ^p a little before his death had appointed *Cornificius* to go into *Syria* and to take on him that government, but afterward *Dolabella*, who succeeded *Cæsar* in his consulship, ^q had it assigned to him by the senate, and ^r *Cornificius* was sent into *Africa*. But ^s *Cassius* getting into *Syria* before *Dolabella*, seized that province by violence: For finding that the *Cæsareans* prevailed in *Italy*, he and *Brutus* left that countrey, and retired to *Athens*; where resolving on a new war with the *Cæsareans*, in order to raise money and forces for it, *Brutus* seized *Greece* and *Macedonia*, and *Cassius* *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and the east.

HIRTIVS and *Pansa* being the consuls of the ensuing year, ^t enter'd on their office on the first of *January*; and *M. Antony* being declared by the senate a publick enemy, because of the war which he had made upon *Decimus Brutus*, and his besieging of him in *Mutina*, both the consuls and *Octavianus* in commission with them, were sent to his relief for the raising of that siege, in the attempting whereof a great battel being fought, one of the consuls was slain, and the other mortally wounded in it; however the victory being on their side, *Octavianus* who survived reaped the whole benefit of it: For hereby he got the whole army under his sole command, and so far distressed *Antony*, ^u that he was forced in a very broken and abject condition to flee over the *Alps* into *Gallia Transalpina*. But

An. 43.
Hircanus II. 21.

¹ Plutarchus, Appian. & Dion Cassius ibid.
lib. 15. cap. 7. Dion Cassius lib. 56. p. 590.
Cicero in Philippicis. Dion Cassius lib. 45. L. Florus lib. 4. cap. 4. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 3.

^m Suetonius in Augusto cap. 5. Aulus Gellius lib. 15. cap. 7.

^o Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 3. Dion Cassius lib. 47. p. 343.
^p Cicero ad familiares lib. 12. epist. 18, & 19.
lib. 45. p. 277. Appian. lib. 3. p. 530, 531, & 550.
p. 620. Cicero ad familiares lib. 12. epist. 21.

ⁿ Plutarchus in Antonio & Cicerone.

^q Plutarchus in Cicerone. Dion Cassius lib. 45. p. 277.

^r Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 4.

^s Plutarchus in Antonio & Bruto. Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 18. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 9. Appianus de bellis civilibus lib. 3, & 4. Dion Cassius lib. 47. p. 339. L. Florus lib. 4. cap. 4. Dion Cassius lib. 45. Plutarchus in Cicerone & Antonio. Cicero in Philippicis. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 3. p. 558, 559, &c.

^u Plutarchus in Antonio & Cicerone.

being there received by the *Roman* army, which *Lepidus* commanded in that province, this brought *Octavianus* to an agreement with him, by which a ^w new triumvirate being erected, the three generals that is *M. Antonius*, *Lepidus*, and *Octavianus* divided the *Roman* empire between them. Hence followed the proscription of many a noble *Roman*, among whom by order of *M. Antony* perished *Cicero* Prince of the *Roman* eloquence. That which influenced them most to the making of this agreement were the preparations which *M. Brutus* and *Cassius* were making for a new war, which made it necessary for all the *Cæsarean* party to unite for their common defence. For *Brutus* having made himself master of *Greece* and *Macedonia*, and *Cassius* of *Cilicia*, *Syria* and *Palestine*, they had each of them gotten together great armies in those countries. *Brutus* ^x having mustered eight legions in *Macedonia*, and *Cassius* ^y twelve in *Syria*, and therefore the forces of both when united made an army of twenty legions.

CASSIUS on his arrival in *Syria*; ^z found *Murcus* and *Marcus Crispus* at the siege of *Apamea*. On his coming thither they both joined him with all their forces, and *Bassus*'s soldiers compelled him to do the same; whereon the city being surrendered on terms, an end was put to this siege, and *Cassius* by the addition of these three armies made up his forces to the number of eight legions. Being thus strengthened he soon brought all *Syria* to submit to him, and they did it the more willingly, because ^a of the great reputation he had among them for his saving that countrey from the *Parthians*, after the overthrow of *Crassus* at *Carrhæ*. *Murcus* ^b heartily embracing the same interest with *Cassius* was continued by him in the government of *Syria*, and was also made the admiral of his fleet; but *Crispus* and *Bassus* not caring to engage in this war, were permitted quietly to retire. From *Syria* *Cassius* ^c passed into *Phœnicia* and *Judæa*, and without any difficulty secured to him the possession of both these countries. ^d While he lay there, *Allienus* one of *Dolabella*'s lieutenants was marching thorough *Palestine* with four legions sent by *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*, to the assistance of *Dolabella*; *Cassius* hearing hereof, got them at an advantage, and having surrounded them with double their number, forced them all to come over to him, and hereby made up the twelve legions, of which his army consisted. For the maintaining of so numerous a body of men, ^e he was forced to lay heavy contributions on the countrey, and *Judæa* being for this purpose taxed at seven hundred talents, *Antipater* whose wisdom was never wanting for the peace and welfare of that countrey, took speedy care for the answering of this sum, committing it to the charge of his two sons *Phasaël* and *Herod*, and of *Malichus*, and some others, forthwith to raise the sum, and assigning to each of them their proper districts for this end. *Herod* being the first that brought in his *Quota* thereby very much recommended himself to the favour of *Cassius*.

^w Plutarchus in Cicerone, & Antonio. Dion Cassius lib. 46. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 4. Epitome Livii lib. 120. L. Florus lib. 4. cap. 6. ^x Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 4. p. 632.

^y For he received three legions from *Murcus*, three from *Crispus*, two from *Bassus*, and four from *Allienus*. ^z Cicero ad familiares lib. 12. in epistolis 11, & 12. ad eum à Cassio missis. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 3. p. 576. & lib. 4. p. 623. Dion Cassius lib. 47. Strabo lib. 16. p. 752, & 753.

^a Dion Cassius lib. 47. p. 339, & 343.

^b Dion Cassius lib. 47. p. 343.

^c Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 18. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 9.

^d Cicero ad familiares

lib. 12. epist. 11, 12. Appianus lib. 3. p. 576. & lib. 4. p. 623, 624.

^e Josephus antiq. lib. 14.

cap. 18. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 9.

But *Gophna*, *Emmaus*, *Lydda*, *Thamna*, and some other cities of *Judæa* being found tardy herein, *Cassius* caused all the inhabitants to be sold by auction for the raising of the money; and *Malichus* had like to have been put to death by *Cassius* for his failure in this matter, but that *Hyrchanus* sent to *Cassius* an hundred talents out of his own coffers to redeem him from it. In the interim *Dolabella* after a long stay in the proper *Asia* for the exacting of contributions in those parts passed into *Cilicia*, there seized *Tarsus*, and ^sthence marched into *Syria*, and would have enter'd *Antioch* as governor of the province, but being repulsed thence he took possession of *Laodicea*, where the inhabitants voluntarily called him. *Cassius* and *Murcus* hearing of this, hastened thither to suppress him, leaving ^h*Heroa* in the government of *Cæle-Syria*. On their arrival at *Laodicea*, ⁱ*Cassius* with the army invested the place by land, and *Murcus* with the fleet by sea, whereby they so distressed *Dolabella*, that at last having taken the place they left him, and the chief heads of his party, no other way of escaping falling into their hands, but by putting an end to their lives ^kas some of them did by their own and others by their servants hands. As to the rest of his followers *Cassius* lifted them among his legions, and so did put an end to this war.

WHILE this was a doing in *Syria*, *Malichus* was acting a very wicked and ungrateful part towards *Antipater* in *Judæa*. He and *Antipater* ^lhad long been the chief supporters of *Hyrchanus*'s interest in *Judæa* against *Aristobulus* and his sons, and next *Antipater*, he was of the greatest power and authority in that countrey under the government of *Hyrchanus*, and was a crafty busy man, but not being contented to be the second man next the Prince, ^mhe would fain have been the first, and that especially since he was a natural *Jew*, and the other only an *Idumæan*; and therefore for the accomplishing of this design, he laid a plot against the life of *Antipater*, concluding, that if he were removed, the prime administration of all affairs in *Judæa* would of course fall into his hands. *Antipater* having gotten some notice of his treacherous projections, made preparations against them. But *Malichus* coming to him, did in so crafty a manner with oaths and protestations deny the matter, that he fully persuaded both *Antipater* and his sons into a belief of his innocency, and a reconciliation was made between them. And whereas *Murcus* on his having received some account of this man's innovating and factious designs intended to have put him to death for them, he owed it to the intercession of *Antipater* that he was delivered from this danger. But notwithstanding this obligation his ambition still hurrying him on his wicked designs, ⁿhe took the opportunity of *Antipater*'s dining one day with *Hyrchanus* to bribe the butler to give him poison in his wine, of which he died, and *Malichus* immediately thereon with an armed force seized the government of *Jerusalem*. However he still endeavoured to persuade *Phasaëlus* and *Herod*, that he was wholly innocent as to this matter. *Herod* having great indignation against him for this villainous act would immediately by open force have revenged it up-

^f Dion Cassius lib. 47. p. 344.

^g Dion Cassius ibid. Lentulus in epistolis apud Ciceronem ad familiares lib. 12. epist. 14, 15. & Cassius ibid. ep. 13.

^h Josephus ibid.

ⁱ Dion Cassius ibid. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 4.

^k Appian de bellis civilibus lib. 4.

p. 625. ^l Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 10.

^m Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 18. & de bello

Judaico lib. 1. cap. 9.

ⁿ Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 19. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 9.

on him. But *Phasaëlus* being of opinion rather to execute their revenge by craft and stratagem, lest otherwise they should run the nation into a civil war, *Herod* submitted hereto. And therefore both of them dissembling their resentments, carried themselves towards him as if they believed all he said. ° In the mean time *Cassius* being informed by *Herod* of the manner of *Antipater's* death, gave him leave to revenge it on the murtherer, and sent his orders to the commanders of his forces at *Tyre* to be assisting to him herein. On *Cassius's* taking *Laodicea* all the princes and chief lords of *Syria* and *Palestine* hasten'd thither with their congratulations and presents, and *Hyrcaanus* with *Malichus* and *Herod* being upon the road for the same purpose, on their drawing near to *Tyre*, where they were to lodge that night, *Herod* invitèd all the company to sup with him, and sending his servants before under pretence of providing the supper, by them communicated *Cassius's* orders to the commanders of the *Roman* garrison in that city; and accordingly a party of armed men being sent out by them, fell on *Malichus* as he approached that place, and slew him. Had he come safe to *Tyre*, his design was by stealth to have gotten away his son, who was there in hostage, and then to have returned into *Judæa*, and there excited the *Jews* to a revolt, and while the *Romans* were embroiled in their wars among themselves to have seized the countrey, and made himself King. But *Herod's* plot against him being the better laid of the two, took place for the defeating of all that he had thus projected. And thus it often happens, that when crafty men lay designs for wicked ends, they meet with others as crafty and wicked as themselves to turn the plot on their own heads.

An. 42.
Hyrca-
nus II. 22.

CASSIUS having several times ^p sent to *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt* for her assistance, and being as often denied; and hearing also that she was sending on the other side ships to the aid of the triumvirs, resolved to make war upon her. *Cæsar* had made her Queen after the *Alexandrian* war, and for form sake joined her brother, a lad of eleven years old, in co-partnership with her; but the whole power by reason of this minority of the young Prince was in her, and so it continued till the last preceding year; but then the young King being grown up to be fifteen years old, and thereby become capable of sharing the royal authority, as well as the name, ^a she made him away by poison, and at this time reigned alone in *Egypt*; and since she had received her crown by the favour of *Cæsar*, it was a generous gratitude in her not to send any aid to his murtherer; and hereby ^r she drew the anger of *Cassius* upon her. But as he was on his way to invade her, ^s he was called back by *Brutus*, who by letters after letters pressed him to come and join him against the triumvirs: For they ^t had now gotten together an army of forty legions, and had past eight of them over the *Adriatic*, and were following with the rest to fall upon him. Hereon *Cassius* ^u leaving a nephew of his with one legion to govern *Syria* in his absence, marched with all the rest towards *Brutus*, and ^w joined him near *Smyrna* in the proper *Asia*, where finding themselves masters of all from

° Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 20. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 9.
civilibus lib. 4. p. 624. & lib. 5. p. 675.

Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri.

^r Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 4. p. 626.

Dion Cassius lib. 47. p. 345, 346.

^p Appian. de bellis

^a Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 4. Porphyrius in

^s Plutarchus in Bruto. Appianus ibid.

^u Appian. ibid.

^w Plutarchus in Bruto.

Macedonia to the *Euphrates*, excepting only the *Lycians* and the *Rhodians*, * they thought it not convenient to leave two such potent maritim powers unsubdued behind them. And therefore before they passed any farther westward, * *Brutus* marched against the *Lycians*, and *Cassius* sailed with the fleet against the *Rhodians*; and after they had brought both these people under them, y they again joined at *Sardis*, z and from thence passed over the *Hellespont* with an army a of near an hundred thousand men to fight *Octavianus* and *Antony*, who were come with much b more numerous forces into *Macedonia* against them. c At *Philippi* a city in that countrey (the same to the inhabitants whereof *St. Paul* afterwards wrote one of his epistles) both armies met, where after a terrible battel fought between them, *Cæsar's* murtherers were vanquished, and by the just retribution of divine vengeance upon them, they were both of them, that is *Cassius* first, and afterwards *Brutus*, forced to murther themselves; and what was most signal herein, they both did it with the same swords with which they had murthered him. After this *Octavianus* returned to *Rome*, and *Antony* passed on into *Asia* to settle the eastern provinces. These matters are more fully related by *Plutarch* in the lives of *M. Antonius* and *Brutus*, and by *Appian*, *Dion Cassius*, and others; but it not being my purpose to write the *Roman* history, I meddle with it no otherwise than as it may serve to illustrate that of the *Jews*, which is the main subject of this work.

As soon as *Cassius* was gone out of *Syria*, d the faction of *Malichus* at *Jerusalem* rose in arms to revenge his death upon the sons of *Antipater*, and having gained on their side *Hyrchanus*, and also *Fælix* the commander of the *Roman* forces left at *Jerusalem*, did put all into an uproar in that city; and at the same time a brother of *Malichus's* took possession of *Massada* and several other castles in *Judæa* by the permission of *Hyrchanus*. *Herod* being then with *Fabius* the *Roman* governor of *Damascus*, and there laid up by sickness, *Phasaëlus* was forced alone to stand this storm, and weather'd it with full success: For he drove *Fælix* and all of that party out of *Jerusalem*; and when *Herod* was returned, both brothers together soon master'd this faction every where else, and recovered *Massada* again from them, and all other places which they had taken; and when they had thus settled all matters again in peace, they justly upbraided *Hyrchanus* with ingratitude in favouring the adverse faction against them, when it was to the assistance and wise administration of *Antipater* their father that he owed all that he had. But e a match being about this time set on foot between *Herod* and *Mariamne* the granddaughter of *Hyrchanus*, that reconciled all differences between them.

HOWEVER peace did not long continue. The suppressed faction soon revived again under another head: f For they called to them *Antigonus* the

* Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 4. Dion Cassius lib. 47. y Plutarchus in Bruto. Dion Cassius lib. 47. z Plutarchus in Bruto & Antonio. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 4. Dion Cassius lib. 47.

a Appian computes them to have been ninety seven thousand horse and foot, besides other scattering forces that followed them. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 4. p. 640.

b Antony in his speech to the Asian Greeks at Ephesus saith, they were twenty eight legions, and amounted to an hundred and seventy thousand men. Appianus de bellis civilibus lib. 5. p. 674.

c Plutarchus in Bruto & Antonio. Dion Cassius lib. 47. Appianus de bellis civilibus lib. 4. L. Florus lib. 4. cap. 7. Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 70. d Josephus antiq. lib. 14.

cap. 20. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 10. e Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 21. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 10. f Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 21. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 10.

younger son of *Aristobulus*, and under the pretence of restoring him to his father's throne, raised new disturbances in the countrey. *Aristobulus* his father, and *Alexander* his eldest brother being dead, he as heir of the family claimed the kingdom which *Aristobulus* had been possessed of; and herein he was supported by *Marion* King of *Tyre*, *Fabius* governor of *Damascus*, and *Ptolemy* the son of *Mennæus* Prince of *Chalcis*; the first of these engaged in this cause out of the hatred he bore to *Herod*, the second for the money which was given to hire him into it, and the last by reason of the affinity that was between their families; for he had married a sister of *Antigonus*'s. After *Aristobulus* had been poisoned by the *Pompeians*, and *Alexander* his son beheaded at *Antioch*, as hath been above related, and the family was thereby brought to great distress, this *Ptolemy* the son of *Mennæus*^g sent *Philippion* his son to *Askalon*, where the widow of *Aristobulus* was retired with her remaining children, to bring them all to him to *Chalcis*, proposing there to provide for them. This he did for the sake of the love with which he was smitten for one of the daughters named *Alexandria*. But *Philippion* taking the same liking to her married her on the way, for which his father put him to death on his return, and then married her himself. And by reason of this affinity he did all he could to promote the interest of *Antigonus*; ^h who being thus assisted by him, and the others mentioned, got an army into the field for the pursuing of his pretensions. But *Herod* encountering him on his first entering into *Judæa*, gave him a total overthrow, and then recovering what *Marion* had taken in *Galilee*, he returned to *Jerusalem* with victory and triumph.

An. 41.

Hyrca-

nus II. 23.

*ANTONY*ⁱ having after the victory at *Philippi* passed over into *Asia* to settle all matters there in the interest of the conquerors, exacted grievous taxes and contributions in all places for the payment of his soldiers, and the support of the excessive luxury which he thenceforth gave himself up unto. Wherever he came after his arrival in those parts, he had his chamber door every morning thronged at his levee by Kings and Princes from the eastern countries, or by ambassadors from others of them to solicit his favour, and several of them brought with them their wives and daughters, that prostituting them to his lust they might thereby the better obtain their ends. Among other ambassadors that came to him ^k there were several of principal note from the nation of the *Jews*, who were sent to accuse *Phasaël* and *Herod* for usurping the government from *Hyrchanus* and abusing it to their own ends. But *Herod* being present, partly by his money, and partly by his interest with *Antony*, obtained that *Antony* would not hear them. For ^l he having received great obligations from *Antipater*, when he served under *Gabinus* in *Judæa*, for his sake much favoured his sons, and *Herod* on this account had ever after a very great interest with him. Not long after ^m there came to him other ambassadors out of *Judæa* from *Hyrchanus*, to pray that the lands and territories which *Cassius* had taken from the *Jews* might be restored; and that all of that nation whom *Cassius* had unjustly sold into slavery, might be again set free; both which

^g Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 13.
lib. 1. cap. 10.

^h Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 21. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 10. ⁱ Plutarchus in Antonio. Dion Cassius lib. 48. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 5.

^k Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 22. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 10.

^l Josephus ibid.

^m Josephus ibid.

petitions were readily granted. ⁿ At *Tarsus* *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt* came to him, being summoned to answer an accusation against her, as if she had favoured the interest of *Cassius*. On her arrival thither, by the charms of her beauty and her wit, she drew him into those snares which held him enslaved to her as long as he lived, and in the end caused his ruin. On ^o his coming into *Syria* he deposed all the tyrants which *Cassius* had made in that countrey. For on his going from thence to the war against the triumvirs, for the raising of money for the expences of that expedition, ^p he cantoned out the greatest part of that countrey into small principalities, and sold them to those would give most for them; and thus was it that *Marion*, who hath been mentioned, ^q came to be King of *Tyre*. At *Daphne* near *Antioch* ^r an hundred of the principal *Jews* came to him in another embassy with the same complaints against the sons of *Antipater* as the former. *Antony* now gave them an hearing, and *Hyrchanus* being present, he put it to him to declare whom he thought the fittest to manage the government under him; to which he answered in favour of the two brothers, being induced hereto by reason of the affinity which he had newly contracted with *Herod* in the espousals of his granddaughter: Whereon *Antony* being otherwise inclined to favour the two brothers for the reason above mentioned, made them both tetrarchs, and committed all the affairs of *Judæa* to their administration; and having imprisoned fifteen of the ambassadors would have put them to death, but that *Herod* saved them by his intercession. However they did not give over their solicitation; for ^s on *Antony's* coming to *Tyre*, instead of the former hundred there came thither a thousand to him with the same accusations against the two brothers, which *Antony* looking on as a tumult rather than an embassy, caused them to be fall'n upon by his soldiers, whereon several of them were slain, and more wounded.

ANTONY wanting money to pay his army ^t sent all his horse to *Palmyra* to take the plunder of that city instead of their pay. This was an ancient city in *Syria* formerly called *Tadmor*: The holy scriptures ^u make mention of it by this name, and tell us that it was built in the desert by *Solomon* King of *Israel* ^w, after his having vanquished and brought under him the kingdom of *Hamath Zoba*, in which it was situated. When the *Greeks* became masters of those countries, they ^x gave it the name of *Palmyra*, which it retained for several ages after; and under it, about the middle of the third century after *Christ*, grew famous by being made ^y the seat of the eastern empire under *Odenathus* and *Zenobia*. But when the *Saracens* became lords of the east, they again restored to it the old name of *Tadmor*; and that it hath ever since born even to this day. But it is now famous for nothing else but its ruins; which are ^z the most august that are at present any where to be found; and these truly prove how great the magnificence,

ⁿ Plutarchus in Antonio. Dion Cassius lib. 48. Appianus de bellis civilibus lib. 5. Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 23. ^o Appianus de bellis civilibus lib. 5. p. 675. ^p Josephus de bello

Judaico lib. 1. cap. 10. ^q Josephus ibidem & antiq. lib. 14. cap. 21.

^r Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 23. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 10. ^s Josephus ibidem.

^t Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 5. ^u 1 Kings ix. 18. 2 Chron. viii. 4. ^w 2 Chron. viii. 3.

^x Plin. lib. 5. cap. 25. ^y Vide Trebellium Pollionem in duobus Gallienis & Flavium Vopiscum in Aureliano, Zosimum, Zonaram, aliosque. ^z See an account of them published some time since by the royal society in their philosophical transactions.

riches, and splendor of this ancient and noble city was in former times. It is 127 miles north of *Damascus* on this side the *Euphrates*, at the distance of a day's journey from that river. The situation of it is much like what that of *Ammonia* in the deserts of *Libya* is described to have been: For ^a it is built on an island of firm land, which lies in the midst of a vast ocean of sand in sandy deserts surrounding it on every side. Its neighbourhood to the *Euphrates* having placed it in the confines of two potent empires, that of the *Parthians* on the east, and that of the *Romans* on the west, it happen'd often that in times of war they were grinded between both. But in times of peace they made themselves sufficient amends ^b by their commerce with each of them, and the great riches which they gained hereby: For the caravans from *Persia* and *India*, which now unload at *Aleppo*, did in those times unload at *Palmyra*, and from thence the eastern commodities which came overland being carried to the next ports on the *Mediterranean*, were from thence transmitted into the west; and the western commodities being through the same way brought from the said ports to this city, were there loaden on the same caravans, and on their return carried back and dispersed over all the east. So that as *Tyre*, and afterwards *Alexandria*, were the chief marts for the eastern trade that was carried on by sea; *Palmyra* was for some time the chief mart for so much of that trade as was carried on by land. By the means whereof that place being very much enriched, *Antony* thought with the plunder of it to have paid off his cavalry; and for this purpose sent them thither. But the ^c *Palmyrenians* having timely notice of the designs, had before their arrival removed all their families and effects to the other side of the *Euphrates*, where the invaders not being able to come at them, they were forced to return without the prey they came for; and on their recess the *Palmyrenians* came back again to their houses, and being exasperated by this ill usage, did thenceforth put themselves under the protection of the *Parthians*, which became one of the principal causes of the second *Parthian* war.

CLEOPATRA ^d having accompanied *Antony* as far as *Tyre*, there took her leave of him and returned into *Egypt*, but left him so ensnared in the fetters of amour to her, that he could not stay long behind, and therefore ^e having appointed *Plancus* to be his lieutenant in *Lesser Asia*, and *Saxa* in *Syria*, he made haste after her to *Alexandria*, and there ^f spent the whole ensuing winter with her in a most scandalous conversation of luxury and lasciviousness. In the interim ^g all *Syria* and *Palestine* being grievously oppressed with the taxes which were imposed on them, ^h the *Aradians* and some others slew those who were to gather them, and thereon joined with the *Palmyrenians*, and those tyrants whom *Antony* had deposed, ⁱ for the calling in of the *Parthians* against him, which put the whole countrey in the utmost misery and confusion: For the ^k *Parthians* on this invitation passed the *Euphrates* with a great army under the command of *Pacorus* the King's son, and *Labiennus* a Roman general of the

^a Plin. lib. 5. cap. 25.

^b Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 5.

^c Appian. ibid.

^d Appian. ibid.

^e Dion Cassius lib. 40. Appian. ibid.

^f Plutarchus in Antonio.

Appian. ibid.

^g Dion Cassius ibid.

^h Eusebius in chronico. Dion Cassius ibid.

ⁱ Appian. ibid.

^k Appianus in Parthicis. Dion Cassius lib. 48. p. 371. Plutarchus in Antonio. Epitome Livii lib. 127.

Pompeian party. This *Labiennus* was the son of *Titus Labienus*, ¹ who had been *Cæsar's* lieutenant in *Gallia*, and one of the chiefest of his friends; but afterward going over to *Pompey* became the bitterest of his enemies, and was ^m slain fighting against him in the battel of *Munda*. His son pursuing the same interest, ⁿ was sent by *Brutus* and *Cassius* a little before the battel of *Philippi* in an embassy to the *Parthian* King to pray his aid for that war; and was soliciting this matter at the *Parthian* court when that battel happen'd; by the ill success whereof ^o being discouraged from any more returning, he continued in that countrey, and ^p having prevailed with King *Orodes* to undertake this war, ^q was sent with *Pacorus* the King's son to be under him the chief commander in it. On their entering *Syria* ^r they vanquished *Saxa* in battel, and forced him to flee into *Cilicia*; and after this having divided the army between them, *Labiennus* with one part of it pursued *Saxa* into *Cilicia*, and having there slain him ^s over-ran all the *Lesser Asia*; and forcing *Plancus* to flee thence into the isles, brought all places under him as far as the *Hellespont* and the *Ægean* sea. And at the same time *Pacorus* with the other part of his army ^t subdued all *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, as far as *Tyre*, which alone stood out against him. For the remainder of the *Roman* forces in that countrey having gotten thither before him, held out that place, so that he could not make himself master of it.

ANTONY ^u being roused up by the accounts brought him at *Alexan-* An. 40.
Hyrcanus II. 246
dria of the ill state of his affairs in *Italy*, as well as in *Syria*, and *Lesser Asia*, early in the ensuing spring took his leave of *Cleopatra* to carry a remedy to them. For ^v in *Italy*, *Fulvia* his wife, and *Lucius Antonius* his brother, (who had been consul the preceding year) having under the pretence of supporting his interest engaged in a war against *Octavianus*, were vanquished by him, and after the taking of *Perusia*, (where *Lucius* had suffered a long and ^w hard siege in this cause) were both driven out of that countrey. And what was the state of affairs in *Syria* and *Lesser Asia* hath been related. For the removing of these evils ^x he first failed to *Tyre*; but on his putting in there ^y finding all the countrey round in the hands of the *Parthians*, and ^z receiving also in that place lamentable letters of complaint from *Fulvia* concerning her sufferings from *Octavianus*, he neglected the foreign enemy to make war upon the domestic, and failed into *Italy* with two hundred sail of ships against *Octavianus*; but on his arrival thither receiving an account ^a that *Fulvia* was dead at *Sicyon*, he hearken'd to the advice of his friends for the making up of all differences with *Octavianus* by marrying *Octavia* his sister, who had lately become a

¹ Cæsar's comment. Plutarchus in Cæfare & Pompeio. ^m Hirtius in comment. de bello Hispaniensi.

ⁿ Dion Cassius lib. 48. L. Florus lib. 4. cap. 9. Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 78.

^o Dion Cassius lib. 48. p. 371. ^p Dion Cassius ibid. Appian. in Parthicis. L. Florus lib. 4. cap. 9.

^q Dion Cassius lib. 48. Florus ibidem. Epitome Livii lib. 127. Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 75.

^r Dion Cassius ibid. L. Florus lib. 4. cap. 9. Plutarchus in Antonio. Appian. in Syriacis & Parthicis, & de bellis civilibus lib. 5.

^s Dion Cassius lib. 48. Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 23. & de bello Judaico, lib. 1. cap. 11.

^t Plutarchus in Antonio. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 5. Dion Cassius lib. 48.

^u Plutarchus in Antonio. Dion Cassius lib. 48. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 5. Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 74.

^w The place was famished into a surrender; hence *Perusina* fames grew to be a proverb. ^x Plutarchus & Appianus ibid. ^y Dion Cassius ibid.

^z Plutarchus ibid. ^a Plutarchus in Antonio. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 5. Livii epitome lib. 127. Dion Cassius lib. 48. p. 375.

widow by the death of *Marcellus* her former husband, ^a on which terms peace being made between them, they both went together to *Rome*, and the marriage was there solemnized with great pomp and solemnity. After this the triumvirs came to a new partition of the *Roman* empire between them, by virtue whereof *Lepidus* had the provinces of *Africa*; *Octavianus* *Dalmatia*, the two *Gallia's*, *Spain* and *Sardinia*; and *Antony* all the eastern province beyond the *Adriatic*. And the war against the *Parthians* was committed to his charge, and that against *Sextus Pompeius* (who had seized *Sicily*) to *Octavianus*; and *Italy*, it was agreed, should be common to them both for the raising of forces for these wars.

IN the mean time, *Labiennus* ^b ravaged all the lesser *Asia*; and ^c *Pacorus* having taken in *Sidon* and *Ptolemais*, sent a party to invade *Judea* for the making of *Antigonus* the son of *Aristobulus* King of that countrey. For *Ptolemy* the son of *Mennæus* Prince of *Chalcis* ^d dying this year, ^e *Lysanias* his son, who succeeded him in that principality, having a great interest with *Barzapharnes*, a chief commander of the army that followed *Pacorus*, contracted with him in the behalf of *Antigonus*, (to whom he was allyed in the manner as hath been above-mentioned) that for a thousand talents, and five hundred *Jewish* women to be given to the *Parthians* by *Antigonus*, they should restore him to his father's kingdom; which contract being consented to, and ratified by *Pacorus*, he sent from *Ptolemais* a part of his army under the command of his cup-bearer, called also *Pacorus*, to put it in execution. Whereon *Antigonus* having gotten together an army of *Jews* from about mount *Carmel*, and elsewhere, marched with them into *Judea*, and the ^f cup-bearer followed to support him. *Antigonus* having vanquished in battel those that first came forth to oppose him, pursued them unto *Jerusalem*, where having gotten into the city, many skirmishes happen'd between him and the two brothers; in which the *Antigonians* being worsted, were forced to take shelter in the mountain of the temple, and the other party seized the palace; and from these two places, as the head quarters of the two parties, they frequently sallied upon each other; and these hostilities were continued between them till the feast of pentecost, when great numbers of people coming to *Jerusalem* from all parts to this holy solemnity, and some joining on one side, and some on the other, this produced such great distractions, and such shedding of blood in every part of the city, as moved both parties to think of a compofure of these troubles. Hereon *Antigonus* subdoulously proposed the calling in of the cup-bearer to arbitrate all differences between them: (For he having followed *Antigonus* according to the orders of his master, was then with his forces encamped without the walls of the city;) which proposal being accepted of, the cup-bearer with five hundred of his horse was received into *Jerusalem*, and he taking his lodging at *Phasaël's* house, and being there kindly entertained as his guest, made use of this opportunity to work his host into such a confidence in him, as to be drawn by his

^a Plutarchus in Antonio. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 5. Livii epitome lib. 127. Dion Cassius lib. 48. p. 375.

^b Plutarchus ibid. L. Florus lib. 4. cap. 9. Dion Cassius lib. 48. Appian. in Syriacis & Parthicis. & de bellis civilibus lib. 5.

^c Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 24. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 11.

^d Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 23.

^e Josephus ibid. cap. 24. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 11.

^f I chuse to mention him by this name that the reader may not confound him with the other *Pacorus*, the King's son.

treacherous persuasions to go on an embassy to *Barzapharnes* (who then governed *Syria* under *Pacorus*) as being made believe by this subtle *Parthian*, that it was the certainest way to gain such a settlement of his affairs, as would be best to his content. And therefore taking *Hyrchanus* along with him, he went on this journey, wholly against the opinion of *Herod*, who having no faith in the *Parthians*, blamed his brother's credulity in this matter. The cup-bearer conducted them on their way with part of his horse, leaving the other part at *Jerusalem*. When the ambassadors came into *Galilee*, they were met with a guard from *Barzapharnes* to conduct them to him, and the cup-bearer returned again to *Jerusalem*. *Barzapharnes* at first received them with an appearance of kindness, till he thought the cup-bearer was returned again to *Jerusalem*, and had there seized *Herod* according to the orders that were given him. But as soon as by computing the time he concluded this was done, ^a he caused both *Phasaël* and *Hyrchanus* to be seized and put into chains. *Herod* having timely intelligence hereof, before any part of the intended treachery could be executed upon him, got away from *Jerusalem* in the night, taking with him all his family, and the best effects, and as many soldiers in his pay as he had then at hand for their guard, and made the best of his way towards *Massada*, ^b which was a castle built on the top of a very high mountain near the west side of the lake *Asphaltites*, and the strongest fortress in all that countrey. In his march thither he was several times assaulted both by the *Parthians* pursuing him, and also by the *Jews* of the opposite faction, but in all these conflicts he had the better of them; and having more especially in one of them, which was fought with the *Jews* of *Antigonus's* party at the distance of about seven miles from *Jerusalem*, gotten a more remarkable advantage, than in any of the rest, he there afterwards built a very famous ^c palace called *Herodium* in memory of it. On his coming to *Reffa* in *Idumæa*, his brother *Joseph* met him with such farther forces as he could get together for his assistance. But on their drawing near to *Massada*, that place not being capable of containing all the company, *Herod* dismissed nine thousand of them. Of the rest he put eight hundred into the castle with his mother, sister, and the other women of quality, which he brought with him from *Jerusalem*; and then having furnished the fortress with provisions for several months, and left *Joseph* in the chief command of it, he with the remainder of his followers made the best of his way for *Petra* in *Arabia*, where *Malchus* having succeeded *Aretas* then reigned as King of that countrey. *Herod* having laid many obligations upon him by former kindnesses and services, thought to have found him his friend in this time of need; but he being one, who like many others would not own a friend in adversity, as soon as he heard of *Herod's* case, sent to him to depart his dominions, pretending for it the command of the *Parthians*. Hereon *Herod* dismissing most of those that had hitherto followed him, went directly for *Egypt*, and on his coming to *Rhinocorura* in his way thither, he there had an account of the death of *Phasaël* his brother.

FOR ^k the *Parthians*, when they found *Herod* gone from *Jerusalem*, after having first plundered the place and all the countrey round, made *An-*

^a Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 25. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 11.

on of this fortress in Josephus de bello Judaico lib. 7. cap. 31. p. 937, 938.

described by Josephus de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 16.

bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 11.

^b See a full description

^c This palace is de-

^k Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 25. & de

Antigonus, according as they had agreed with him, King of *Judæa*, and delivered *Hyrcaus* and *Phasaël* in chains to him. *Phasaël* knowing his death to be determined, to prevent the executioner beat out his brains against the wall of the prison. *Hyrcaus*'s life was spared, but to incapacitate him from being any longer High-priest, *Antigonus* caused his ears to be cut off; (for ¹no one was according to the levitical law to be priest or High-priest among the *Jews*, who was not perfect and whole in all the parts and members of his body;) and after this delivered him back again to the *Parthians* to be carried by them into the east, that being so far off he might not be in the way to disturb him, and accordingly on their return they carried him to *Seleucia*, and soon after there happen'd a reason, which forced them to return sooner than they intended.

For ^m*Antony* after his agreement with *Octavianus* having sent *Ventidius* one of his lieutenants into the east against them, he managed this war with such success, as soon cleared all the *Roman* territories of them. His passage into *Asia* ⁿ was with such speedy expedition, that arriving thither much sooner than expected, he surprized *Labiennus* with the suddenness of his coming, before he was prepared to withstand him. For he had then none of the *Parthian* army with him, but only such forces as were made up of *Roman* deserters, and those *Asiatic's* which he had gathered up in *Syria*, *Phœnicia* and lesser *Asia*, since his coming over the *Euphrates*. And therefore not daring to stand the approach of a *Roman* army, he retreated before them as fast as he could, till he came to mount *Taurus*; where having by the advantage of the mountains encamped in such a place as secured him from being forced to a battle, he sent to *Pacorus* for assistance; hereon an army of *Parthians* coming thither to his aid, they had the *Romans* in such contempt, because of their former victories over them, that they engaged *Ventidius*, before *Labiennus* could come to join them; and therefore being overthrown in this battle, and most of them cut in pieces, they received the reward which was justly due to their presumption. *Labiennus*'s soldiers being terrified with this defeat of the *Parthians* all deserted him and fled, every one shifting as well as he could for himself; whereon *Ventidius* pursuing after them, slew some of them, and having taken the rest listed them among his own forces. *Labiennus* making his escape in a disguise for some time sculked about in *Cilicia* from one hiding place to another, till at length being discovered by *Demetrius* (a freed-man of *Julius Caesar's*, whom *Antony* had made governor of *Cyprus*) he was taken and put to death. After this victory ^o*Ventidius* having recovered all *Cilicia*, marched on to mount *Amanus*, which parted *Cilicia* from *Syria*; where he met another army of *Parthians*, who under the command of *Pharnapates* one of *Pacorus*'s lieutenants, had seized the passes leading into *Syria*, and thereby endeavoured to hinder his farther progress. But *Ventidius* falling on them, slew their general, and gained a second victory over them as considerable as the former, and then without any farther opposition passed on into *Syria*. Whereon ^p*Pacorus* calling all his forces to him marched back with all the haste he was able, and repassing the *Euphrates* left

¹ Leviticus xxi. 16—24.

civilibus lib. 5.

ⁿ Dion Cassius lib. 48.

^m Plutarchus in Antonio. Appian. in Parthicis, & de bellis

tome Livii lib. 127. L. Florus lib. 4. cap. 9. Plutarchus in Antonio.

^o Dion Cassius ibid. Appian. in Parthicis. Epi-

pian. ibid. Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 26. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 12.

Syria and all else on this side that river wholly to the *Romans*, and all again in those countries returned to their former subjection to them excepting only the *Aradians*; who by reason of their having slain those that were sent thither to gather their taxes, despairing of pardon held out for some time, till they were at length reduced by force of arms.

IN the interim ^a *Herod* from *Rhinocorura* went to *Pelusium*, and from thence to *Alexandria*, where taking ship, he passed by the way of *Rhodes* and *Brundisium* to *Rome*, and there applying to *Antony*, acquainted him of the lamentable state all his affairs in *Judæa* were then in; and earnestly prayed his aid. ^r *Antony*, on the account of the friendship which he had first with his father, and afterwards with him, pitied his case, and for the sake of a great sum of money promised, undertook to help him, and did much more for him than he expected. For whereas the utmost of his design was to have obtained the kingdom for *Aristobulus* the brother of *Mariamne*, whom he had lately espoused, without proposing any thing farther for his own interest, than that he might govern the countrey under him in the same manner, as *Antipater* had under *Hyrchanus* his ^r grandfather; *Antony* procured, that the crown was given to him, contrary to the custom of the *Romans* commonly practised by them in this case; for they used not to pass over the royal line of any dependent kingdom, and grant the crown to one, that was an alien to it. But *Octavianus* being prevailed with to favour the design, partly to gratify *Antony*, and partly out of gratitude to the family of *Antipater* for the seasonable help brought by him to *Julius Caesar* in *Egypt*, their joint interest was not to be withstood. And therefore *Messala* and *Atratinus* two noble senators, having introduced *Herod* into the senate, and there set forth the merits of him, and his family toward the *Roman* people, and the demerits of *Antigonus*; and *Antony* having added that it would be very advantageous to him in his carrying on the *Parthian* war to have *Herod* King of *Judæa*, the royal dignity was decreed to him by the unanimous suffrage of the whole senate, and *Antigonus* was declared an enemy to the *Roman* state. And on the rising of the senate *Herod* was conducted by the consuls and other magistrates up to the capitol, *Octavianus* going on one side of him, and *Antony* on the other; and the decree being there deposited among the publick records of the state, he was thereon solemnly inaugurated into the kingdom according to the *Roman* usage. Having had so good and expeditious success in this matter he made all the haste back again into *Judæa* that he was able: For having tarried only seven days at *Rome* for the dispatch of this whole affair, he returned to his ships at *Brundisium*, and sailing thence with the first fair wind he landed at *Ptolemais* towards the end of summer, so that he was not above three months in all this journey both by sea and land.

ON his arrival his first care was to relieve his mother, sister, and other friends, that were shut up in *Massada*. For ^r *Antigonus* had besieged them with a close siege ever since his departure, and had once brought them to so great a distress for want of water, that *Joseph* had resolved to attempt

^a Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 25. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 11. lib. 14. cap. 26. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 11.

^r Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 27. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 12. ^f He was the son of *Alexandra*, the daughter of *Hyrchanus*, by *Alexander*, the son of *Aristobulus* the brother of *Hyrchanus*, so that he had the title of both brothers in him.

^r Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 26. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 12.

desperately

desperately to break through the besiegers, and flee unto *Malchus* in *Arabia*: For he had heard that *Malchus* had repented of his unkindness to *Herod*, and was now much better inclined to him and his party. But the night before he intended to have put this design in execution, there fell such plentiful showers of rain, as filled all their cisterns, and thereby put them in a capacity of holding out till *Herod* came and relieved them. And to relieve them being what he had most at heart, (especially for the sake of *Mariamne* his late betrothed mistress, who was a lady of the greatest beauty, and the greatest merit of any of her time) he did all he could to provide for it. For immediately on his return he set himself to raise men, lifting into his service as well foreigners as *Jews*, and with those and such *Roman* auxiliaries as he received from *Ventidius* and *Silo* his lieutenant in *Palestine*, he made himself master of all *Galilee*, some few places only excepted. After this he endeavoured to get at *Massada*, but not thinking it safe to leave so strong a place as *Joppa* behind him in the hands of his enemies he took in that first, and then proceeding to the place intended, and having there raised the siege, and received all his friends, he took in *Ressa* a strong fortress in *Idumæa*, and marching back joined *Silo*, whom *Ventidius* had left in *Judæa*, for the promoting of his interest, and encamped with him before the walls of *Jerusalem*.

FOR *Ventidius*, on his having driven the *Parthians* out of *Syria*, ^v marched into *Palestine* out of pretence to relieve *Joseph* in *Massada*, but in reality to get as much money as he could; and therefore having appeared before *Jerusalem*, and thereby frightened *Antigonus* to part with all the money he could get together, for the purchasing of his departure, he marched back into *Syria* with the gross of his army, leaving *Silo* with the rest in *Judæa*: And with these he joined *Herod*, but did him more hurt than good. For following the same method which *Ventidius* had lately given him an example for, he managed this war in no other manner, than as it might bring most money into his own pocket, receiving great sums from *Herod* to promote his interest, and at the same time greater from *Antigonus* to hinder it; so that playing booty on both sides, he squeezed each of them to the utmost, and truly served neither. He helped *Herod* indeed in reducing *Joppa*, and on his return from *Massada* went with him to the siege of *Jerusalem*, but there managed that matter so, that by encouraging his soldiers to mutiny on pretence of wanting necessaries he made it end only in the sacking of *Jericho* to the utter ruin of that place, and then dismissed the army into winter quarters; which he made *Herod* provide for them in *Idumæa*, *Samaria*, and *Galilee*.

THIS year was born to *Asinius Pollio* consul of *Rome* ^u a son, whom from his taking of *Salonæ* a city in *Dalmatia* he called *Saloninus*; on his birth *Virgil* made his fourth eclog, and therein attributes to him, what was then generally talked, first by the *Jews*, and afterwards from them by others, of the kingdom of the *Messiah*, who was speedily to appear, and restore the righteousness and bliss of the golden age again to the world. That *Saloninus* was not this person was soon proved, ^w for he died on the ninth day after his birth; but what was then foretold and rumoured abroad

^v Josephus ibid. verum primum.

^u Servius in notis ad quartam eclogam Virgilii.

^w Servius ibid. ad

concerning this matter, was in less than forty years after all fulfill'd in the birth of our Saviour. And the kingdom of *Christ* would truly be all that this eclog describes it to be, would men but keep the laws thereof: Where all do good to all there is heaven, and where all do evil to all there is hell; and according as the one or the other prevails, so have we an heaven or an hell here on earth. The law of *Christ* is truly and exactly calculated for the former; and were the righteousness, justice, and charity which it enjoins fully observed, then all would do good to all, and a state of bliss would be established among men here on earth, next that which is enjoyed by the saints in heaven. And all that is said of the golden age by the poets, or of the kingdom of the *Messiah* by the prophets of *Israel*, would truly be verified in this life; and that it is not so is wholly owing to the wickedness of men, who by their malice, violence, and uncharitableness obstruct, what otherwise the law of *Christ* would effect, and thereby introduce an hell instead of an heaven among us.

* *HEROD*, though he had put *Silo's* soldiers into winter quarters, still kept the field with his own; one part of which he sent into *Idumæa* under the command of his brother *Joseph* to secure all there to his interest, with the rest he marched to *Samaria*, and having there placed his mother, sister, and all his other friends which he brought from *Massada*, under a safe guard, he passed on into *Galilee*, and there reduced *Sepphoris*, and all other places which held for *Antigonus* in that countrey; and after that betook himself to rid it of those bands of thieves and *banditti*, which at that time very much infested it: For there being many mountains and steep craggy rocks in this countrey, with caves in them capable of affording hiding-places for great numbers of this sort of people, great numbers of them were often found from those dens to make ravages and depredations in it, and never more than at this time. For the suppressing of these *Herod* marched with all his forces against them, and all were scarce enough: For these robbers having joined their forces together, made such an head against him, that at first *Herod's* left wing was put to the rout, till he himself came up in person with other forces to their relief; whereon having gained the victory, he pursued them as far as the river *Jordan*, and there drove them all out of the countrey, excepting only some few, who lurking behind shelter'd themselves in the caves and fastnesses of the mountains. After this he gave his soldiers a donative of one hundred and fifty drachms a man, and dismiss'd them into winter quarters. While they lay there he took care by the agency of *Pheroras* his brother to furnish them, and also the *Romans* under *Silo*, with plenty of provisions; and also took care at the same time by the same person for the re-edifying and new fortifying of the castle of *Alexandrium*. And as soon as the season of the year would allow him to take the field, he marched again into *Galilee* to rid that countrey from the remainder of those thieves, who still infested that countrey, from the caves and holes of the mountains where they had taken shelter. But how to come at them was the difficulty: For by reason of the cragginess and steepness of those mountains there was no scaling them from below, and to get down to them from above by any passage was altogether as unpracticable: And therefore to ferret them out of their dens

* Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 27. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 12.

he was forced to make certain chests, and filling them with soldiers to let them down into the entrances of those caves by chains from engines which he had fixed above; by which means having destroyed all that lurked in them, or else reduced them to terms of submission, he wholly quieted that countrey for the present, and marched to *Samaria* from thence to make war upon *Antigonus*. But he was no sooner gone, but those thieves whom he had lately driven over *Jordan* again returned, and infesting a-new that countrey, flew *Ptolemy*, whom *Herod* had made governor of it, and began again to ravage all round about them. But *Herod* on notice hereof coming back again soon made them pay dear for it: For ferretting them out of all their hiding holes, he cut off the most of them, destroyed all their places of retreat, and deeply fined all of the countrey that had afforded them any relief or countenance; by which necessary rigour he at length restored full peace and security to all *Galilee*.

IN the interim ^y *Antony* was at *Athens*, there spending this winter with his new wife *Octavia* in the same excesses of luxury, folly, and loose diversifements as he had the former with *Cleopatra* at *Alexandria*. While he thus lay idle in that place, ^y there came thither to him an account of the two victories gained by *Ventidius* against the *Parthians*; for which he made great rejoicing and feasting in that place. But hearing that *Pacorus* was making great preparations for another invasion into *Syria*, he thought not fit any longer to lye still, and leave it to his lieutenant to reap all the laurels of this war: And therefore as soon as the spring advanced he left *Athens* with all his forces and marched towards the east; but before he could get thither *Ventidius* had gained a third victory much greater than the other two, ^z whereby he seemed to have fully revenged the death of *Crassus*, and those that were cut off with him in the battel of *Carrhae*. For the loss on the *Parthians* side at this time was altogether as signal as that other on the *Romans*, *Pacorus* himself and above twenty thousand of his best men being slain in this overthrow. The manner whereby it was effected was as followeth.

^z *VENTIDIUS* hearing that the *Parthians* were in great readiness for another expedition into *Syria*, feared that they might pass the *Euphrates* upon him before he should be able to get his army together from the several places where they were dispersed into quarters, for the putting of himself into a condition to oppose them: And therefore for the preventing thereof he had recourse to this stratagem. There being then in his camp under the name of an ally a petty Prince of those eastern parts, whom he knew to be a well-wisher and secret correspondent of the *Parthians*, that communicated to them all the intelligence he could get of the *Roman* counsels and designs, he laid a plot of serving himself by this man's treachery. For taking the first opportunity that offered to discourse with him, and expressing himself as if he placed great confidence in him, communicated to him pretended fears, feigning that he had heard, and was thereon much concerned, that the *Parthians* waving the usual passage of the *Euphrates* at *Zeugma*, intended now to enter *Syria* another way at a pas-

^y Dion Cassius lib. 48. Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 5. Plutarchus in Antonio.

^z Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 27. Plutarchus in Antonio. Appian. in Parthicis. Dion Cassius lib. 49. Strabo lib. 16. p. 751. Epitome Livii 128. Justin. lib. 42. cap. 4. Julius Frontinus Stratagem. lib. 1. cap. 1. & lib. 2. cap. 2. Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 78. Eutropius lib. 7. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 18.

sage of that river much below the former. For, said he, if they pass at *Zeugma* the country on this side the *Euphrates* is there mountainous, where the *Parthian* horse, of which their army mostly consists, will not be useful to them; but in case they take the lower passage, the country is all plain, and there the horse will have their full advantage, and the *Romans* will not be able to stand before them. As soon as this conference was over, the traitor, according as *Ventidius* foresaw, conveyed a full account of it to the *Parthians*, and there it had the full effect which was intended: For *Pacorus* immediately hereon altering his course, left the road of *Zeugma*, and took his rout into the other road, where *Ventidius* wished he should; which causing a long march about, and requiring other preparations to be made for the passing of the river at the place now intended, while all this was a doing forty days were gained to *Ventidius*, in which time having gotten to him *Silo* from *Judea*, and all his legions from beyond *Taurus*, where they had been quartered, he was in full readiness to meet the *Parthians* as soon as they entered *Syria*; where having first overwitted them by several stratagems and artifices of war, he at length vanquished them with that signal overthrow which I have mentioned. It is remarked of this victory of the *Romans*, that as it fully revenged the victory gotten over *Crassus* by the *Parthians*; so^a it was gotten on the same day of the year on which the other was lost, just fourteen years before. It happen'd therefore in the month of *June*, for in that month the battel of *Carrhae* was fought by *Crassus*.

ORODES King of *Parthia* hearing of this defeat, and the death of his son in it, ^b was so overwhelmed with excess of grief for this calamity, that he grew distracted upon it. For several days he sat mute not speaking a word, or caring to take any meat: And when his grief had at length made way for his tongue to express it, nothing else could be heard from him but the name of *Pacorus*; sometimes he would seem to see him, and call upon him as if present; sometimes to talk with him; sometimes to hear him speaking to him; and at other times recollecting that he was lost he would pour out his lamentations for it with showers of tears. And in truth there was reason enough for all this grief in the present case: For this overthrow was^c the greatest blow which the *Parthians* had at any time till now ever received; and the loss of the Prince was as great as that of the army: For^d he was the worthiest person for justice and clemency, as well as for valour, and all other princely qualities which the royal family of *Arsaces* had ever bred; by which, in the short time that he was in *Syria*, he so far endeared himself to the people of that country, that they never expressed a greater affection for any Prince that ever reigned over them than they did for him.

HAD *Ventidius* after this victory pursued all the advantages of it, he might have driven the *Parthians* out of all *Mesopotamia* and *Babylonia*, and extended the *Roman* empire to the banks of the *Tigris*, if not beyond them; but^e he feared he might thereby excite the envy of *Antony* against him, and therefore contented himself with reducing all those places in *Syria* and *Phœnicia* which had revolted from the *Romans* in the late war; and

^a Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 405. Eutropius lib. 7. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 18. ^b Justin. lib. 42. cap. 4. ^c Justin. ibid. ^d Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 404. ^e Plutarchus in Antonio. Appianus in Parthicus.

in pursuit hereof he was with all his army in *Commagena* when *Antony* arrived. For ^f*Antiochus* the King of that countrey having embraced the *Parthian* interest against the *Romans*, *Ventidius* made war upon him for it; and having shut him up in *Samofata*, the capitol of his kingdom, was then streightly besieging him. *Antony* on his coming thither took this war out of his hands, and dismissing him from his presidency of *Syria*, and all other command, sent him to *Rome*, on pretence that he might there take his triumph for his victories; but the true reason was, ^ghe envied him the glory of them, and therefore sent him away from the army, with which he was in great reputation, and never employed him afterwards, though on many occasions after this time he needed so able and experienced a general to fight his battels for him. However ^h*Ventidius* on his return to *Rome* was there received with all the honour that his victories deserved: For he was not only admitted to his triumph, but had it granted to him with the general applause of all the *Roman* people; and herein had this peculiar glory, that he was the only person that ever triumphed over the *Parthians*, none before or after having ever attained to it besides him alone. And another thing was also peculiar to him in this matter, which was altogether as remarkable, ⁱthat is, he came to this honour of triumphing from being led in triumph himself, which no one else besides himself ever did. For in the social war, which the *Italian* allies waged with *Rome* for the freedom of that city, being made a captive at the taking of *Asculum*, the chief city of *Picenum*, by *Strabo* the father of *Pompey*, he was then, being very young, led before that general in his triumph for the said victory. After this his family being brought to poverty by the ruin and saccage of their city, he was forced when grown up to betake himself to a mean and fordid employment for his livelihood: For at first ^khe was only a mulitier, and being used to provide mules for the carrying of the baggage of such *Roman* magistrates as were sent to govern foreign provinces, *Cæsar* made use of him for this purpose when he went first into *Gallia*; and having on that occasion taken notice of the activity and quick apprehension of the man, took him with him into his *Gallic* wars; wherein by his valour and other military qualifications he rose so fast through all the stations of the camp, as that he became one of the chief of *Cæsar*'s generals in all the wars that he afterwards waged, and on his return to the city reaped honours there as fast as he had in the army, being ^lfirst made tribune of the people, and afterwards ^mprætor and consul of *Rome*. After *Cæsar*'s death ⁿhe joined himself to *Antony*, and fought for his cause in the wars both of *Mutina* and *Perusia*; and afterwards being sent as his lieutenant into the *East*, he there obtained the victories I have mentioned; for which having triumphed at his return to *Rome*, he there afterwards lived, and there died in great honour; ^oand on his decease a publick funeral was there made for him at the charges of the commonwealth.

In the interim ^p*Herod* carried on his war in *Judea* against *Antigonus*, and *Machæras* a *Roman* general by the order of *Antony* was sent with two

^f Plutarchus & Appianus ibid. Dion Cassius lib. 49.

Cassius ibid. ^h Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 404, & 405. A. Gellius lib. 15. cap. 4.

ⁱ Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 65. Valerius Maximus lib. 6. cap. 9. Plinius lib. 7. cap. 43.

A. Gellius lib. 15. cap. 4. Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 405.

^k A. Gellius lib. 15. cap. 4.

^l A. Gellius ibid.

^m Dion Cassius lib. 47. p. 335. A. Gellius ibid.

ⁿ Plutarchus in

Antonio. ^o A. Gellius lib. 15. p. 4.

Judaico lib. 1. cap. 12.

^p Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 27. & de bello

legions, and a thousand horse to his assistance. But on his approach to the walls of *Jerusalem*, where he went with design to confer with *Antigonus*, being beaten back by the archers and slingers that guarded the rampart he fell into such a rage hereon, that on his retreat from thence, he slew all the *Jews* that came in his way without regarding whether they were friends or foes; in which wild fury of his many of *Herod's* friends being cut off, he could not bear it with any patience, and therefore went away immediately to *Samaria*, and from thence hastened towards *Antony* to make complaint to him of this outrage; of which *Machæras* having notice made after him as fast as he could, and having overtaken him, prevailed with him to overlook what was past, and be reconciled unto him. However *Herod* continuing his journey to pay his respects unto *Antony*, left *Joseph* his brother to command in *Judæa* during his absence, but with special order to put nothing to hazard, till he should return. On his coming to *Antony*, (whom he found still at *Samofata*) he was received with great honour, and in requital of it, there did him special service in the carrying on of the siege of that place. *Ventidius* first begun it, as hath been already mentioned, and King *Antiochus*, whom he shut up therein, offered a thousand talents for his peace: but *Antony* on his arrival not accepting of it, after he had dismissed *Ventidius*, carried on the siege himself, but with much less success. For the people of the place, on *Antony's* rejecting the best terms they could offer him for peace, being by desperation made valiant defended themselves so well, that *Antony* was glad at length to compound the matter with *Antiochus* for less than one third of the sum, that was offered, that so he might raise the siege with honour, which otherwise he feared he might be forced to without it, by reason of the discontent of his own soldiers. For they being all displeased at the dismissal of *Ventidius*, under whom they had gotten such signal victories, did very much resent it, and therefore executed *Antony's* orders in the siege neither with that vigor, nor that care, as was necessary to make them succeed. After this *Antony* having appointed *Sosius* to be his lieutenant in *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and *Palestine*, left the army with him, and sailed to *Athens*, and from thence to *Brundisium* to confer with *Octavianus*, but not finding him there at the time appointed he returned back to *Athens*, and from thence passed to *Alexandria*, and there spent the ensuing winter in the same dalliances and luxurious delights with *Cleopatra*, as he had the winter two years before.

While *Herod* was absent in his attendance upon *Antony*, *Joseph* forgetting the orders he had received from him, made an expedition against *Jericho*, taking with him his own men, and five cohorts received from *Machæras*; but being there circumvented by the enemy, he was himself slain, and most of his forces cut in pieces. Whereon those that were disaffected to *Herod* in *Galilee* and *Idumæa*, revolted from him in both these provinces. *Herod* being come back from *Antony* as far as *Daphne* near *Antioch*, had there an account brought him of these misfortunes, whereon he hastened back into *Judæa* to bring the best remedy to them that he

^b Plutarchus in Antonio. Appianus in Parthicis. ^c Plutarchus & Appian. ibid. Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 405. ^d Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 27. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 13.

^e Plutarchus in Antonio. Appianus de bellis civilibus lib. 5. Dion Cassius lib. 48. p. 385.

^f Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 27. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 13.

could.

could. On his coming to mount *Libanus*, he there raised eight hundred men, and with these and one *Roman* cohort marched to *Ptolemais*, and from thence made war upon the revolvers of *Galilee*. And having there received another cohort from *Antony*, soon brought all those again to submit to him, who had in that countrey declared against him. And after that went to *Jericho* for the revenging of his brother *Joseph's* death, but there attempted it to his hurt. For the *Antigonians* in those parts overpowering him with numbers, put his forces to the rout, and wounded *Herod* himself in the conflict. But after this having gotten more men together about him, he soon grew into a better condition for the prosecuting of the war. And therefore finding that *Pappus* a prime general of *Antigonus's*, had taken the field against him with the main strength of that party, he engaged him in battel, and gained an absolute victory over him, having slain *Pappus* himself in the rout, and cut off most of his army with him; and had it not been for the severity of the winter, which now approached, he had gone immediately to *Jerusalem*, and made an end of the war by taking that place; but the soldiers not being able to bear lying any longer abroad, he was forced to put them into winter quarters, and to defer what remained undone to the operation of the next campaign.

Ant. 38.
Antigonus 2.

As soon as the spring began to come on, ^w *Antony* sailed from *Alexandria* to *Athens*, where he had left his wife *Octavia* ever since his last going from thence for *Syria*, and having taken her in, passed from thence with her for *Italy*, attended with a fleet of three hundred sail, and landed at *Tarentum*, proposing with this naval force to assist *Octavianus* against *Sextus Pompeius*; but *Octavianus* not accepting his aid out of jealousy of him, this had like to have made another quarrel between them, and other reasons of discontent on this occasion were urged on both sides against each other; but *Octavia* mediating between her husband and her brother made up all matters. And whereas the five years were now near expiring, for which the sovereign government of the *Roman* empire was granted to the *Triumvirs* by the people, they ^{*} prolonged it for five years more by their own authority, and as long as the sovereignty was in them, they thought by virtue thereof they had right so to do. After this ^y *Antony* returned into *Syria* to make preparations for the *Parthian* war. *Octavia* accompanied him as far as *Corcyra*, but that she might not be exposed with him to the dangers of that expedition, he from thence sent her back into *Italy*, there to reside till it should be over, ^y committing her, and the children which he had either by her or *Fulvia*, to the care of *Octavianus*.

ON *Antony's* returning into *Syria*, ^z *Octavianus* married *Livia Drusilla* the daughter of *Livius Drusus*, who having been one of those that were proscribed by the *Triumvirs* was driven thereby to take shelter with *Brutus* and *Cassius*; after whose overthrow at *Philippi*, not knowing where else to flee, he fell on his sword and slew himself. She was first the wife of *Tiberius Nero*, and bore him *Tiberius Caesar*, who succeeded *Augustus* in the empire. On the breach that happen'd between *Octavianus* and *Fulvia* the wife of *Antony* he sided with the latter, whereon he was forced after

^w Plutarchus in Antonio. Appianus de bellis civilibus lib. 5. Dion Cassius lib. 48.

^{*} Plutarchus & Appianus ibidem.

^y Dion Cassius lib. 48. in fine. Plutarchus & Appianus

ibidem. ^z Dion Cassius lib. 48. p. 383. Suetonius in Octavio cap. 62. & in Tiberio cap. 4.

the

the taking of *Perusia* to flee out of *Italy*, carrying with him his wife and his young son *Tiberius*; but being included in the pacification, that was afterwards made between *Octavianus* and *Antony*, he returned to *Rome*, where *Octavianus* falling in love with her, *Tiberius* for the purchase of his favour willingly yielded her unto him; and he accordingly married her, though she were then great with child by *Tiberius*, and within three months of her time of delivery. This for some time caused a delay, and the *Pontifices* were consulted about the lawfulness of marrying her in this case; but their answer being, that it was only unlawful, when it might cause a doubt to which husband the next child born of her might belong; and it being now after six months pregnancy past all doubt, that the child next to be born belonged to *Tiberius*, *Octavianus* forthwith married her, and three months after a son being born of her (the same who hereafter by the name of *Drusus* will be often spoken of) he was sent to *Tiberius* as to the proper father; but *Tiberius* dying a little after, both this son and the other also were sent back to *Octavianus* to be taken care of, and bred up by him, as being left their guardian by the will of their father. He had a former wife called *Scribonia*, who brought him his daughter *Julia*. Her he divorced for her ill temper; but *Livia*, though she brought him no children, continued to be his wife as long as he lived, and always commanded his affection to the last.

IN the interim *Herod* having made great preparations for the carrying on of this year's campaign, brought a great army into the field, and marching with it directly up to the walls of *Jerusalem*, laid close siege to that city, and forthwith ordered the casting up of such works against it, as were in those times made use of for the taking of besieged places. While this was a doing he himself went to *Samaria*, and there consummated his marriage with ^b *Mariamne*. He had betrothed her four years before, but his troubles hindered, that he did not marry her till now. She was the daughter of *Alexander*, the son of King *Aristobulus*, by *Alexandra* the daughter of *Hyrcaus* the second, and therefore was granddaughter to both ^c those brothers. She was a lady of extraordinary beauty, and great virtue, and in all other laudable qualifications accomplished beyond most others of her time. The *Jews* of those times having generally a zealous affection for the family of the *Asmonæans*, *Herod* thought that by marrying this lady out of it, he should the easier reconcile that people to him; and this made him so earnest for the consummating of the marriage at this time. On ^d his return to his army before *Jerusalem*, *Sosius* the governor of *Syria* came thither to him. For being ordered by *Antony* to do his utmost for the subduing of *Antigonus*, and the putting of *Herod* in full possession of the kingdom of *Judæa*, he marched into that countrey with the best of his forces for this purpose, and having joined *Herod* before *Jerusalem*, they both together pushed on the siege of that place with the utmost vigor, and a very numerous army; for both of them together had no fewer than ^e eleven

^a Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 27. in fine. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 13.

^b In Hebrew the name is Miriam, in Greek Maria, in Josephus Mariamme, but most Latin writers call her Mariamne.

^c Hyrcanus and Aristobulus were brothers, as being both the sons of Alexander Janæus by Alexandra his Queen.

^d Josephus de bello Judaico ibid. antiq. lib. 14. cap. 28.

^e Legions were of an uncertain number, as containing sometimes 4000, sometimes 5000, and sometimes 6000 men; according to the lowest computation, this army with the horsemen and the Syrian auxiliaries could not be less than sixty thousand men.

legions, and six thousand horse, besides the *Syrian* auxiliaries. However the place held out several months with a great deal of resolution, and had the military skill of those that defended it been equal to their valour, they could not have been subdued. But their defence being made rather with boldness than due order and good conduct according to the art of war, the *Romans* herein much out-did them, and by means hereof at length carried the place after a siege of ^fabove half a year.

An. 37.
Herod
the Great
1.

For it was not till the year next after following that the place was taken. For ^gthen the *Jews* being beaten out of all their places of defence, the city was broken up, and the enemy entering it on every side made themselves thorough masters of it, and being exasperated by the length of the siege, and the great labour and hardship which they had endured in it, for the revenging hereof they filled all the quarters of the place with blood and slaughter, and ravaged it all over with rapine and devastation. *Herod* did all he could to hinder both, but without success, *Sofius* encouraging the foldiers in what they did. Hereon *Herod* went to him with heavy complaints about it, alledging that if the city were thus destroyed by plunder and slaughter, the *Romans* would make him only King of a desert, and therefore desired that a stop might be put to this ravage and cruelty; but receiving no other answer, but that the spoils of the city were due to the foldiers for the reward of their labour and valour in the taking of it, he was forced by a sum of money to redeem the city from all farther devastations, which otherwise would have been utterly ruined and destroyed.

ANTIGONUS seeing all lost ^hsurrendered himself to *Sofius*, and cast himself in a very submissive and abject manner at his feet to pray his compassion. But *Sofius* despising his cowardice and meanness of spirit rejected him with scorn, and looking on such a behaviour as more becoming a woman than a man, instead ⁱof *Antigonus* by way of contempt called him *Antigona*, and forthwith ordered him to be put in chains, and as soon as *Antony* was returned out of *Italy*, and came again to *Antioch*, *Sofius* sent this captive King thither to him. *Antony* ^kat first intended to have reserved him for his triumph. But *Herod* not thinking himself safe in his kingdom, as long as this remainder of the old royal family continued alive, never left soliciting *Antony*, till at length by a great sum of money he obtained, that this poor Prince was put to death; to which he having been condemned by a formal sentence in judicature, this sentence ^lwas executed upon him in the same manner as upon a common criminal by the rods and axe of the *Liſtor*, which the *Romans* never before subjected any crown'd head to. And here ended the reign of the *Asmonæans*, after it had lasted from the beginning of *Judas Maccabæus*'s government to this time ^mone hundred twenty nine years, and with it I shall end this book.

^fi. e. reckoning from the time that *Herod* came before the place, which was some time before *Sofius* joined him, and carried on the siege in conjunction with him. ^gJosephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 28. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 13. ^hDion Cassius lib. 49. ⁱJosephus ibid.

^jAntigonus is the masculine name, Antigona the feminine. The former is proper to men, the other to women. ^kJosephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 1. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 13.

^lJosephus ibid. Plutarchus in Antonio. Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 405. ^mWhereas Josephus in his antiquities, book xiv. chap. 28. saith it lasted only 126 years, this is to be computed from the time that *Judas* was established in the government by his peace with *Antiochus Eupator* three years after he first took it upon him.



THE
Old and New TESTAMENT
Connected in the
HISTORY
OF THE
Jews and Neighbouring Nations,
FROM THE
Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
to the time of CHRIST.

PART II. BOOK VIII.



IN the taking of *Jerusalem* *Herod* was put in thorough possession of the kingdom of *Judæa*: ^{An. 37.} But the greater part ^{Herod} of the *Jews*, as long as *Antigonus* was alive, partly out of the affection they had for the old royal family of the *Asmonæans*, and partly out of their hatred to *Herod*, could not be induced by any means to own him for their King, which conduced much to the hastening on the death of that captive Prince. As *Herod* was forced to make his way to the throne of this kingdom through a great deal of blood, ^b so he found it necessary to establish himself in it by

^a Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 1.
Vol. II.

^b Josephus ibid. De bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 13.
G g g the

the same means, putting daily to death such of the opposite faction as he most feared; ^c among whom were all the counsellors of the great Sanhedrim, except *Pollio* and *Sameas*. These two ^d had during the whole siege declared for the receiving of *Herod* to be King, and the rendering of the city to him, telling the people, that their sins being grown to so very great an height as they then were, they had nothing else to expect but that God would deliver them into the hands of this man for the punishment of them, and that therefore it was in vain for them to resist him. But the rest of the Sanhedrim running violently the other way, ^e cried up *the temple of the Lord; the temple of the Lord!* as if for the sake thereof God would certainly protect that city; and on this conceit they did all they could to excite and encourage the people to a fierce and obstinate resistance; and hereto it was owing that the siege held on so long. And therefore *Herod*, when he had gotten them into his power, put them all to death for it. To this he is also said to have been provoked by another reason, that is, for their having called him before them upon a trial for his life for the death of *Hezekiah* the robber, when he was governor of *Galilee* under *Hyrcauus*, of which mention hath been above made. But if that influenced him in this matter, he would not have spared *Sameas*, who was of all the most violent against him in that cause. These two men are by the *Jewish* writers called *Hillel* and *Shammai*, and their names ^f are of the greatest note among them of all their mishnical doctors, that is, of all those who taught their traditions from the time of *Simon the just* to the compiling of the *Mishna* by *R. Judah Hakkadosh*, and they make the sixth link in their cabbalistical chain from the said *Simon*: For ^g he (they said) delivered their traditions to (1.) *Antigonus of Socho*, *Antigonus of Socho* delivered them (2.) to *Joses Ben Joezer*, and *Joseph Ben Jochanan*; these to (3.) *Joshua Ben Perachia* and *Nathan the Arbelite*; these (4.) to *Simeon Ben Shetach* and *Jehuah Ben Tabbai*; these to (5.) *Shemaiah* and *Abtalion*; and these to (6.) *Hillel* and *Shammai*. Of these pairs the first in each of them was ^h *Nasi*, that is president of the great Sanhedrim, and the other ⁱ *Ab Beth Din*, that is vice-president of the same; and both of them were, while in these offices, the chief teachers in their schools of divinity. The *Jewish* writers ascribe to *Shemaiah* and *Abtalion* only six years, but to their immediate predecessors ^j a full hundred and one over, which gives that link in the chain of their traditional succession a stretch beyond credibility. *Shemaiah* and *Abtalion* ^k are said to have been both proselytes, and sons of the same father, by whom they derived their descent from *Sennacherib*, King of *Assyria*, but they had for their mother a woman of *Israel*, otherwise ^l they could not have been members of the great Sanhedrim, or have held any place of judicature in the *Jewish* nation. *Herod* at this time putting to death all the members of the great Sanhedrim excepting *Hillel* and

^c Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 17. & lib. 15. cap. 1.

^d Josephus ibid.

^e Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 28.

^f Juchasin, Shalheleth, Haccabbala, Zemach David.

^g Pirke Aboth cap. 1. Maimonides in præfatione ad Seder Zeraim, & in præfatione ad Yad Chazekah, Abarbanel, alique e rabbinis.

^h *Nasi* in Hebrew signifieth prince, and *Ab Beth Din* father of the house of judgment. ⁱ The Jewish chronologers tell us, that these two persons entered on their offices in the year of the world according to the Jewish computation 3623, and that *Shemaiah* and *Abtalion* did not succeed them till the year 3722, between which intervened 101 years.

^k Zacutus in Juchasin, & David Ganz in Zemach David.

^l Maimonides in tract. Sanhedrin.

Shammai, it is not to be doubted but that these two, *Shemaiah* and *Abital*, perished in that slaughter, after whose death *Hillel* was made president, and *Shammai* vice-president of the Sanhedrim that was afterwards formed.

THIS *Hillel*, whom *Josephus* calls ^m *Pollio*, was one of the eminentest that ever was among the *Jewish* doctors for birth, learning, rule, and posterity. For as to his birth ⁿ he was by his mother of the seed of *David*, being by her descended from *Shephatiah* the son of *Abital* *David's* wife: For his learning in the *Jewish* law and traditions, the *Jewish* writers by an unanimous suffrage give him the first place of eminency among all the ancient doctors of their nation. As for rule, he bore it in the highest station of honour among his people for forty years together; for so long as president of the Sanhedrim he sat in the first chair of justice over the whole *Jewish* nation, and discharged himself therein with greater wisdom and justice than any that had from the time of *Simon the just* possessed that place before him. And as for his posterity, he was so happy therein, that for several descents they succeeded him in the same eminency of learning, and thereby gained also for several descents to succeed him in the same station of honour: For those of his family were presidents of the sanhedrim from father to son to the tenth generation. For after him succeeded *Simeon* his son, who is supposed to have been the same who took *Christ* in his arms on his being first presented in the temple, ^o and then to have sung over him his *nunc dimittas*. After *Simeon* succeeded *Gamaliel* his son, who presided in the Sanhedrim at the time when *Peter* and the Apostles were called before that council (*Acts* v. 34.) and was the same at whose feet *Paul* was bred up in the sect and learning of the Pharisees (*Acts* xxii. 3.) ^p He is called in the *Jewish* writings *Gamaliel the old*, because of his long life; for he lived down to the eighteenth year before the destruction of *Jerusalem*. After him succeeded *Simeon* his son, the second of that name in this line, who perished in the destruction of *Jerusalem*. The next successor after him was *Gamaliel* his son, the second of that name; to him succeeded *Simeon* his son, the third of that name. After him was *R. Judah Hakkadosh* his son, who composed the *Mishna*, and on that account his name hath ever since been had in great veneration among all of the *Jewish* nation. His son and successor in the same office was *Gamaliel* the third of that name, and after him his son *Judah Gemaricus*, and after him his son *Hillel* the second, who was the compiler of the present kalendar of the *Jewish* year. How long after him this office continued in that family is not said. And no doubt it was with respect to the family of *David* that *Hillel* had this honour so long continued among his posterity: But he was descended from it only by his mother's side, for by his father he was of the tribe of *Benjamin*. ^p He was born in *Babylonia*, and there lived till the 40th year of his life; at which age he came to *Jerusalem*, and there betook himself to the study of the law, in which he grew so eminent, that

^m *Josephus* joins *Pollio* with *Shammai*, and makes him to be *Shammai's* master, and *Hillel* was so according to the Rabbins; and therefore undoubtedly the *Pollio* of *Josephus* and the *Hillel* of the Rabbins was the same person.

ⁿ *Zacutus* in *Juchasin*, *Gedaliah* in *Shalsheleth Haccabbala*, & *David Ganz* in *Zemach David*. *Videas etiam Buxtorfii Lexicon Rabbinicum* col. 617, & de abbreviaturis p. 48, & 58; *Vorslii observationes ad Zemach David*, and *Lightfoot's harmony of the New Testament*, part I. sect. 8. ^o *Luke* ii. ^p *Zacutus*, *Gedalia*, & *David Ganz* *ibid*.

after 40 years more he became president of the Sanhedrim, being then 80 years old, and continued in that office for another 40 years after; so that according to this account he lived full an hundred and twenty years. The time he first enter'd on his presidentship was about an hundred years before the destruction of *Jerusalem*. The *Jewish* writers make it a compleat hundred years: But those people are far from being exact in their chronological computations; for the sake of a round number, or an imaginary mystery, they often in such matters shoot under or over the truth at their pleasure. He is said on his first entering on this office to have had for his vice-president one *Manahem*, a learned man of those times; but he not long after deserting this station to enter into the service of *Herod*, *Shammai* was chosen in his place; and what we have in *Josephus* agreeth herewith: For he^a makes mention of a *Manahem*, that was a person of eminent note in those times; of whom he tells us, that being of the sect of the *Essenes* he had the spirit of prophecy; and one time meeting with *Herod* among his school-fellows, when he was a boy, greeted him with this salutation, *Hail King of the Jews*; and laying his hand gently on his shoulder, foretold to him that he should be advanced to that honour. *Herod* for many years had no regard to this prediction, it being a thing he had no expectation of. But afterwards, when he came to be King, remembering the matter, he sent for *Manahem*, and was very solicitous to know of him how long he should reign; concluding, that he who foretold he should be King, could also foretel how long he should be so. *Manahem* at first not returning him a certain answer, *Herod* put it to him whether he should reign ten years; *Manahem* answered, yea ten, yea twenty, yea thirty; with which *Herod* being contented asked no farther, but from this time had *Manahem* in great esteem; and no doubt on this occasion drew him into his service, and thereon *Shammai* was appointed to be vice-president in his room.

THIS *Shammai* had been for some time the scholar of *Hillel*, and came the nearest to him in eminency of learning of all the *Tannaim* or mishnical doctors. But when he became his vice-president he did not always concur in opinion with him: For there were many points wherein they differed, which caused the like contests and disputes between their followers as there are between the *Thomists* and *Scotists* among the schoolmen: For in a great many things^c the school of *Hillel* went one way, and the school of *Shammai* another. This produced such divisions and quarrels between their scholars, that at length it came to the effusion of blood, and several were slain on both sides. But in the conclusion the school of *Hillel* carried it against the school of *Shammai*, a determination being given for the former they say by a *Bath Koh*, that is by a voice pretended to come from heaven, and by this fiction all disturbances between them were appeased. *Hillel* was of a mild and peaceable temper, but *Shammai* on the contrary was of a very angry and fiery spirit, and from hence proceeded most of the oppositions and disputes that were between the schools of these two great doctors,

^a *Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 13.* ^c Videas *Zacutum, Gedaliah, Davidem Ganz & Buxtorfium ibidem, & Drusium de tribus sectis, lib. 2. cap. 10.* ^f *Of this division made among the pharisaical Jews by the different schools of Hillel and Shammai Jerom speaks in his commentary on Isaiah viii. 14. and he there tells us, that these two men flourished in Judæa not long before Christ was born. His words are, Shammai & Hillel non multò prius quàm Dominus noster orti sunt in Judæa.*

of which *Shammai* growing at length weary, was contented to have them all ended by the fiction I have mentioned.

^s *HILLEL* bred up above a thousand scholars in the knowledge of the law, of which eighty were reckoned to be of greater eminency above the rest: For of them, say the *Jewish* writers, thirty were worthy on whom the divine glory should rest, as it did upon *Moses*; and thirty for whom the sun should stand still, as it did for *Joshua*; and the twenty others were of a middling size. The eminentest of them all was *Jonathan Ben Uzziel*, the author of the *Chaldee* paraphrase upon the prophets; with whom was contemporary *Onkelos*, who was author of the *Chaldee* paraphrase upon the law. But whether he was a scholar of *Hillel's* or no is not said. There are other *Chaldee* paraphrases besides these two; but what, or how many they were, or for what use they served, not being as yet any where mentioned in this work, it is proper I here give the reader an account of them.

THE *Chaldee* paraphrases are translations of the scriptures of the *Old Testament*, made directly from the *Hebrew* text into the language of the *Chaldeans*; which language was anciently used through all *Affyria*, *Babylonia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, and *Palestine*; and is still the language of the Churches of the *Nestorian* and *Maronite* Christians in those eastern parts, in the same manner as the *Latin* is the language of the popish Churches here in the west. And therefore these paraphrases were called *Targums*, because they were versions or translations of the *Hebrew* text into this language: For the word *Targum* signifieth in *Chaldee* an interpretation or version of one language into another, and may properly be said of any such version or translation; but it is most commonly by the *Jews* appropriated to these *Chaldee* paraphrases. For being among them what were most eminently such, they therefore had this name by way of eminency especially given unto them.

THESE *Targums* were made for the use and instruction of the vulgar *Jews* after their return from the *Babylonish* captivity: For altho' many of the better sort still retained the knowledge of the *Hebrew* language during that captivity, and taught it their children; and the holy scriptures that were delivered after that time, ^vexcepting only some parts of *Daniel* and *Ezra* and one verse in *Jeremiah*, were all written therein; yet the common people by having so long conversed with the *Babylonians* learned their language, and forgot their own. It happen'd indeed otherwise to the children of *Israel* and *Egypt*: For altho' they lived there above three times as long as the *Babylonish* captivity lasted, yet they still preserved the *Hebrew* language among them, and brought it back entire with them into *Canaan*. The reason of this was, in *Egypt* they all lived together in the land of *Goshen*; but on their being carried captive by the *Babylonians* they were dispersed all over *Chaldea* and *Affyria*, and being there intermixed with the people of the land, had their main converse with them, and therefore were forced to learn their language, and this soon induced a disuse of

^s *Zacutus*, *Gedalias*, & *David Ganz* *ibid*.

^c *Buxtorfi lexicon Rabbinicum* col. 2644.

^v The book of *Daniel* is written in *Chaldee* from the 4th verse of the second chapter to the end of the 7th chapter, and the book of *Ezra* from the 8th verse of the 4th chapter to the 27th verse of the 7th chapter. In the book of *Jeremiah* the 11th verse of the 10th chapter is only written in that language, all the rest of it is in *Hebrew*.

their

their own among them; by which means it came to pass, that after their return the common people, especially those of them who had been bred up in that captivity, understood not the holy scriptures in the *Hebrew* language, nor their posterity after them. And therefore when *Ezra* read the law to the people, "he had several persons standing by him well skill'd in both the *Chaldee* and *Hebrew* languages, who interpreted to the people in *Chaldee* what he first read to them in *Hebrew*. And afterwards when the method was established of dividing the law into 54 sections, and of reading one of them every week in their synagogues (according as hath been already described) the same course of reading to the people the *Hebrew* text first, and then interpreting it to them in *Chaldee*; was still continued. For when the reader had read one verse in *Hebrew*, an interpreter standing by did render it in *Chaldee*, and then the next verse being read in *Hebrew*, it was in like manner interpreted in the same language as before, and so on from verse to verse was every verse alternatively read first in *Hebrew*, and then interpreted in *Chaldee* to the end of the section; and this first gave occasion for the making of *Chaldee* versions for the help of these interpreters. And they thenceforth became necessary not only for their help in the publick synagogues, but also for the help of the people at home in their families, that they might there have the scriptures for their private reading in a language which they understood.

FOR first as synagogues multiplied among the *Jews* beyond the number of able interpreters, it became necessary that such versions should be made for the help of the less able. This was done at first only for the law, because at first the law only was publickly read in their synagogues till the persecution of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; but after that time lessons being read out of the prophets in those religious assemblies, as well as out of the law, the same reason rendered it necessary that *Chaldee* versions should be made of these scriptures also. And 2^{dly}, the use of the people (which was the other reason for the composing of those versions) made this necessary for all the scripture, as well as for the law and the prophets. For all scripture being given for our edification, all ought for this end to have them in a language which they understood. For when God gave his law unto *Israel*, "he enjoined, that they should have his commandments, statutes and judgments always in their hearts, that they should meditate on them day and night, teach them their children, and talk of them, when they did sit in their houses, and when they walked by the way, and when they lay down, and when they rose up; and that all might be the better enabled to perform all this, it was strictly enjoined by a constitution of the elders from ancient times, *that every man should have by him at his home a copy of the holy scriptures fairly written out either by his own, or if he could not write himself, by some other hand, for his instruction herein. But how could this be done, if they had those scriptures only in a language, which they did not understand? It was necessary therefore, that as they had the *Hebrew* text for the sake of the original, so also that they should have the *Chaldee* version for the sake of helping them to understand it. Indeed the letter of the law which commands what I have here mentioned extends no farther than to the five books of *Moses*; for no more of the holy scri-

^u Nehemiah viii. 4—8.

^w Deuteron. vi. 6—9. & ch. xi. 18, 19, 20.

^{*} Maimonides in Tephil. cap. 7.

ptures were then written, when that law was given; and also the constitution above-mentioned, which was superadded by the elders, is by positive words limited thereto. But the reason of the thing reacheth the whole word of God: For since all of it is given for our instruction, we are all equally obliged to know each part of it, as well as the other. And therefore this caused, that at length the whole scriptures were thus translated from the *Hebrew* into the *Chaldean* language for the sake of those who could not otherwise understand them: For to lock up from the people in an unknown language that word of God, which was given to lead them to everlasting life, was a thing that was not thought agreeable either with reason or piety in those times,

THIS work having been attempted by divers persons at different times, and by some of them with different views (for some of them were written as versions for the publick use of the synagogues, and others as paraphrases and commentaries for the private instruction of the people) hence it hath come to pass, that there were anciently many of these *Targums*, and of different sorts, in the same manner as there anciently were many different versions of the same holy scriptures into the *Greek* language, made with like different views; of which we have sufficient proof in the *Octapla* of *Origen*. No doubt anciently there were many more of these *Targums*, than we now know of, which have been lost in the length of time. Whether there were any of them of the same compofure on the whole scriptures is not any where said. Those that are now remaining were composed by different persons, and on different parts of scripture, some on one part, and others on other parts, and are in all of these eight sorts following. 1. That of *Onkelos*, on the five books of *Moses*. 2. That of *Jonathan Ben Uzziel* on the prophets, that is, on *Joshua*, *Judges*, the two books of *Samuel*, the two books of *Kings*, *Isaiab*, *Jeremiab*, *Ezekiel*, and the twelve *minor prophets*. 3. That on the law which is ascribed to *Jonathan Ben Uzziel*. 4. The *Jerusalem Targum* on the law. 5. The *Targum* on the five lesser books called the *Megilloth*, i. e. *Ruth*, *Esther*, *Ecclesiastes*, the *Song of Solomon*, and the *Lamentations of Jeremiab*. 6. The second *Targum* on *Esther*. 7. The *Targum* of *Joseph* the one-eyed on the book of *Job*, the *Psalms*, and the *Proverbs*: And 8. The *Targum* on the first and second book of *Chronicles*. On *Ezra*, *Nehemiah* and *Daniel*, there is no *Targum* at all: The reason given by some for this is, because a great part of those books is written in the *Chaldee* language, and therefore there is no need of a *Chaldee* paraphrase upon them. This indeed is true for *Daniel* and *Ezra*, but not for *Nehemiah*; for that book is all originally written in the *Hebrew* language. No doubt anciently there were *Chaldee* paraphrases on all the *Hebrew* parts of those books, though now lost. It was long supposed that there were no *Targums* on the two books of *Chronicles*, because none such were known, till they were lately published by *Beckius* at *Augsburg* in *Germany*, that on the first book, *Anno Domini* 1680, and that on the second *Anno* 1683.

^y He is commonly called *Josephus Cæcus*, or *Josephus the blind*. This is not to be understood as if he were blind of both eyes, for then he could not have done this work. The word in *Hebrew*, by which he is so denominated, signifieth *Lucum*, one that is blind of one eye, as well as *Cæcum*, one that is blind of both eyes.

^z *Leusden*. in *Philologo Hebræo-mixto dissertatione* quinta §. 5.

As the *Targum* of *Onkelos* is the first in order of place, as being on the *Pentateuch*, which is the first part of the holy scriptures; so I think it is not to be doubted, but that it is the first also in order of time, and the ancientest that was written of all that are now extant. The ^a *Jewish* writers, though they allow him to have been for some time of his life contemporary with *Jonathan Ben Uzziel* the author of the second *Targum* above-mentioned, yet make him much the younger of the two. For they tell us that *Jonathan* was one of the prime scholars of *Hillel*, who died about the time when our Saviour was born; but that *Onkelos* survived *Gamaliel the elder*, *Paul's* master (who was the grandson of *Hillel*, and died not till eighteen years before the destruction of *Jerusalem*) for they relate, that *Onkelos* assisted at the funeral of this *Gamaliel*, and provided for it seventy pound of frankincense at his own charge. But there are several reasons which prevail with me to think *Onkelos* the ancients of the two; the chief and principallest of them is the style, in which his *Targum* is written. That part of *Daniel* and *Ezra*, which is in *Chaldee*, is the truest standard, whereby to try the purity of the *Chaldee* language. For this language, as well as all others, being in a constant flux, and in every age deviating from what it was in the former, it follows from hence, that the farther any *Chaldee* writing doth in its style differ from that ancient standard, the later certainly it is; and the nearer it comes to it, we may as certainly conclude, the ancients it is. But no *Chaldee* writing now extant coming nearer to the style of what is written in that language by *Daniel* and *Ezra*, than the *Targum* of *Onkelos*, this to me proves that *Targum* of all others to be the most ancient. And I can see no other reason, why *Jonathan Ben Uzziel*, when he undertook to compose his *Targum*, should pass over the law, and begin with the prophets; but that he found *Onkelos* had done this work before him, and with that success in the performance, which he could not exceed. This *Targum* of *Onkelos* is rather a version, than a paraphrase. For it renders the *Hebrew* text word for word, and for the most part accurately and exactly, and it is by much the best of all this sort. And therefore it hath always been had in esteem among the *Jews* much above all the other *Targums*, and being set to the same musical notes with the *Hebrew* text, it is thereby made capable of being read in the same tone with it in their publick assemblies. And that it was accordingly there read alternatively with the text in the manner as is above described ^b *Elias Levita* tells us, who of all the *Jews*, that have handled this argument, hath written the most accurately and fully of it. For he saith, “ That the *Jews* holding themselves obliged every week in their “ synagogues to read twice that *Parashah* or section of the law, which was “ the lesson of the week (that is in the *Hebrew* original first, and then in “ the *Chaldee* interpretation after it) made use of the *Targum* of *Onkelos* “ for this purpose; and that this was their usage even down to his time

^a Zacutus in Juchasin. Gedaliah in Shaltheleth Haccabbala. David Ganz in Zemach David, aliique.

^b In Methurgeman, i. e. Lexico Chaldaico sic dicto. Verba ejus in præfatione ad illud Lexicon sunt hæc sequentia. *Antequam* inveniretur ars Typographica non extabant *Targum* Prophetarum & Hagiographorum, nisi vel unum in provinciâ, vel ad summum duo in Universo climate. Propterea nec quisquam erat qui ea curaret. At *Targum Onkelosi* semper repertum est affatim & hoc ideo, quia nos obligati sumus, ut legamus quâvis septimanâ *Parasham* bis, i. e. semel in textu Hebræo, & semel in *Targum*.

“ (which

“ which was ^c about the first part of the sixteenth century.) And that for
 “ this reason, though till the art of printing was invented there were of
 “ the other *Targums* scarce above one or two of a sort to be found in a
 “ whole countrey; yet then the *Targum* of *Onkelos* was every where
 “ among them”. Some say this *Onkelos* was a profelyte, and hold him to
 have been the same with *Akilas*, another profelyte, who is quoted in
^d *Berishith Rabba* to have written a *Targum*; and others, that he was the
 same with *Aquila* of *Pontus*, who composed one of the *Greek* versions of
 the holy scripture, which was in *Origen's Octapla*, as if the *Akilas* men-
 tioned in *Berishith Rabba*, and *Aquila* of *Pontus*, were two distinct per-
 sons. For the setting of all this at rights it is to be observed, 1. That
 the *Akilas*, whose *Targum* is quoted in *Berishith Rabba*, and elsewhere
 from it by the *Rabbins*, can be none other than *Aquila* of *Pontus*. For
 the name is the same, *Ἀκύλας* in *Greek*, and *Akilas* in *Hebrew*; the time
 in which they are said to live, is also the same, that is about the year of
Christ one hundred and thirty; and both are said to be profelytes; and
 these three characters joined together sufficiently prove them to be both
 the same person. 2. That this *Akilas* could not be *Onkelos*; for not on-
 ly the names are different, and the times in which they lived different,
 but also the *Targums*, which they are said to have written. For *Onkelos*
 wrote on the law, but the *Targum* of *Akilas*, which is quoted in *Beri-
 shith Rabba*, is on the prophets, and the hagiographa. 3. That the *Tar-
 gum* of *Akilas* quoted by the author of *Berishith Rabba*, and other *Rab-
 bins* from him, is not a *Chaldee Targum*, but the *Greek* version or *Targum*
 made by *Aquila* of *Pontus*. For although the word *Targum* be restrain-
 ed by its most common use among the *Jews* to the *Chaldee* versions of the
Hebrew scriptures, yet in its general signification it takes in any translati-
 on from one language to another, whatsoever those languages may be; and
 that therefore there was never any such *Chaldee Targum*, as is supposed to
 be quoted by the author of *Berishith Rabba*, or any such person as *Akilas*
 a profelyte distinct from *Aquila* of *Pontus* to be the author of it; but that
 the *Targum* so quoted was the *Greek Targum*, or *Greek* version of the *He-
 brew* scriptures made by the said *Aquila* of *Pontus*, of which I have above
 given a full account. 4. That the representing of *Onkelos* to have been a
 profelyte, seems to have proceeded from the error of taking him to have
 been the same with *Aquila* of *Pontus*, who was indeed a *Jewish* prose-
 lyte; for having from being an heathen embraced the christian religion,
 he apostatized from it to the *Jews*. The excellency and accuracy of *On-
 kelos's Targum* sufficiently prove him to have been a native *Jew*. For with-
 out having been bred up from his birth in the *Jewish* religion and learning,
 and long exercised in all the rights and doctrines thereof, and being also
 thoroughly skilled in both the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* languages, as far as a
 native *Jew* could be, he can scarce be thought thoroughly adequate to
 that work, which he performed.

THE next *Targum* to that of *Onkelos* is the *Targum* of *Jonathan Ben
 Uzziel* on the prophets, which is next it also in the purity of its style,
 but is not like it in the manner of its compofure. For whereas the *Tar-*

^c Some of his books were published Anno 1517, and some Anno 1539.
^d *Berishith Rabba* is an
 old Rabbinical commentary on the book of Genesis.

gum of *Onkelos* is a strict version, rendering the *Hebrew* text word for word, *Jonathan* takes on him the liberty of a paraphrast by enlargements and additions to the text: For therein are inserted several stories, and also several glosses of his own, which do not much commend the work; and more of this is to be found in that part which is on the later prophets than in that which is on the former: For in that latter part he is more lax and paraphrastical, and less accurate and clear than in the other. The books of *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Samuel* and *Kings* are called the former prophets, and the books of *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and the twelve *minor prophets* the latter. The ^c *Jews* speak highly of this *Jonathan*: For they do not only give him the first place of eminency among all the disciples of *Hillel*, but equal him even to *Moses* himself, and tell many miraculous things of him, which they say happen'd while he was employed in this work: As, that nothing was permitted to give him any disturbance herein: That if any bird happen'd to flee over him, or any fly to light upon his paper, while he was writing this *Targum*, they were immediately burnt up by fire from heaven without any hurt done either to his person or his paper. And they tell us also, that on his attempting to write a *Targum* upon the hagiographa, after his having finished that on the law, he was hinder'd by a voice from heaven, which forbid him to proceed in that work, giving this reason for it, because therein, (that is in the hagiographa) was contained the end of the *Messiah*, which some Christians laying hold of against the *Jews*, by interpreting it of the death of *Christ* predicted in the prophecies of *Daniel*, (which they place among the ^f hagiographa) some of the latter *Jews* have taken upon them to alter that passage, for fear this fabulous story should hurt their cause. Many other fables the *Jewish* writers tell us of this *Jonathan* and his *Targum*, which I think not proper to trouble the reader with.

THE third *Targum* in the order above mentioned is that on the law, which is ascribed to *Jonathan Ben Uzziel*. But that it is none of his is sufficiently proved by the style, which is wholly different from that wherein is written the true *Targum* of *Jonathan* (that upon the prophets, which all allow to have been his) as will thoroughly appear to all such as shall thoroughly compare them together: And besides its enlargements in the paraphrastical way by glosses, fables, prolix explications, and other additions, are much beyond what we find practised by *Jonathan* in that *Targum* which is truly his. But that which thoroughly cuts the throat of this pretence is, that there are several things mentioned in this *Targum*, which had no being, or at least no name, till after *Jonathan*'s time. For therein is mention made ^g of the six orders or books of the *Mishna*; but they could have no being till the *Mishna* was made by *R. Judah* near two hundred years after *Jonathan*'s time; and therein we also find mention made ^h of *Constantinople* and ⁱ *Lombardy*, whereas there was no such city as *Constantinople*, nor any countrey called by the name of *Lombardy* till several hundred years after the time wherein *Jonathan* flourished. Who was the true author of this

^c Zacutus in Juchasin. Gedaliah in Shalsheleth Haccabbala. David Ganz in Zemach David. Talmud in Bava Bathra cap. 8. & in Succa, & in Megilla. Videas etiam Buxtorfium de abbreviaturis p. 104. & 105. & in præfatione ad lexicon Chaldaicum. Schickardum in Bechinath Happerushim, aliosque. ^f That the Jews allow not Daniel a place among the prophets, and for what reason, hath been above shewn, part I. book III. under the year 524. ^g Exod. xxvi. 9.

^h Num. xxiv. 19.

ⁱ Num. xxiv. 24.

Targum, or when it was composed, is utterly unknown. It seems long to have lain in obscurity among the *Jews* themselves. For *Elias Levita*, who wrote most fully of the *Chaldee* paraphrases, knew nothing of this paraphrase, for he says nothing of it, though he tells us of all the rest; neither was it taken notice of till first published in print at *Venice* about an hundred and fifty years since; and the name of *Jonathan*, it's probable, was for no other reason then put to it, but to give it the more credit, and the better recommend it by that specious title to the buyer. Most of those prophecies which are in the Pentateuch concerning the *Messiah*, being in this *Targum* interpreted in the christian way, some Christians for this reason would maintain it to be the genuine work of the author, whose name it bears; and to make this out assert it to be as ancient as that author, and that therefore it might according to its title be truly his; and their argument for it is, that it is quoted by *St. Paul*, and that therefore it must be composed before his time; and the age before his time was that in which *Jonathan Ben Uzziel* lived. For whereas *St. Paul* in his second epistle to *Timothy* iii. 8. makes mention of *Jannes* and *Jambres* as the names of those *Egyptian* magicians, who withstood *Moses* in the presence of *Pharaoh* (*Exodus* vii. 2.) they would have it believed, that *St. Paul* had those names from this *Targum* on the law, which is ascribed to *Jonathan*; and that therefore it was composed before *St. Paul* wrote that epistle to *Timothy*. It's true the names of *Jannes* and *Jambres* are twice made mention of in this *Targum* (*Exodus* i. 15. and vii. 2.) but it doth not follow that *St. Paul* had them from this *Targum*, and that therefore the author of this *Targum* was ancients than *St. Paul*, any more than it doth that he had them from *Pliny* or *Numenius*, and that therefore these two heathen philosophers were, contrary to all the faith of history, ancients than this Apostle: For both these authors make mention of those *Egyptian* magicians in the time of *Moses* with this only variation, that instead of *Jannes* and *Jambres*, *Pliny* writes their names *Jamnes* and *Jotapes*. The true answer hereto is, that as the sacred penmen of the *New Testament* make mention of several things which they had only from the current tradition of the times in which they lived, so this of *Jannes* and *Jambres* was of that sort. These names either by oral tradition, or rather by some written records of history being preserved among the *Jews*, *St. Paul* from thence had them. And an account of these persons having been by the said names propagated by the *Jews* to the heathens, among whom they were dispersed, it came this way to the knowledge of *Pliny* and *Numenius*, the first of which lived in the first century of *Christ*, and the other in the beginning of the third. They that would know what were the traditions of the *Jews* concerning these two magicians, may consult *Buxtorf's* rabbinical *lexicon*, p. 945, 946, and 947, for there they will find a full account of all that is said of them in the *Talmud*, and other rabbinical writings, which being long and wholly fabulous, I avoid here troubling the reader with it.

THE fourth *Targum* is on the law, written by an unknown hand: For no one pretends to tell us who the author of it was, or when it was composed. It is called the *Jerusalem Targum*, and seems to have that name for the same reason for which the *Jerusalem Talmud* is so called, that is, because it is written in the *Jerusalem* dialect: For there were

^k three different dialects of the *Chaldean* or *Assyrian* language. The first was that which was spoken at *Babylon* the metropolis of the *Assyrian* empire; an example of this in its greatest purity we have in *Daniel* and *Ezra*, and the style of the *Babylonish Gemara* may be reckoned its highest corruption. The second dialect of this language was the *Commagenian* or *Antiochian*, which was spoken in *Commagene*, *Antioch*, and the rest of *Syria*; and in this dialect were written the versions of the holy scriptures, and the liturgies which were in use among the *Syrian* and *Assyrian* Christians, and are still used by them, especially by the *Maronites*, a people inhabiting mount *Libanus*, where the *Syriac* still lives among them as a vulgar language. The third dialect was the *Jerusalem* dialect, that which was spoken by the *Jews* after their return from *Babylon*. The *Babylonian* and *Jerusalem* dialects were written in the same character, but the *Antiochian* in a different, that which we call the *Syriac*. And for the sake of this different character is that dialect reckoned a different language, which we call the *Syriac*; ^l whereas in truth the *Syriac* and the *Chaldee* are one and the same language, in different characters, and differing a little only in dialect. As all these three dialects were made by so many several degeneracies from the old *Assyrian* language, which was anciently spoken in *Nineveh* and *Babylon*, so they all with time degenerated from what they at first were. The purest style which we have of the *Jerusalem* dialect is in the *Targums* first of *Onkelos* on the law, and next of *Jonathan* on the prophets: For in them the *Chaldee* is without any mixture of words from any other language, saving from the *Hebrew* only. This mixture of *Hebrew* words with the *Chaldee* was that only which first made the *Jerusalem* dialect to differ from the *Babylonian*. For though the *Jews* on their return from *Babylon* brought back with them the *Chaldee* language, and made it their vulgar tongue, yet the *Hebrew* was still the language of the Church, and the language of all those that were bred up in learning for its service; and therefore many of its words crept into the *Chaldee*, which was vulgarly spoken by them, and this mixture constituted the *Jerusalem* dialect of the *Chaldee* tongue; and as long as it continued with this mixture only, it was the *Jerusalem* dialect in its best purity. But in process of time the mixture of the *Jews* with other nations, especially after our Saviour's time, brought in the mixture of many exotic words from the *Latin*, *Greek*, *Arabian*, *Persian*, and other languages, and thereby so far corrupted their former speech, that it made almost another language. And a view of this corrupt state of it we have in the *Jerusalem Talmud*, the *Jerusalem Targum*, and in all the other *Targums*, excepting those of *Onkelos* on the law, and *Jonathan* on the prophets. For all these are written in this corrupt style of the *Jerusalem* dialect, and those *Targums* are much more so than the *Jerusalem Talmud*, which proves them all (except the two above excepted) to have been written after that *Talmud*. This *Jerusalem Targum* is not a continued paraphrase, as all the rest are, but only upon some parts here and there, as the author thought the text most wanted an explication: For sometimes it is only upon one verse, sometimes only upon a piece of verse, and some-

^k Videas Waltoni prolegom. xiii. ad Biblia Polyglot. & Georgii Amyræ prælod. Gram. Syr.

^l Videas præfationem Ludovici de Dieu ad Grammaticam linguarum orientalium.

times upon several verses together, and sometimes it skips over whole chapters. In many places it writes word for word from the *Targum* said to be *Jonathan's* on the law, which made ^m *Drasius* think they were both the same. There are several things in this *Jerusalem Targum*, which are in the same words delivered in the *New Testament* by *Christ* and his Apostles. As for example, *Luke* vi. 38. *Christ* saith, *with the same measure that ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again.* The same is in this *Targum*, *Gen.* xxxviii. 26. In the *Revelations* xx. 6, 14. there is mention of *the first and second death*, the same distinction is in this *Targum*, *Deuteron.* xxxiii. 6. In the *Revelations* v. 10. the Saints are said *to be made unto our God Kings and Priests*; the same is said in this *Targum*, *Exodus* xix. 6. In the Gospel of St. *Matthew* vi. 9. our Saviour teacheth us to say, *Our Father which art in heaven*; the same expression is in this *Targum*, *Deut.* xxxii. 6. Hence some would infer the antiquity of this *Targum*, as if it had been written before our Saviour's time, and that he and his Apostles had these and like other expressions from it: And others will have it, that the author of this *Targum* had them from the *New Testament*. But neither of these seems likely; not the first, because the style of this *Targum* being more impure and corrupt than that of the *Jerusalem Talmud*, this proves it to have been composed after that *Talmud*, which had no being till above three hundred years after *Christ*: And not the second, because the *Jews* had that detestation of all contained in the *New Testament*, that we may be well assured they would borrow nothing from thence. The truth of the matter most probably is, these were sayings and phraseologies which had obtained among the *Jews* in our Saviour's time, and continued among them long after; and hence our Saviour and his Apostles, and afterward the author of this *Targum* had them, as from the same fountain.

THE fifth *Targum*, which is that on the *Megilloth*; the sixth, which is the second *Targum* on *Esther*; and the seventh, which is that on *Job*, the *Psalms*, and the *Proverbs*, are all written in the corruptest *Chaldee* of the *Jerusalem* dialect. Of the two former no author is named; but the author of the third they say was *Joseph* the one-eyed, but who this *Joseph* was, or when he lived, is not said; and some of them ⁿ tell us the author of this *Targum* is as much unknown as of the other two. The second *Targum* on *Esther* is twice as large as the first, and seems to have been written the last of all those *Targums*, by reason of the barbarity of its style. That of the *Megilloth*, (part of which is the first *Targum* on *Esther*) makes mention of the ^o *Mishnah* and the *Talmud* with the explication; if thereby be meant the *Babylonish Talmud*, as undoubtedly it is, this *Targum* must have been written after that *Talmud*, that is, after the year of *Christ* 500: For this is the earliest time which is assigned for the composition of the *Babylonish Talmud*.

THE eighth and last of these *Targums* in the order I have above mentioned them is that on the two books of the *Chronicles*, which is the last that hath been published: For it was not known of till the year 1680, ^p when *Beckius* from an old manuscript first published at *Augsberg* in *Germany* that part of it which is on the first book; and three years after he

^m Ad difficilia loca, Num. cap. 25.

ⁿ R. Azarias in Meor Enaim. Elias Levita, aliique.

^o Cant. i. 2.

^p Leusdeni Philologus mixtus dissertatione quintâ.

published at the same place the other part also, that which is on the second book. Till then all, that have written of the *Chaldee* paraphrases, have given us to understand, as if there had never been any *Targum* at all written upon these books. But only *Walton*^a tells us, he had heard, that there was in the publick library in *Cambridge* a manuscript *Targum* on the *Chronicles*, but had no notice of it till his *Polyglot* was finished, and therefore never examined it. I find there is^r in that library among *Erpenius*'s books bought by the Duke of *Buckingham*, and given to that university, a manuscript *Hebrew* bible in three volumes, which hath a *Chaldee Targum* on the *Chronicles* as far as the sixth verse of the 22^d chapter of the first book: But it is no continued *Targum*, for it contains no more than some short glosses added here and there in the margin. This manuscript was written in the year of *Christ* 1347, as appears by a note at the end of it, but when or by whom the marginal *Chaldee* gloss therein was composed is not said.

THAT the *Targums* of *Onkelos* on the law, and *Jonathan* on the prophets are as ancient as our Saviour's time, if not ancients, is the general opinion of both *Jews* and *Christians*; 'the *Jewish* historians positively say it: For they tell us that *Jonathan* was the most eminent of all the scholars of *Hillel*,^s who died about the time that our Saviour was born, and that *Onkelos* was contemporary with *Gamaliel* the elder (the same that was *St. Paul*'s master) as is above-mentioned. For altho' the *Jewish* writers are very wretched historians, and often give us gross fables instead of true narratives, yet whenever they do so, there is either something internal in the matter related, or else external to it from other evidences, that convict them of the falsity; but where there is nothing of this, the testimony of the historian is to stand good in that, which he relates of the affairs of his own country or people. And therefore there being nothing concerning these two *Targums*, which can be alledged either from what is contained in them, or from any external evidence to contradict what the *Jewish* historians tell us of their antiquity, I reckon their testimony is to stand good concerning this matter: And this testimony is strongly corroborated by the style, in which they are penned. For it being the purest, and the best of all, that is written in the *Jerusalem* dialect, and without the mixture of those many exotic words, which the *Jews* of *Jerusalem* and *Judæa* afterwards took into it from the *Greek*, *Latin*, and other languages, this proves them to have been written before those *Jews* had that common converse with those nations, from whom these words were borrowed, and especially before *Jerusalem* and *Judæa* were made a province of the *Roman* empire. For altho' the *Jews* of the dispersions had long before conversed with those nations, and learned their languages, yet this did not affect the *Jews* of *Jerusalem* and *Judæa*, but they still retained their vulgar tongue in the same dialect, in which it had been formed after their return from *Babylon*, till *Pompey* had subjected them to the *Roman* yolk; but after that *Greeks*, *Romans*, and *Italians*, and other subjects of the *Roman* empire, either as soldiers or civil officers, or on other occasions coming

^a Prolegom. ad biblia polyglotta cap. 12. sect. 15.

Angliæ & Hybernæ Tom. 1. Part 3. p. 174. Num. 2484.

^r Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum
Zacutus, Gedalias, David Ganz,
Abraham Levita, alique.

^s It is generally said of Hillel by the Jewish writers, that he entered
on his presidentship of the great Sanhedrim about 300 hundred years before the destruction of Jerusalem.

into that countrey, and there mixing themselves among them, from that time they first began to borrow from them those words which corrupted their language. And therefore since these *Targums* of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan* are the clearest of this corruption of all that we have in the *Jerusalem* dialect, this may assuredly convince us that they were written before this corruption had obtained any prevalency among that people. And for this reason I reckon them both to have been composed before our Saviour's time, and the *Targum* of *Onkelos* to be the ancients of the two, because it is the purer, though the other comes very little behind it herein, which evidently shews it to have been written very soon after it. The *Jews* speak very magnificent things of *Jonathan*, but say little of *Onkelos*, though they manifestly prefer the *Targum* of *Onkelos* before that of the other, as indeed it deserves they should, it being by much the more exact of the two; the reason of this is, they all hold *Jonathan* to have been a natural *Jew*, but the general vogue among them being that *Onkelos* was a proselyte, and sister's son to *Titus* who destroyed *Jerusalem*, for both these reasons, though both are gross mistakes, they have lesser regard to his memory than to that of the other, though they have the greater for his work.

THE only thing that can be alledged against the antiquity of these two *Targums*, is, that neither *Origen* nor *Epiphanius*, nor *Jerom*, nor any of the ancient fathers of the christian church make any mention of them. These three which I have named were well skill'd in the *Jewish* learning, and therefore it is thought they could not have avoided taking some notice of them, had they been extant in their time, especially not *Jerom*, who lived in *Judea* a great part of his life, and there conversed with the learnedest Rabbies of that sect; and was very inquisitive after all that was to be learned from them for his better understanding of the *Hebrew* scriptures, and yet in all his writings we find no mention of any *Targum* or *Chaldee* paraphrase, nor doth he make use of any such in any of his commentaries, in which they would have been very useful unto him; and therefore from hence they conclude, that certainly they were not in being in his time. But this being a negative argument it proves nothing; for there might be many reasons, which might hinder *Jerom* from knowing any thing of them, though in common use among the *Jews* of his time. For first, though *Jerom* understood *Hebrew* well, it was late e'er he studied the *Chaldee*, and therefore it was with difficulty that he attained to any knowledge in it, of which he himself complains; and therefore might not be sufficiently skill'd to read those *Targums*, had he known any thing of them. But 2^{dly}, it is most probable, that he knew nothing of them. For the *Jews* were in those times very backward in communicating any of their books or their knowledge to the christians; and therefore though *Jerom* "got some of their Rabbies to help him in his studies about the *Hebrew* scriptures, yet he could not have them for this purpose without bribing them to it with great sums. And what assistance they gave him herein was contrary to the established rules and orders then made and received among that people, and therefore when these Rabbies came to *Jerom* to give him that assistance in his *Hebrew* studies, which he hired

* In præfatione ad Danielelem.

" Hieronymus in epistolâ ad Pamachium 65. In præfatione in librum Paralipomenon, & in præfatione ad librum Job.

them for, they did it by stealth, " coming to him only by night, as *Nicodemus* did unto *Christ*, for fear of offending the rest of their brethren. And this being at that time the humour of those people, we may hence conclude, that those Rabbies served *Jerom* very poorly in the matter he hired them for, and communicated nothing farther to him than they saw needs they must to earn his money. And 3^{dly}, as to the other fathers, none of them understood the *Chaldee* tongue; and besides, there was in their time such an aversion and bitter enmity between the Christians and the *Jews*, as hindered all manner of converse between them, so that neither would willingly communicate any thing to each other; and no wonder then that in those days these *Targums* were concealed from all Christians, as being doubly locked up from them, that is not only by the language in which they were written, but also by the malice and perverseness of the *Jews*, who had the keeping of them. But 4^{thly}, besides their malice and perverseness, they had also some very good reasons to be cautious as to this matter. For there being many prophecies of the *Old Testament* concerning the *Messiah* explained in these *Targums* in the same manner as we Christians do, it behoved those of that sect not to communicate them to any Christians, lest thereby they should give them an advantage for the turning of their own artillery against them, and the cutting of the very throat of their cause with their own weapons. And for this reason it happen'd, that it was much above a thousand years after *Christ*, e'er Christians knew any thing of those *Targums*, and scarce three centuries have passed since they have become common among us; and therefore it is not to be wondered at, that the ancientest fathers of the christian Church knew nothing of them. And all this put together I think may be sufficient to convince any one, that these *Targums* may be as ancient as is said, though neither *Jerom* nor any of the ancient Fathers of the christian Church say any thing of them, and that their silence herein can be no argument to the contrary.

As to all the other *Targums* besides these two, of *Onkelos* on the law and *Jonathan* on the prophets, they are all most certainly of a much later date. This is above shewn of some of them from the matters therein contained, but the style in which they are written prove it of all of them. For it being in every one of them more barbarous and impure, and much more corrupted with exotic words and grammatical irregularities, than that of the *Jerusalem Talmud*, this shews them to have been written after the composition of that Talmud, that is after the beginning of the fourth century after *Christ*. It is also to be observed of these later *Targums*, that they abound much with talmudic fables; if these were taken out of the *Babylonish Talmud*, this will bring down their date much lower, and prove them to have been written after that Talmud also, as well as after the other, that is after the beginning of the sixth century after *Christ*. This hath been already proved of the *Targum* on the *Megilloth*, which is one of them that I now treat of in this paragraph, and possibly it may be true of some of the rest also. By reason of the barbarity of the style in which these later *Targums* are written, and the great mixture of exotic words, with which they abound, they are badly understood among the *Jews* even by the most learned of their Rabbies, and therefore are not much regarded by them.

" Hieronymus in epistolâ ad Pammachium 65. In præfatione in librum Paralipomenon, & in præfatione ad librum Job.

But of late *Cohen de Lara* a *Jew* of *Hamburg*, and the most learned of that sect, which the last century hath produced, hath published a *Lexicon* for their help, in which he expounds all the *Chaldee*, *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Persian*, *Turkish*, *Greek*, *Latin*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, *Portuguese*, *Galic*, *German*, *Saxon*, *Dutch* and *English* words, which any where occur in their talmudic and rabbinical writings. This book was a work of 40 years labour and study, and first published at *Hamburg* Anno Dom. 1668. where the author some years after died.

THE *Targums* of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan* are in so great esteem among the *Jews*, that they hold them to be of the same authority with the original sacred text, and for the support of this opinion they feign them to have come from mount *Sinai* in the same manner, as they say their oral law did, and tell us the same story of their original, that is, that God did there deliver them to *Moses*, and that they from him were delivered down in a like chain of traditional descent from one generation to another; through the hands of the prophets and other holy men, till at length they were this way received * by *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*, and that all that they did was only to put them into writing. This shews the high opinion and esteem which they have of them; but the true reason of it, and of their equalling them with the text, was that they were every *Sabbath day* read in their synagogues in the same manner as the original sacred word it self, of which they were versions. It hath been above already shewn, that after the *Chaldee* became the vulgar tongue of the *Jews*, the weekly lessons out of the law and the prophets in their synagogues having been first read in *Hebrew* were by an interpreter standing by the reader rendered into *Chaldee*. This continued for some time; but afterwards when *Targums* were made, the interpretation was read out of them without any more employing interpreters for this purpose; that is, the readers did first read a verse out of the sacred *Hebrew* text, and then the same again out of the *Chaldee Targum*, and so went on from verse to verse till they had read out the whole lesson; and the *Targums* of *Onkelos* on the law, and *Jonathan* on the prophets having obtained an approbation beyond all the other *Targums* on these scriptures, they at length were alone used in this service. And this use of them was retained in their synagogues even down to late times, and in places where the *Chaldee* was among the people as much an unknown language as the *Hebrew*. For *Elias Levita*, who lived about two hundred years since * tells us, that they were thus used in his time in *Germany*, and elsewhere; that is, that they were read in their synagogues after the *Hebrew* text in the same manner as I have described; and agreeable to this purpose, though only for private use, they had some of their *Bibles* written out in *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* together, that is each verse first in *Hebrew*, and then the same verse, next in *Chaldee*, and thus from verse to verse in the same manner through the whole volume. In these *Bibles* the *Targum* of *Onkelos* was the *Chaldee* version for the law, and that of *Jonathan* for the prophets, and for the hagiographa the other *Targums*, that were written on them. One of these *Bibles* thus written † *Buxtorff* tells us he had seen at *Strasburgh*, and ‡ *Walton* acquaints us, that he had the perusal of

* Talmud in tractatu Megilla, cap. 1. Zacutus in Juchasin.

* In præfatione ad Methurgeman.

† In epistolâ ad Hottingerum.

‡ In Prolegom. ad biblia polyglotta, cap. 12. sect. 6.

two others of the same sort, one in the publick library of the Church of *Westminster*, and the other in the private study of Mr. *Thomas Gataker*.

WHETHER the *Targums* of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan* were received for this use so early, as in our Saviour's time, I cannot say; but this seems certain, if not these particular *Targums*, yet some others then were in hands for the instruction of the people, and were read among them in private as well as in publick for this purpose; and that they had such not only on the law and the prophets, but also on all the other *Hebrew* scriptures: For as I have said before it was never a usage among the *Jews* to lock up the holy scriptures; or any part of them, from the people in a language unknown to them. For when dispersed among the *Greeks* they had them in *Greek*, and where the *Chaldee* was the vulgar language, they had them in *Chaldee*. And when **Christ* was called out to read the second lesson in the synagogue of *Nazareth*, of which he was a member, he seems to have read it out of a *Targum*; for the words then read by him out of *Isaiah* lxi. 1. as recited by St. *Luke* iv. 18. do not exactly agree either with the *Hebrew* original, or with the septuagint version in that place, and therefore it seems most likely, that they were read out of some *Chaldee Targum*, which was made use of in that synagogue. And when he cried out upon the cross in the words of the Psalmist, *Psalms* xxii. 1. *Eli Eli lama Sabachthani*, i. e. *my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me*, Matth. xxvii. 46. he quoted them not out of the *Hebrew* text, but out of the *Chaldee* paraphrase; for in the *Hebrew* text it is *Eli Eli lamah Azabtani*, and the word *Sabacthani* is no where to be found, but in the *Chaldee* tongue.

THOSE *Targums* are the ancientest books the *Jews* have next the *Hebrew* scriptures. This is certain of the *Targums* of *Onkelos* on the law, and of *Jonathan* on the prophets; and although the others are of a later date, yet they were for the most part transcribed and composed out of other ancient glosses and *Targums*, which were in use long before. Such I have shewn they had soon after the time of *Ezra*; but these being written in the pure *Jerusalem* dialect of the *Chaldee* language must in those times, in which the language of the *Jerusalem Talmud*, and of the later *Targums* was spoken, be as much an unknown language to the people, as formerly the *Hebrew* was to them on their return from the *Babylonish* captivity. And therefore they seem to have been composed in this corrupted style of that dialect of purpose for their help; and from hence it is that I take them to be no other than as *Targums* of the old *Targums*, that is the old *Targums* which were in use before the time of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*, translated and written over again from the purer *Jerusalem* dialect (which was in the time of the composition of those later *Targums* no longer understood by the people) into that which they then did understand, that is that corrupt language of the *Jerusalem Chaldee* dialect, in which they were composed. And that therefore these old *Targums* with the addition of some rabbinical fables and rabbinical fooleries, which are interspersed in them, are the whole of their contexture, and that all of them, that is, all the later *Targums* (I mean all excepting *Onkelos* on the law, and *Jonathan* on the prophets) were composed within the compass of one and the same age: The uniformity of their style plainly proves this, and the corruptness of it proves that it was after the composition of the *Jerusa-*

* Luke iv. 16, 17.

lem Talmud, as hath been already shewn; but in what age it was after that compofure is uncertain. It feems moft probable to me that it was in that^b in which the *Babylonish Talmud* was compiled, and that fome of them were written a little before, and fome of them a little after the publication of it: For that *Talmud* making mention of fome of them, proves thefe to have been written before it; and fome of them making mention of that *Talmud*, prove thefe to have been written after it.

THEY are all of them of great ufe for the better understanding not only of the *Old Testament* on which they are written, but alfo of the *New*. As to the *Old Testament*, they vindicate the genuinenefs of the prefent *Hebrew* text, by proving it the fame that was in ufe when thefe *Targums* were made, contrary to the opinion of thofe who think the *Jews* corrupted it after our Saviour's time. They help to explain many words and phrafes in the *Hebrew* original, for the meaning whereof we fhould otherwife have been at a lofs; and they hand down to us many of the ancient cuftoms and ufages of the *Jews*, which much help to the illuftrating of thofe fcriptures on which they are written. And fome of thefe, with the phrafeologies, idioms, and peculiar forms of fpeech which we find in them, do in many inftances help as much for the illuftrating and better understanding of the *New Testament* as of the *Old*. For the *Jerufalem Chaldee* dialect, in which they are written, being the fame which was the vulgar language of the *Jews* in our Saviour's time, many of its idioms, phrafeologies, and forms of fpeech which from hence came into the writings of the *New Testament*, are found in thefe *Targums*, and from thence are beft to be illuftrated and explained. The *Targums* of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan* muft certainly be allowed to be ufeful for this purpofe, as being written juft before the time of our Saviour; and although the others were much later, and written in a corrupted ftyle much differing from that of the other, yet the fame idioms, phrafes, and forms of fpeech ftill remaining, they ferve for this ufe as well as the other, efpecially where tranfcribed from other ancienter *Targums*, as I fuppofe they moftly were.

THEY alfo very much ferve the christian caufe againft the *Jews*, by interpreting many of the prophecies of the *Meffiah* in the *Old Testament* in the fame manner as the Christians do. I fhall here inftance in fome of them.

GEN. iii. 15. God faith unto the ferpent, *It* (that is the feed of the woman) *fhall bruife thy head, and thou fhalt bruife his heel.* Christians interpret this of the *Meffiah* and his kingdom; and the *Jerufalem Targum* and that called *Jonathan's* on the law do the fame.

GEN. xlix. 10. *Jacob* prophesieth that *the fcepter fhould not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh fhould come.* Christians underftand this of the *Meffiah*, and from thence prove againft the *Jews*, that the *Meffiah* muft, according to this prophecy of him, have been long fince come; becaufe long fince, that is for many ages paft, there hath been no regal power in *Judah*, no Prince of that nation ruling with the fcepter over them; nor any from between their feet, that is any born of that people, to make laws or adminifter juftice among them, becaufe for many ages paft the whole *Jewish* policy hath utterly ceafed from among

^b The Babylonish Talmud was compofed about the beginning of the 6th century after Chrift.

them, and they have no where, since the time of *Jesus Christ*, the true *Messiah*, been governed by their own Princes, or their own laws; but every where by strangers, and the laws of strangers, among whom they have lived. The *Jews* to evade the force of this manifest argument against them object, first, that the word *Shebet* in the *Hebrew* text, which we interpret a *scepter*, the instrument of rule, signifieth also a *rod*, which is the instrument of chastisement, and therefore say, that though this should be understood of the *Messiah*, the meaning would be no more than that their chastisement, that is the banishment which they now suffer in their dispersions among strange nations should not cease (as they all reckon it will not) till their *Messiah* shall come to deliver them from it. But in the second place they object, that they do not allow that the *Messiah* is meant by the word *Shiloh* in this prophecy. But in both these particulars the *Chaldee* paraphrases are against them: For the words of *Onkelos* in this text are, *There shall not be taken away from Judah one having the principality, nor the Scribe from the sons of his children, till the Messiah shall come.* And the *Jerusalem Targum* or paraphrase, and that called *Jonathan's*, agree with him in both these particulars: For they both interpret *Shebet* of the principality, and *Shiloh* of the *Messiah*, and therefore all three of them help the christian cause in this matter.

NUM. xxiv. 17. Part of the prophecy of *Balaam* there recited is, *There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel, and shall bear rule over all the children of Seth.* We Christians interpret this of the *Messiah*, and so doth *Onkelos* in his *Targum* on that place: For his words are, *A King shall rise out of the house of Jacob, and the Messiah shall be anointed out of the house of Israel, who shall rule over all the sons of men.* And the *Targum* called *Jonathan's* interprets this of the *Messiah* in the same manner also as that of *Onkelos* doth; and it is here to be observed that the targumists rightly render this phrase, *all the children of Seth*, by the phrase, *all the sons of men*: For all the children of *Seth* since the flood are the same with all the children of *Adam*, and these are all men. And this shews, that according to this prophecy the kingdom of the *Messiah* was not to be a peculiar kingdom for the *Jews*, but universal for all mankind. And agreeable hereto *Maimonides* interprets this whole text. His words are as followeth: *A scepter shall rise out of Israel; this is the King Messiah: And shall smite the corners of Moab; this is David, as it is written (2 Sam. viii. 2.) and he smote Moab, &c. And he shall bear rule over the children of Seth; this is the King Messiah of whom it is written (Psalm lxxii. 8.) He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth. In tract. Melakin, cap. ii. § 1.*

ISAIAH ix. 6, 7. The words of the prophet are, *Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder, and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of peace; of the increase of his government there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom to order it, and to establish it with judgment, and with justice from henceforth even for ever.* Christians all hold that is spoken of the *Messiah*,

^c So it ought to be translated in our English bible, and not [and destroy] as that hath it: For if the *Messiah* were to destroy all the sons of men, where would then his scepter be?

and *Jonathan* in the *Targum* which is truly his, doth on that place say the same.

ISAIAH xi. This whole chapter we Christians understand to be of the *Messiah*, and the peaceableness and happiness of his kingdom. *Jonathan* doth the same in his *Targum* thereon, and in it doth twice make expression hereof, that is on the first verse, and on the sixth.

ISAIAH lii, and liii. What is contained in these two chapters from the seventh verse of the first of them, to the end of the other, is all a continued prophecy of the *Messiah*. So St. *John* in his Gospel xii. 38. and St. *Paul* to the *Romans* x. 16. do teach us, and so all Christians hold, having so great authority for it: But the description there given of a suffering *Messiah* not agreeing with the notion which the *Jews* have of him, who expect a *Messiah* reigning and triumphing in temporal pomp and power, several of them reject this interpretation, and wrest the whole prophecy to other meanings; some of them understanding it of *Josiah*, some of *Jeremiah*, and others of the whole people of *Israel*. But the *Targum* of *Jonathan* interprets it of the *Messiah*, as the Christians do, and twice within the compass of the prophecy (*i. e.* ch. lii. 13. and ch. liii. 10.) applies it to him. And *Jonathan* having composed this *Targum* before *Christ*'s time, the serving of neither party can be supposed then to have influenced him to have written otherwise than appeared to him to be the plain truth of the matter; and that this prophecy can be understood of none other than the *Messiah* is manifest from the whole tenour of it: And it is as manifest that it was all compleated in *Christ* our Lord. And therefore others among the *Jews* having rightly judged that the wrestings above mentioned are not sufficient to baffle the true meaning of this prophecy, have for the evading hereof invented another device; that is, that there are to be two *Messiahs*, and both yet to come, ^d one of which they say is to be of the tribe of *Ephraim*, (and they therefore call him ^d *Messiah* the son of *Ephraim*, and sometimes *Messiah* the son of *Joseph*) and the other of the tribe of *Judah*, and the lineage of *David*; and they therefore call him *Messiah* ^d the son of *David*. The first of these (who they ^e say will be the forerunner of the other) they make to be a suffering *Messiah*, and tell us of him, that he is to fight against *Gog*, and having overcome him, shall afterwards be slain by *Armillus*, whom they hold to be the greatest enemy that shall ever appear against the Church of God in this world. And of this *Messiah* the son of *Ephraim* they interpret all that is foretold in the *Old Testament* of the sufferings of *Christ* our Lord, especially what is foretold of him in this prophecy of *Isaiah*, and in that of *Zechariah* xii. 10. in which last they interpret the words, *whom they have pierced*, of his being to be pierced and run through by the sword of *Armillus*, when he shall be slain by him. The other *Messiah*, that is *Messiah* the son of *David*, they make to be a conquering and reigning *Messiah*, that shall conquer and kill *Armillus*, and restore the kingdom of *Israel*, and there reign in the highest glory and felicity; and of him they interpret all that is said

^d Ben in Hebrew signifying the same as son in English, in Hebrew they are called *Messiah Ben Ephraim*, and *Messiah Ben David*; and because *Ephraim* was the son of *Joseph*, therefore they call this their *Messiah Ben Ephraim*, sometimes *Messiah Ben Joseph*. The fullest account of what the *Jews* say of these two *Messiahs* is given by Dr. Pocock at the end of his commentary on *Malachi*.

^e They interpret of him all that is prophesied of *John the Baptist*, *Malachi* iii. 1.

in the scriptures of the *Old Testament* of the glory, power, and righteousness of *Christ's* kingdom. But all that they thus tell us of their twofold *Messiah* is a mere fiction, framed without as much as a pretence to any foundation in scripture for it, a vile and most pitiful fetch invented only to evade what they cannot answer; and their being forced to have recourse to such a wretched shift, is a plain giving up of the cause they make use of it for.

MICAH v. 2. The words of the prophet are, *And thou Bethlehem Ephratah shall be chief among the thousands of Judah; out of thee shall come forth unto me he that is to be ruler in Israel*. This ^fis the true translation of the *Hebrew* text, and this all Christians understand of the *Messiah*, and so anciently did the chief Priests and Scribes of the people of the *Jews*, ^g when consulted by *Herod*. But since that time, in opposition to the Gospel, *Jewish* writers have endeavoured to give this text another meaning; some interpreting it of *Hezekiah*, some of *Zerubbabel*, and some otherwise: But *Jonathan*, who perchance was one among those *Scribes*, whom *Herod* consulted, gives the true meaning of it by interpreting it of the *Messiah* in the same manner as we Christians do: For his version of this text is, *Out of thee shall come forth before me the Messiah who shall exercise sovereign rule over Israel*.

PSALM ii. This *Psalms* we Christians interpret to be a prophecy of the *Messiah*, and hold it to be all fulfilled in our Saviour, and the erection of his kingdom against all opposition which it met with from the *Jews*, heathens, and the princes and rulers of the earth. And so the holy Apostles understood it of old, *Acts* iv. 25, 26, 27. and chap. xiii. 33. *Hebrews* i. 5. In opposition hereto the *Jews* apply it wholly and solely to *David* himself, and will allow it no other meaning either literal or typical but what is terminated in his person. But the *Targum* is on our side, for it interprets this *Psalms* ^h to be a prophecy of the *Messiah*, as all Christians do.

PSALM xlv. This *Psalms* also Christians interpret to be of the *Messiah*, and they have for it the authority of the holy penman of the epistle to the *Hebrews*, chap. i. *v.* 8. In opposition hereto the *Jews* apply it wholly and solely to *Solomon*, and will allow it no other meaning either literal or typical but what is terminated in his person, and the marriage which he made with the daughter of *Pharaoh*; but the *Targum* is on our side in this matter also, and ⁱ interprets it to be a prophecy of the *Messiah*, as all Christians do.

PSALM lxxii. This *Psalms* also the *Jews* interpret of *Solomon*; but Christians understand it as a prophecy of the *Messiah*; and the *Targum* is on our side herein; for ^k it applies it to the *Messiah* in the same manner as we do. Many other instances might be produced out of these *Targums*, wherein the prophecies of the *Old Testament* are illustrated and explained for the advantage of the christian cause against all opposers. But these are sufficient to give the reader a taste of all the rest, and also to shew how useful these *Targums* may be to a christian divine in all controversies about the *Messiah*, especially against the *Jews*: For these *Targums* being their

^f See Dr. Pocock on this text in his commentary on *Micah*; and his miscellaneous notes published at the end of his *Porta Moſis* cap. 2. ^g Matthew chap. ii. ^h Verse 2.

ⁱ Verse 3. ^k Verse 1.

own books, all arguments taken out of them, if any thing can convince that obstinate people, must be of a very convincing force against them, especially when they are out of the *Targums* of *Onkelos* on the law, and *Jonathan* on the prophets; for these they hold to be of the same authority with the sacred word it self. *Richard Simon* the *Frenchman* is against Christians making any use at all of those *Targums* in their controversies with the *Jews*; for he thinks, that our urging of any arguments against them out of those books may seem to authorize them, which will, saith he, be much to the disadvantage of christianity, because those books being written with the sole view of establishing the *Jewish* ceremonies and religion, they will operate much stronger to the support of the *Jewish* cause than the christian. But I can see no reason in all this; for certainly we may make use of the *Targums* of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*, for the proving of the ancient and true interpretations of the prophecies of the *Messiah* explained in them, and of the other *Targums* also for the same purpose, without our incurring thereby that ill consequence which that *Frenchman* would guard against; our using them for this purpose no more authorizing all else contained in them, than our using the prophecies of the *Pentateuch* against the same *Jews* can be said to authorize their present rites and ceremonies contained in that book, now they are wholly abolished by the gospel. Besides, when we make use of any quotations out of those *Targums* in our controversies with the *Jews*, they are chiefly used as *argumenta ad homines*: And thus we may use arguments out of the *Alcoran* against the *Mahometans*, and out of the *Talmud* against the *Jews*, without giving in the least any authority or approbation thereby to either of them.

WITH much better reason the same *Frenchman*^m disapproves of the use of the *Targums* for the proof of the *Λόγος* or word in that sense in which we find it expressed in the first chapter of the gospel of St. *John*. For through all those *Targums* in a great number of places, where mention is made of God in the original *Hebrew*, it being rendered *the word of God* in the *Chaldee* interpretation, hence the *Chaldee Memra*, which in that phrase signifieth *the word*, hath been thought to correspond with the *Greek Λόγος* in that gospel, and both exactly to denote the same thing. And therefore several learned men have endeavoured to explain the one by the other, and from hence to prove the divinity of our Saviour. But others, as well as *Monfieur Simon*,ⁿ being sensible that this phrase in the *Chaldee* being an *Idiom* of that language, which may be otherwise explained, they are against pressing any argument from it for this point, because it is capable of an answer to which we cannot well reply.

THESE *Targums* are published to the best advantage in the second edition of the great *Hebrew* bible set forth at *Basil* by *Buxtorf* the father, *Anno* 1620. For that learned man hath therein taken great pains not only to rectify the *Chaldee* text, but also to reform the vowel pointings in it. At first these *Targums* were written, as all other oriental books, without vowel points; but at length some *Jews* attempted to add points to them; but this being done very erroneously, *Buxtorf* undertook to mend it according to such rules as he had formed from the punctuation which he

^l *Critical history of the Old Testament*, Book ii. Chap. 18. ^m *Critical history of the Old Testament* Book iii. Chap. xxiv. ⁿ *Lightfoot's Hebrew exercises on St. John's gospel*, Chap. i. §. 1.

found in those parts of the books of *Daniel* and *Ezra* which are written in the *Chaldee* language. But some think that the *Chaldee* which is contained in those two books, is too little from thence to frame rules in this matter for the whole language, and that therefore it had been better if *Buxtorf* had let this matter alone, and printed those books without any points at all; but left us wholly to be directed by the four letters *Aleph, He, Vau, Tod*, (which they call *Matres Lectionis*) for the reading of those books: But that great and learned man knew better what was fit to be done, than any that shall take upon them to censure his performances. The world is more beholden to him for his learned and judicious labours, than to any other that lived in his time, and his name ought ever to be preserved with honour in acknowledgment of it. But to return again to our history.

An. 37.
Herod 1.

SOSIUS, whom *Antony* had left governor of *Syria*, on his going to *Italy*, finding that *Ventidius* had lost his favour by meriting too much from him in the *Parthian* war, for the avoiding of the like envy, as soon as the war with the *Jews* was over, industriously avoided doing any thing more, and lay by in quiet all the rest of the year. But he having done too much already by taking *Jerusalem*, reducing *Judea*, and placing *Herod* in full possession of that countrey, and being otherwise a man of merit, *Antony* could no more bear him, than he had *Ventidius*; and therefore as soon as he returned into *Syria*, he removed him from that government and put *Plancus* governor of *Asia* into his place, and sent *C. Farnius* to govern *Asia* in his stead. And thus it frequently happens to other under-governors and ministers either of state or war, they being as often undone by meriting too much from the princes they serve, as by demeriting from them.

ORODES King of *Parthia* being in some measure recovered from that disturbance of mind, which his great grief for the death of *Pacorus* his beloved son had cast him into, fell into as great perplexity, whom of his other sons he should name his successor instead of him whom he had lost. He had thirty of them born to him of the several wives he had married; all these women pressed hard upon the old King, each soliciting for a son of their own. At length to put an end to this matter he determined it by the seniority, and appointed *Phraates* the eldest of them, who was also the wickedest and worst of the whole number, to be King in his stead, who as soon as he was possessed of the regal power made the wickedness of his disposition fully appear in it. The first thing which he did, was to put to death those of his brothers, which were born to his father of a daughter of *Antiochus Eusebes* King of *Syria*, for which he had no other reason but that they were by their mother of a more noble descent, and otherwise of greater merit than himself; and finding that his father was much offended at it, he put him to death also. At first he attempted it only by giving him hemlock; but that instead of killing him, became a medicine to cure him of the dropsy, which he then laboured with; for it

o All that is written in *Chaldee* in both these two books make no more than 267 verses, of which 200 are in *Daniel*, and 67 in *Ezra*, and these, with one verse in *Jeremiah*, is all that of the *Chaldee* language is to be found in the original text of the holy scriptures. p Richard Simon in his critical history.

Book ii. Chap. xviii.

q Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 406.

* Appian. de bellis civilibus lib. 5.

† Justin. lib. 42. cap. 4.

§ Justin. ibid. Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 406.

¶ Plutarchus in

Crasso circa finem.

working off in a violent purgation, it carried off the disease with it. And therefore to make sure work of it, the parricide caused him to be stifled to death in his bed, and after that ^u he put to death all his other brothers, and raged with that cruelty towards the nobility, as well as all others, that he made himself the odium of all his people; whereon ^w fearing lest they should depose him and place a son of his, then grown up to man's state, upon the throne instead of him, he put him to death to prevent it. Hereon ^x great numbers of the nobility of *Parthia* dreading his cruelty fled the countrey to avoid it, several of which took refuge in *Syria* under the protection of *Antony*, among whom *Moneses* was the most eminent, who growing much into the confidence of *Antony*, thereby became the chief promoter of that war with *Parthia*, which *Antony* the next year engaged in.

HEROD on the death of *Antigonus* ^y made *Ananelus* High-priest in his stead. He was an obscure priest residing among the *Jews* of *Babylonia*, and a descendant of those who had settled in that countrey after the *Babylonish* captivity, but ^z being of the pontifical family, and formerly well known to *Herod*, he sent for him from *Babylonia*, and put him into this office; and that which chiefly recommended him to this choice was the obscurity and meanness of the man, that being a person without credit or interest at *Jerusalem*, he might not there by virtue of this high station and dignity be in a capacity of interfering with the regal authority.

IN the interim *Hyrchanus* continued a Prisoner at *Seleucia* in *Babylonia*, till *Pthraates* came to the crown. Amidst the cruelties which he exercised among his own people, he shewed kindness and generosity towards this captive Prince; for ^a as soon as he was informed of his quality, he ordered him to be released from his chains, and allowed him to live at full liberty among the *Jews* of that countrey, who respecting him as their King, and their High-priest, he seemed to have been as much a King among them, and to have as ample a kingdom, as when he reigned at *Jerusalem*. For the *Jews* who were then settled in *Babylonia*, *Affyria*, and other countries beyond the *Euphrates*, which were then parts of the *Parthian* empire, were as numerous as those in *Judea*. And all these honoured him as their King, and supplied him with a maintenance suitable thereto; so that he lived there in full honour, ease and plenty. But on hearing of *Herod's* being advanced to be King of *Judea*, the love which he had for his countrey so prevailed with him, that nothing could content him but to return again thither. Having been the preserver of *Herod's* life, when he was arraigned before the *Sanhedrim* for the death of *Hezekias*, and the founder of all his fortunes, he expected this man would have treated him as gratitude obliged, and returned him all the kindnesses he had received, and therefore was desirous of putting himself under his protection in *Jerusalem*; and *Herod* was as earnest to have him there as the other to desire it, but with quite another view. He feared some turn might happen to bring *Hyrchanus* upon the throne, and therefore desired to have him in his power, that he might cut him off to prevent it, when he should see an occasion for it. And for this end not only invited *Hyrchanus* to him with

An. 36.
Herod 2.

^u Justin. *ibid.*
lib. 49. p. 406.

^w Justin. lib. 42. cap. 5.

^y Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 2, 3.

was capable of the high-priesthood, if otherwise qualified.

^x Plutarchus in Antonio. Dion Cassius

^z Every one of the descendants of Aaron

^a Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 2.

great earnestness and greater promises; but sent an embassy to *Phraates* of purpose to solicit his permission for him to come; and he having succeeded in both these particulars, that is with *Phraates* to grant him his dismissal, and with *Hyrchanus* to accept of it, the unfortunate old Prince, contrary to the advice of all his friends, left *Babylonia* and returned to *Jerusalem*, where *Herod* for some time treated him with all seeming respects; till at length he found a pretence to put him to death, in the manner as will be hereafter related.

^b *PUBLIUS Canidius* one of *Antony's* lieutenants having vanquished the *Armenians*, the *Iberians*, and the *Albanians*, and carried his victorious arms as far as mount *Caucasus*, the name of *Antony* hereon became very famous and terrible among all the nations of those parts; with which he being much elated was blown up thereby into a confidence of having the same success against the *Parthians*, and therefore ^c resolved forthwith to prosecute that war against them, which he had long designed, and was at *Rome* earnestly expected from him, for the revenging of the cause of *Crassus* and those *Romans* that perished with him at *Carrhae*; and he accordingly set himself on the making of all manner of preparations for it, ^d in which he made great use of *Moneses*, forming all his schemes for the carrying of it on by his advice; and to engage him to be the more serviceable to him herein ^d he allowed him the revenues of three cities for his maintenance, as *Xerxes* had *Themistocles*, and promised him also on his conquering the country to make him King of it. But while these projects were a framing came ambassadors from *Phraates* to invite *Moneses* home. For the *Parthians* very ill resenting the banishment of this great man, and *Phraates* himself dreading the advantage, which the enemy might have against him from the advice of so wise and able a counsellor, and one so well acquainted with the country to direct an invasion into it, this produced a resolution of recalling him; and such terms being offered him, as he thought fit to accept, he prepared for his return. *Antony* had great indignation hereat, and though he had him still in his power, yet thought it not for his interest to put him to death, because this would discourage all others from revolting to him; but to make the best advantage of this incident for his own interest, he on his dismissing of *Moneses* sent ambassadors with him to *Phraates* to treat of peace, hoping that by amusing him herewith he might divert him from making preparations for the war, and so find him unprovided to make any resistance on his invasion upon him. But he wholly failed of his aim in this matter; for intending to have invaded the *Parthians* by the nearest cut over the *Euphrates*, on his coming to that river ^c he found all the passes so strongly guarded on the other side, that he durst no where attempt the leading of his army that way; whereon he marched off to the left, and passed mount *Taurus* into *Armenia*, purposing from thence to invade first the *Medians*, and after that the *Parthians*; and this he was induced to by the solicitations of *Artabazes* King of *Armenia*. For that Prince having made a breach with *Artavasdes* King of *Media*, for the revenging of his cause upon him pressed *Antony* to come this way, and on his failing of the other over the *Euphrates* he

^b Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 406. Plutarchus in Antonio. Strabo lib. 11. p. 501.

^c Dion Cassius & Plutarchus ibid. Justin. lib. 42. cap. 5. ibidem.

^d Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 407.

^d Dion Cassius, & Plutarchus

accepted of the invitation. And had *Artabazes* acted faithfully with him; the expedition in all likelihood would have had all the success which was proposed. But ^f instead of conducting him the direct way, which from *Zeugma* on the *Euphrates* (the place from whence he did first set out on this northern march) to the river *Araxis*, that parted *Media* from *Armenia*, was above five hundred miles, he led him over mountains and difficult passes, and by ways so far about, that he made his march to be of double the length before he arrived on the borders of *Media*, at the place intended for the beginning of the war; whereby not only the army was fatigued, but so much of the year spent, that it left him not time sufficient for the executing of what was designed. However ^g to make all the expedition possible, that so he might be back again soon enough to spend his winter with *Cleopatra*, he over-marched all his heavy carriage (among which were three hundred waggons loaded with battering rams, and other military engines for sieges) leaving *Statianus* one of his lieutenants with a guard of ten thousand men to bring them after him. With the rest of his army he hasten'd forward by long marches till he arrived at *Praaspa* (otherwise called *Phraata*) the capitol of *Media*, ^h which was within the country at the distance of three hundred miles from the river *Araxis*, where the first borders of it began. ⁱ This city he immediately besieged, but it being a very strong place, and well fortified, he soon found the error he had committed in leaving his battering rams and his other military engines behind him; for he could do nothing without them, and therefore when the *Median* and *Parthian* army came up to him, finding him thus in vain spending himself in this siege, they stay'd not to give him any disturbance for the raising of it, but passing him by, marched forward to fall on *Statianus*, who was coming up with the heavy carriages, and having surprized him in the way, cut him off and all his ten thousand men with him (excepting only some few who had quarter given them in the end of the carnage) and took all the engines of war, and all the rest of the baggage that was with them; which was a loss and disappointment that mostly contributed to the making the whole expedition miscarry, next the ill measures by which it was conducted.

As soon as *Antony* heard of the danger *Statianus* was in, ^k he made all the haste he could to his assistance, but came too late to give him any; for on his arrival he found him and all his men dead on the field of battle, but no enemy appearing to oppose him, he supposed them fled for fear of him; and this making him resume his courage he returned again to the siege, but was there attended with the same ill success as in all things else during this expedition: For the enemy lying near at hand continually harassed him with fresh assaults, taking all advantages for it, especially in his foragings. If he sent out few for this purpose, they were usually cut off in their return; and if he sent many, the remainder were galled by the sallies of the besiegers. He thought to have remedied all this by drawing the *Parthian* army to a general battle, and twice he attained his aim herein,

^f Strabo lib. 11. p. 524.^g Plutarchus in Antonio.^h Strabo lib. 11. p. 523. Hethere calls this city Vera, and says it was distant from the river *Araxis* 2400 furlongs, i. e. 300 miles.ⁱ Plutarchus in Antonio. Strabo ibid. Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 407.^k Plutarchus &

Dion Cassius ibid.

but with little advantage to him; for although in both conflicts he put the enemy to a thorough rout, yet the *Parthians* being all horsemen, they made their retreat with that swiftness, and thereby so well escaped the damages usually suffered in such defeats, that in the last of them, when *Antony* thought his victory absolute, and pursued it to the utmost, he found that there were only eighty of the enemy slain, and thirty taken prisoners in the whole action. However he continued the siege, till having eaten up all the countrey round, he was forced to depart for want of provisions; but his retreat being to be made through the enemy's countrey^l for three hundred miles (for^m at that distance *Phraata* lay from the borders of *Armenia*) it was attended with great difficulties, and continual dangers. Heⁿ was much beholden to a guide, which he had of the *Mardians* (a people living near the confines of *Media* and *Armenia*) who being well acquainted with the countrey, faithfully conducted him through it. The *Parthian*^o army followed him as far as the river *Araxis*, where the territories of the *Medians* ended, and harassed him all the way with assaults, as often as they had an advantage for them. ^pEighteen times they fell on him with all their forces, and although he as often repulsed them, yet it was every time with greater loss to himself than to the enemy: For as soon as they perceived themselves worsted they made quick retreats, as being all horsemen, so as to sustain no loss in the pursuit. ^qThree times he was in danger of being absolutely undone by ambushes laid in the way for him, which he could not have escaped, but that he had notice given him of them from the enemy's quarters. Twice *Monæses* served him this way by a special messenger sent to him for this purpose, in return to the kindness he had received from him in his banishment: And the other time he had his intelligence from an old *Roman* soldier, who having been a captive among the *Parthians* ever since the defeat of *Crassus*, came to the *Roman* army to acquaint him of the danger. Although he made many errors in his conduct of the other parts of this war, there were none of them in this retreat: For he managed it with all the art and success that it was capable of, and after a march of twenty seven days from the walls of *Phraata*, he brought his army back again into *Armenia*, tho' not without great loss. For on his taking a review of his army after his repassing the *Araxis*, he found he brought back of his foot twenty thousand, and of his horse four thousand fewer than he first carried over that river for this war, more of which perished by the hardships of the campaign than by the sword of the enemy. And although on his entering *Armenia* he was there out of the enemy's countrey, and had free passage for his army without molestation; yet winter being now advanced, and *Armenia* all covered with snow, by continuing his march thorough it during this hard season he lost several thousands more of his men; so that on his return to *Antioch*, *Florus*^r tells us he scarce brought back a third part of the number he carried out: And yet he had the vanity on his return to boast as if he had come back with victory, and assumed the honours due thereto. He was not at any time indeed during

^k Livii epitome lib. 130.^m Strabo lib. 11. 523.ⁿ Plutarchus in Antonio.^o Plutarchus ibid. Dion Cassius lib. 49.^p Plutarchus ibidem.^q Plutarchus &

Dion Cassius ibid.

^r Florus lib. 4. cap. 10. Velleius Paterculus saith he lost a fourth

part of the soldiers, and of the servants, sutlers, and others that attended the army a third part, lib. 2. cap. 82.

this expedition vanquished in battel, as *Crassus* had been, but came back alive at the head of his army, and without that disgrace to the *Roman* arms which attended the absolute defeat of that other general: But if their losses be compared together, this of *Antony's* will appear the more unfortunate expedition of the two. When *Crassus* was vanquished by the *Parthians* at *Carrhæ*, ^s there were slain with him twenty thousand, and ten thousand taken prisoners; but in this campaign of *Antony's* against the same people, the number of those that were lost in it was much greater; according to *Florus's* account it was about twice as much; for he went out with ^t an hundred thousand men, and if he brought back only a third part, then above sixty thousand must have perished of them in this destructive undertaking.

HAD *Artabazes*, " who marched with *Antony* into *Media* with sixteen thousand horse, continued them in his service, that reinforcement would have enabled him to have pursued the *Parthian* horse as often as they were repulsed, and to have taken thereby all the advantages of these defeats for the making of that campaign fully fortunate. But that faithless man, who had drawn *Antony* into this war, was the first that deserted him in it: For ^w hearing of the ill fate of *Statianus*, and those that were cut off with him, he immediately withdrew into his own countrey, giving all for lost on the *Romans* side, and thereby did all that in him lay to make it so; for which *Antony* at last revenged himself upon him in his utter ruin.

BUT the main cause of all the misfortunes of this war, as well as of all others that befel this noble *Roman* after his obtaining the chief command of the east, was that wicked and lascivious woman *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*. On his last return out of *Italy* into *Syria* he forthwith ^x sent for her thither against the advice of all his friends. On her arrival ^y she influenced him to many unjust and wicked things for the gratifying of her avarice, and many of the nobility of *Syria* were on false pretences put to death through her means, for no other reason but that she might have their forfeited estates; among whom one was *Lyfanius* the son of *Ptolemy Mennæus* Prince of *Chalcis* and *Ituræa*, ^z whom she having caused to be put to death on a false accusation of confederating with the *Parthians*, had thereon his dominions granted to her. The stay which she then made with him much retarded this *Parthian* expedition: For that he might the longer enjoy her conversation, ^a he so long delayed his first setting out on it, and by reason hereof came into *Armenia* so late in the year, that he could not have time enough to do any great feats in this campaign had he been fully fortunate in it; and although he sent her away again into *Egypt* before he marched forth with his army, yet he went to this war with his heart so bewitched to her, that he precipitated every thing to make the more haste to return to her again. And this precipitation was the cause that made the undertaking so miserably miscarry as hath been above related. A great part of the summer having been spent e'er he came to the river *Araxis*, instead of

^s Plutarchus in *Crasso*.

^t Plutarchus in *Antonio*.

ⁿ Plutarchus *ibid*.

^w Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 407. Plutarchus *ibid*.

^x Plutarchus *ibid*.

^y Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 4. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 13.

^z Josephus antiq.

lib. 15. cap. 4. Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 411.

^a Plutarchus in *Antonio*.

passing it so late in the year, he should have put his army there into quarters among the *Armenians*. After so long and fatiguing a march as they made of it from *Syria* thither, they needed such a refreshment; and winter being so near, had he continued them still there in the same quarters till the rigour of it had been over, and began the war early in the spring following, in all likelihood he would have had better success in it, and would then have had time enough before him for the making of the best advantage of it. This was the best course he could then have taken, and he was accordingly advised to it; but the eager desire which he then had of being speedily back again with that wicked woman, would not permit him to hearken thereto, but hurried him on to enter into a war in a cold countrey, when the cold season was there beginning. And when the heavy carriages hinder'd him in his march from making that speed with which he desired for the same reason to dispatch every thing, he left them behind to be brought after him, which not only made the siege of *Pbraata* miscarry for want of the engines of battery which were with those carriages; but also was the cause of the loss of all those carriages, and of *Statianus* and his convoy, who were appointed to bring them to him, they being all through this ill conduct cut off and destroyed in the manner as above related. And when the unlucky beginning of the war with so great a loss had made every thing else miscarry in it, and *Antony* was with great difficulty got back again into *Armenia*, and ought at least then to have put the remainder of his army into winter quarters, it being the middle of winter, ^b for the sake of getting speedily back again into *Syria* for the gratifying of his lust with that woman, he obstinately continued his march over that mountainous countrey then covered all over with snow, which lost him ^c eight thousand of his men more, who perished in that march by reason of the hardship of the season, which compleated the ruin of his army, and reduced them to that small number I have mentioned.

WHILE these things were a doing in the east, a great change happen'd in the west, *Sextus Pompeius* being driven out of *Sicily*, and *Lepidus* deposed from the triumvirate. *Octavianus* and *Lepidus* ^d had jointly carried on the war against *Sextus Pompeius*, and they having had that success in it as utterly to subdue him both by sea and land, and deprive him of all he had, excepting only seven ships, with which he fled into *Asia*; *Lepidus* vainly arrogated the whole honour of the victory to himself, and would have seized all *Sicily*, as what he thought was due solely unto him as the just reward of it. But *Octavianus* having hereon drawn over all his army to desert to him, reduced him to a necessity to beg his life, and be content to lead the remainder of it in a private and mean condition at *Circeii* a small maritim town among the *Latins*, where he was sent into banishment. That he attained to be one of the three supream governors of the *Roman* empire was wholly owing to fortune, he being without any merit in himself of either wisdom, valour, or activity to entitle him thereto; and therefore after he had thus fallen from what fortune had thus raised him unto, he had nothing more left to recommend him to any farther regard, but ended his life in the place of his confinement in obscurity and contempt. After this

^b Plutarchus in Antonio.

^c Epitome Livii lib. 130. Plutarchus ibid.

^d Dion Cassius lib. 49. Appianus de bellis civilibus lib. 5. Livii epitome lib. 129. Suetonius in Octavio, cap. 16, & 54. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 18. Florus lib. 4. cap. 8.

Antony and *Octavianus* held the whole *Roman* empire divided between them; the former had all the east from the borders of *Illyrium* and the *Adriatic Gulph*, and the latter all the rest. And it is remarked that *Octavianus* was no more than eight and twenty years old when he attained to all this, and owed it all wholly to the wisdom of his own conduct; and with the same wisdom whereby he obtained this empire, he governed it ever after to the end of his life through a long and prosperous reign.

As soon as *Antony* had gotten back again into *Syria* from his late expedition, ^{An. 35.} he retired to *Lucecome*, a castle in *Phœnicia* lying between *Sidon* and *Berytus*, and there sent for *Cleopatra* to him, waiting for her coming with great impatience; and for the relief of it wearing away the time in the interim with feasting, revelling, and drunkenness till her arrival, without being touched with any concern for the losses of his late unfortunate expedition, or with any other passion but that of his inordinate love for this lascivious woman. On her coming to him she brought with her great quantities of garments for the new cloathing of his shatter'd army. These with a large donative in money were distributed among the foldiers in *Cleopatra's* name. The cloaths only it's said were from *Cleopatra*, but the money all from *Antony*; but both were distributed in her name, out of complaisance to her. As soon as this was done *Antony* returned into *Egypt* with her; and there they spent the remainder of the winter in all manner of luxury and voluptuousness together. ^{Herod 3.}

THE ^e making of *Ananelus* High-priest, and the putting by from that office *Aristobulus* the son of *Alexander*, to whom it belonged in right of succession, caused great disturbances in *Herod's* family: For *Alexandra*, *Aristobulus's* mother, could not bear the disappointment; and *Mariamne* his sister, *Herod's* best beloved wife, was continually teasing and soliciting him about it. But he was most embarrassed by the dangers and troubles which *Alexandra* created him: For she wrote to *Cleopatra* about this matter, and began also by the means of one *Dellius*, a favourite of *Antony's*, to engage him in it; so that *Herod* found it necessary for the securing of his safety and quiet to gratify the two ladies in what he found them so earnest for; and therefore having deposed *Ananelus*, he made *Aristobulus*, then a lad of seventeen years old, High-priest in his stead; this satisfying the two ladies, and also pleasing the generality of the people, it restored peace again to *Herod's* family, and prevented for the present all those dangers and difficulties from *Antony* which he was then threaten'd with about this matter.

BUT the active genius of *Alexandra* would not permit this calm long to continue: For she was a woman of a great spirit, as well as of a great understanding, and knowing that her son had as good a claim to the kingdom as he had to the high-priesthood, could not bear his being deprived of either: For by her he was grandson to ^g *Hyrcaus*, and by *Alexander* his father he was grandson to *Aristobulus*, and therefore had the interest and right of both those brothers centering in him; by his descent from the latter he had the high-priesthood (that going in the male line) but by his

^e Plutarchus in Antonio.

^f Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 2, & 3.

^g *Hyrcaus and Aristobulus were the two sons of Alexander Jannæus, Alexandra was the daughter and only child of Hyrcanus, and Alexander her husband was the son of Aristobulus, these two being married together were the parents of Mariamne, Herod's wife, and of Aristobulus the High-priest.*

descent from both he claimed the crown, and *Alexandra* having succeeded in her gaining of the one ^h pursued the same means for the obtaining of the other also, that is, by intreaguings with *Cleopatra*, that so by her interposition she might gain over *Antony* to her. But *Herod* smelling out this correspondence, and guessing at the purport of it, confined her to the palace, and set spies upon her, who so narrowly watched all her steps, that none of them escaped their observation; whereon looking on her self as a prisoner, she resented it with great indignation, and for the remedying of it formed a plot for her's and her son's escape into *Egypt* to *Cleopatra*, who on this occasion had invited them thither: In order hereto a ship was provided at the next sea-port town, and they were to be carried out in two coffins for their escaping thither. *Herod* had an account of all this design, and permitted it to go on till it was actually put in execution, but then seizing them on the road brought them both back again. He durst not openly resent what was done for fear of *Cleopatra*, and therefore making a virtue of necessity he pretended out of clemency to pardon that in both which he could not punish in either; but from that time resolved to rid himself of the young man as soon as he should have a convenient opportunity for it. He was right heir to the crown, which *Herod* by the favour of the *Romans* had usurped from him, and being also a very beautiful young man, the usurper had reason to fear, should he come into the presence of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, how far he might gain on persons so lasciviously affected for the carrying of the point which *Alexandra* proposed. And farther he observed, that the young man grew much into the favour of the people; and the gracefulness of his person, as well as their affection for the *Asmonæan* family, of which he was the sole male remainder, much recommended him hereto: Of which an instance was soon given on a very publick occasion. For the feast of tabernacles approaching, and *Aristobulus* then officiating in the office of High-priest, he discharged himself with so good a grace, and the splendor of the pontifical robes did so much set forth the beauty of his person, that by both these he captivated the affection of the whole assembly, and every man's mouth was full of his praises. This raised the jealousy of the tyrant to so high a degree, that he had not patience any longer to bear him, but immediately after the festival was over took care to have him drowned at *Jericho*. He went thither with *Herod* to take part of an entertainment there provided for them; after dinner was over several of *Herod's* attendants bathing themselves in a fish-pond, *Aristobulus* was persuaded to bath with them; but he was no sooner plunged into the water, but those that were there before him, according as directed by *Herod*, ducked and dipped him so long under water, till he was then drowned to death. This was pretended to be done only by way of sport and play, without any intending of that which followed, and therefore endeavours were made to have his death to pass for an unfortunate accident, which happen'd by chance without any design; and none laboured more to have this believed than *Herod* himself; for he acted the part of a great mourner for the deceased, shedding abundance of tears, and otherwise expressing great grief for his death, and expending great sums in a splendid

^h Josephus ibid.ⁱ Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 3.

funeral for him. But every body saw through this hypocrisy, and abhorred him for it, and none more than *Alexandra*, who was inconsolable for this loss, and could not have survived it, but for the hopes of having an opportunity of being revenged on the tyrant for it. In order hereto she put all her wits to work, and being well stored with such as were proper for the effecting of such a design, she had near brought it to pass for the utter ruin of the murderer, and all his fortunes, as will be by and by related.

BUT all this while *Antony* lay idle at *Alexandria*, spending the whole year in dalliances with *Cleopatra*, and although fair opportunities were offered him for the revenging of the *Roman* cause upon the *Parthians*, and utterly subduing that nation, yet he neglected them all for the enjoyment of his lust with this vile woman. For *Antony* was no sooner returned from his late expedition, but ^k the King of *Media* and King of *Parthia* fell out about the prey, which they had taken from him on the defeat of *Statianus*, the latter depriving the other of his share in it; whereon the *Median* sent an embassy to *Antony*, offering to join with him against the *Parthian*, and to assist him with all his forces. This offer *Antony* gladly accepted of, as wanting the *Median* horse to enable him to cope with the *Parthians*, whose whole strength lay in their horse. And at the same time he had an account, that the affairs of the *Parthians* were in great disorders and distractions by reason of several commotions, seditions, and rebellions then in that countrey, caused by the tyranny and cruelty of their King. Both these junctures coming together offered *Antony* a very advantageous opportunity by a new expedition against the *Parthians*, to make amends for the miscarriage of the former; and therefore resolving to lay hold of it he forthwith put himself upon his march into *Syria*, there to make preparations for it. But *Octavia* being come as far as *Athens* in her way to *Antony*, *Cleopatra* feared, that in case they should meet, the wife might again recover the affection of the husband, and she be thenceforth excluded from it; and therefore for the preventing hereof she put all her arts to work, feigned her self after his departure to be sick in love of him, that his absence had cast her into a languishing condition, of which she must die unless he would return to her again; for she pretended she could not live without him. This brought *Antony* back again to *Alexandria*, and the *Median* expedition being laid aside he devoted this whole year to the gratifying his adulterous love with this woman, and as soon as he was returned to her he sent his order to *Octavia* at *Athens*, that she should not proceed any farther; which being resented by *Octavianus* became the first cause of that war between them, which ended in the ruin of both these lovers, for they both perished in it.

THIS year did put an end to the family and faction of *Pompey the Great*. It hath been above related, that at his death he left two sons, *Cneius* and *Sextus*, and that *Cneius* was slain in *Spain* after the battel of *Munda*. *Sextus* the younger of them having escaped from thence supported himself for some time in a piratical way at sea; but after the death of *Cæsar*, and the battel of *Philippi* ¹having gotten together out of the remains of his party such a naval force as made up 350 sail, he seized *Sicily*, *Corfica*, and *Sardinia*; from whence being driven by *Octavianus*

^k Plutarchus in Antonio. Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 411.
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¹ L. Florus lib. 4. cap. 8.

and *Lepidus* in the manner as hath been related ^m he fled to *Lesbus*, and there lived for some time in quiet among the *Mitylenians*. But hearing of the ill success of *Antony's* expedition against the *Parthians* he thought this a favourable opportunity for him again to raise himself, and therefore passing over into the continent of *Lesser Asia*, he there got together a small army, and with it made several desperate pushes for the restoring of his fortunes, but failing in them all he was this year taken and put to death by *Titius* one of *Antony's* lieutenants. As soon as *Antony* had notice of his being taken, he wrote to *Titius* to put him to death, but a little after repenting of it he sent a second letter to have him saved alive. But the messenger that carried the letters of mercy making haste with them arrived before the other messenger, that had the letters of death; and therefore *Titius* executing them not in the order of their date, but in the order as he received them, did put the unfortunate captive to death. After this the parties of *Octavianus* and *Antony* divided the *Roman* empire, and those of *Pompey* and *Cæsar* were no more spoken of. *Titius* had formerly been an adherent of *Sextus Pompeius*, but having treacherously revolted to *Antony* from him, he feared that if *Sextus's* life were spared, he might some time or other be in a condition to be revenged on him for it, and therefore perversely interpreting the last order that came to hand to be the last that was sent, put him to death by virtue of it; which rendered him so odious to the *Roman* people by reason of the great regard and affection, which they had to the memory of *Pompey* and his family, that ⁿ they could not after this bear the sight of him in the publick theatre, but drove him out of it with their hisses and curses, even then when he was there exhibiting to them games and shews at his own expence and charges.

ALEXANDRA ^o having by letters acquainted *Cleopatra* of the murder of her son, possessed her so effectually with the whole villany of *Herod* in this matter, as fully engaged her to do all that in her lay for the revenging of her cause; so that she never left soliciting *Antony* about it, till at length she prevailed with him to call *Herod* to an account for it. And therefore *Antony* going early this year into *Syria* (in which journey *Cleopatra* accompanied him) he cited *Herod* there to appear before him to answer this accusation against him. But *Herod* on his arrival by fair words and large presents so mollified *Antony*, that nothing could be done against him, though *Cleopatra* failed not to pursue this cause to the utmost. But this not being so much to gratify *Alexandra*, as out of a greedy desire to have *Herod's* kingdom granted to her in case he were cast in this cause, and put to death for it, as he deserved, *Antony* satisfied her avarice by giving her *Cæle-Syria* instead of *Judæa*, and hereon she dropp'd all the rest, and no farther prosecution was made herein.

HEROD on his leaving *Judæa* to go unto *Antony* ^p appointed *Joseph* his uncle to have the administration of the government and the care of his family during his absence, and gave him particularly in charge, that in case *Antony* should put him to death, he should not permit *Mariamne* his best beloved wife to survive the first news of it, but immediately cut her off. This he ordered, that no one might enjoy so rare a beauty but himself, especially not *Antony*; for he had been acquainted, that *Antony* had pro-

^m Appianus de bellis civilibus lib. 5. Dion Cassius lib. 49. cap. 79.

^o Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 4.

^p Josephus ibid.

ⁿ Velleius Paterculus lib. 2.

fell'd a passion for her upon the very fame of her beauty, and therefore concluded, that if the matter went hard with him, it would be for her sake, that after his death *Antony* might have the free enjoyment of her, and therefore should death be now his case, he order'd her death also, that he might thereby deprive *Antony* of the prey intended, and so by this disappointment in her death as far as in him lay revenge on him his own.

DURING *Herod's* absence ^a*Joseph* frequently waited on *Mariamne*, sometimes upon business, and at other times to pay his respects to her as Queen; in which visits he would often take occasion to magnify and extol the love of *Herod* to her, and at one time especially to make this out he told her, that she was so dear to him, that as he could not live without her, so he was resolv'd, that death should not part them, and so blabbed out the whole secret; which exceedingly angering *Mariamne* and *Alexandra*, as well it might, the latter immediately put her busy head to work how to prevent the mischief intended. And soon after a flying report running through the city, that *Herod* was put to death by *Antony*, she forthwith contriv'd to flee for protection to a legion of the *Romans*, who then for the safeguard of the countrey under the command of one *Julius* lay encamp'd without the walls of *Jerusalem*. But while this was in agitation came letters from *Herod*, which dash'd the whole plot; for they brought an account, that he was not only alive and in safety, but also in great favour with *Antony*, and soon after he return'd. On his arrival *Salome* his sister told him all that had been a doing in his absence, and fill'd his head with jealousy as to *Mariamne*, accusing her of having too great a familiarity with *Joseph*, and thereby endeavour'd to work the destruction of both, though *Joseph* was both her uncle and her husband; but she was content to sacrifice him, so she might obtain her revenge upon the other. For *Mariamne* being a lady of excellent beauty, and high born, as being descended of the royal stock of the *Asinonæan* Kings, and on both these accounts of as high a spirit, she look'd down upon *Salome* as one of a low original in respect of her, and had reproach'd her with it, which the other not brooking resolv'd to be revenged on her for it, in order whereto she never left laying plots for her ruin, till at length she effected it; and this was that, which was the reason of her present accusation against her. This at first put *Herod* into a furious fit of jealousy against his wife; for as his love to her was very great, so his jealousy was proportionable to it; but when the first heat of it was over, and he had in a cooler temper examin'd *Mariamne* about it, he soon found, that there was no reason for this accusation against her, and therefore earnestly begg'd her pardon for his too easy credulity herein, and for the better obtaining of her reconciliation made great profession in passionate embraces of most ardent love and affection to her. Yes indeed, says she, it is a notable sign of your love to order the putting your innocent wife to death, in case you should dye your self. At these words *Herod* flew out of her arms in the utmost fury, and his jealousy all return'd again upon him in greater excess than before; for he concluded that nothing but an adulterous conversation, could bring *Joseph* to betray this secret to her, which he had with the utmost caution committed to his trust, and in this transport of

^a Josephus ibid. ^r The Levitical law did not exclude the uncle from marrying the niece, though it did the aunt from marrying the nephew, the reason of which is above shewn under the year 187.

his passion was just on drawing of his dagger to have immediately stuck her to the heart; but his love to her checking this first start of his wrath against her, he vented it all upon *Joseph* and *Alexandra*. For the first of them he put to death without as much as allowing him an hearing to speak for himself, and the other he clapped into chains, and lock'd her fast up in prison, as looking upon her to be the root and cause of all the mischief, that disturb'd his family.

CLEOPATRA following *Antony* into *Syria* ^s was there continually soliciting him for new grants of provinces and countries to be made over to her, she being as insatiable in her covetousness, as she was in her lust. She had ^t already obtained from him all *Cyrene*, *Cyprus*, *Cæle-Syria*, *Ituræa*, and *Phœnicia*, with a great part of *Cilicia* and *Crete*, and ^u would fain have had also *Judæa* from *Herod* and *Arabia* from *Malchus*, and solicited hard for the putting of these two Kings to death, that she might thereon have their kingdoms for a prey. But *Antony* would not comply with her in this last proposal, however for the quieting of her he was forced to give her out of *Malchus's* kingdom that part of it which bordered upon *Egypt*, and out of *Herod's* the territory of *Jericho* with the balsam gardens, which there grew. By these large grants he much offended the *Roman* people, especially since they were made the price of that filthy conversation, which he carried on with this lewd woman.

ANTONY from *Syria* marching into *Armenia*, ^w *Cleopatra* accompanied him as far as the *Euphrates*, from whence returning by the way of *Apamea* and *Damascus*, she came to *Jerusalem*, and was there very splendidly entertained by *Herod*. While she was there, she pretended to be in love with him, and would have drawn him into acts of lewdness with her. The impudence of this attempt created in him an abhorrence of the woman, which joined with the hatred he justly had of her for the ill offices she had endeavoured to do him with *Antony* for the depriving him of his kingdom and his life, provoked him to a resolution now he had her in his power to put her to death, and it was only the fear of *Antony's* resentments (the danger of which his friends, whom he advised with about it, laid fully before him) that deterred him from putting it in execution. And therefore laying this aside, he went on to complement and entertain her with all manner of respects and splendor, as long as she staid with him, and on her departure waited on her in person as far as the borders of her kingdom. However fearing the malice of this wicked woman, as well as the tumultuous temper of the *Jews*, and their aversion to him, ^x he fortified *Massada* the strongest castle in *Judæa*, and furnished it with arms for ten thousand men, that there he might have a place of refuge for his security against all events.

IN the mean time *Antony* in *Armenia* having by treachery drawn *Artabazes* King of that countrey into his power, made him his prisoner, and seized all his kingdom. He had deserted him in his late *Median* expedition, as hath been above related; this *Antony* greatly resented, and that justly enough, it having been undertaken on the solicitation and for the sake of *Artabazes*: And therefore he had ever since entertained resolutions in

^s Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 4. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 13. ^t Plutarchus & Dion Cassius ibid.

^u Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 4. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 13. & lib. 7.

cap. 32.

^w Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 5.

^x Josephus de bello Judaico lib. 7. cap. 32.

his mind of being revenged on him for it; in order hereto^y he had several times under pretence of friendship endeavoured to draw him within his power; but *Artabazes* being sensible how ill he had deserved from him, suspected the worst, and therefore kept out of his way. But now finding it was brought to this pass, that it could be no longer avoided but that he must either go to him, or enter into a disadvantageous war with him; and having all the securities for his safe return that solemn promises and sacred oaths could give him, he ventured his person within his power; ^zbut he was no sooner entered into his camp, but he was clapp'd into chains, and contrary to all the obligations of faith and honesty made a prisoner. The *Armenians* resenting this with the indignation which it deserved, immediately^a put *Artaxias* the eldest son of the captivated King on his throne, and marched under him with all their forces to revenge the perfidy: But *Antony* having overthrown them in battel, and driven *Artaxias* to take shelter in *Parthia*, most of the countrey submitted to him, and the rest were reduced by force. But the perfidy of this act in thus seizing a confederate King contrary to faith given was looked on at *Rome* as dishonourable to the *Roman* name, and it was on this account so ill resented by the people, ^bthat *Octavianus* in his speeches both to them and the senate made it one of the reasons for the war that afterwards broke out between them.

AFTER this ^che contracted a marriage for *Alexander* one of his sons by *Cleopatra* with a daughter of the King of *Media*, and then leaving the gross of his army in *Armenia*, he returned with the rest to *Alexandria*. On his arrival thither he entered the city in a triumphal chariot, causing the prey which he had taken in *Armenia*, with King *Artabazes*, his wife and children, and other prisoners, to be carried before him in the same manner as used to be done in the triumphs at *Rome*; only with this difference, that whereas at *Rome* the procession ended at the temple of *Jupiter* in the capitol, here it ended at the person of *Cleopatra*; who being seated in publick on a golden throne placed on a scaffold overlaid with silver, and surrounded by the people on every side, had there *Artabazes* and all the other prisoners presented in chains to her. It was expected that they should all have kneeled down before her, and they were pressed so to do; but they too much remembred their former dignity to submit to so low an obeisance; and this refusal caused that they were afterwards used the worse for it. The *Romans* looking on the ceremony of triumphing as appropriated wholly to their city, ^dtook it grievously ill at the hands of *Antony*, that he should carry it elsewhere for the gratifying of an infamous woman.

A little after this, ^e*Antony* having feasted the people of *Alexandria*, called them together into the *Gymnasium* or place of publick exercise; where having on such a scaffold as before mentioned seated himself in a throne of gold, and *Cleopatra* by him in another, he made an oration to them, and then declared *Cesarion* the son of *Cleopatra* to be King of *Egypt* and *Cy-*

^y Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 411, & 415. ^z Plutarchus in Antonio. Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 415. Epitome Livii lib. 131. Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 82. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 19. Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 5. ^a Dion Cassius & Josephus ibid. ^b Dion Cassius lib. 50. p. 419. ^c Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 415. ^d Plutarchus in Antonio. ^e Plutarchus in Antonio. Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 415, 416.

prus in conjunction with his mother: And whereas he himself had three children by the same *Cleopatra*, *Alexander* and *Cleopatra* at one birth, and *Ptolemy*, whom he surnamed *Philadelphus*, at another, he at the same time gave unto *Alexander Armenia, Media, Parthia*, and the rest of the eastern countries from the *Euphrates* to *India*, when they should be subdued; and to *Cleopatra*, the twin sister of *Alexander*, *Libya* and *Cyrene*; and unto *Philadelphus*, *Phœnicia, Syria, Cilicia*, and all the countries of *Lesser Asia* from the *Euphrates* to the *Hellefpont*, and conferred on each of them the title of King of Kings; and 'about the same time he also gave unto *Cleopatra* the name of *Isis*, and assumed to himself that of *Osiris*; the first of which was the great goddess, and the other the great god of the *Egyptians*; and from that time both frequently appeared in publick habited in such a dress as was then thought proper only to those heathen deities. By these doings and follies *Antony* daily diminished his character among all that were either sober or wise, and farther and farther alienated the affections of the *Romans* from him, of which *Octavianus* took the advantage to work his ruin.

Ant. 33
Herod 5.

ANTONY went early the ensuing year into *Armenia* with purpose from thence to make war upon the *Parthians*,^s and in order thereto marched as far as the river *Araxes*. But about this time the quarrel growing high between him and *Octavianus*, this hinder'd his making any farther progress that way. *Octavianus*^h took the advantage of being present at *Rome* to excite all there against him, accusing him in several speeches both to the senate and people. *Antony* hearing of this, laid aside his intended expedition against the *Parthians*, and forthwith sent *Canidius* one of his lieutenants with sixteen legions down to the coasts of the *Ionian* sea; and after having renewed his league with the *Median* King, he himself hasten'd after them to *Ephesus*, there to be ready for the vindicating of his cause against *Octavianus*, should it come to a breach between them, as all things now seemed to tend thereto. In this journey he carried *Cleopatra* with him, which proved the ruin of all his affairs. His friends earnestly advised him to send her back to *Alexandria*, there to wait the event of the war: But *Cleopatra* fearing lest in her absence a peace should be made upon terms of *Antony's* again receiving *Octavia*, and excluding her, put the utmost of her interest to work for the obtaining that she might stay, and accordingly prevailed herein. Her chief argument for it was, that since she contributed most to the expences of the war, (for she had advancedⁱ twenty thousand talents towards it) it was all reason that she should be allowed at her desire to be present in it. *Antony* had provoked *Octavianus* against him^k by the wrong done to *Octavia* his sister, whom having married he rejected for the gratifying of his adulterous love with *Cleopatra*, though *Octavia* was much the handsomer of the two. But that which touched *Octavianus* most was, ^l*Antony* had declared *Cleopatra* to have been married to *Julius Cæsar*, and *Cæsarion*, whom she had by him, to be his lawful son: For this tended to the bringing of a lawful son over his head to the dispossessing him of the inheritance, which he held only as the adopted son of that great

^f Dion Cassius lib. 50. p. 421

^g Plutarchus in Antonio. Dion Cassius lib. 49.

^h Dion Cassius lib. 50. p. 419.
millions of our sterling money.

Plutarchus in Antonio.

ⁱ This amounted to above four

^k Plutarchus in Antonio. Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 411.

^l Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 416. Plutarchus in Antonio.

man. These and many other particulars were objected against him by *Octavianus*, and *Antony* by his agents and letters recriminated as false. But these were only pretences for the gaining of parties on each side. There was only one true cause of the present breach; neither of these two great men being contented with one half of the *Roman* empire, each would have all, and accordingly agreed to throw the dye of war for it.

FROM *Ephesus* ^m *Antony* passed over to *Samos*, and having there rendezvoused the greatest part of his forces, sailed from thence to *Athens*, and in these two places he spent the most part of the year. At both of them he lived after his usual rate in all manner of luxury, pomp, and voluptuousness, having *Cleopatra* with him, who was the chief cause of his immersing himself in these excesses. But at the same time he omitted nothing of making all suitable preparations both by sea and land for the war ensuing, and *Octavianus* did the same; and both parties called in all their friends and allies to their assistance herein.

SOSIUS (whom we have afore spoken of in the wars of *Judæa*) and *Domitius Aenobarbus* being consuls at *Rome* the next ensuing year, ^{An. 32. Herod 6.} both embraced the interest of *Antony*, and taking the advantage of *Octavianus's* being then absent from *Rome*, promoted a decree to the people against him; whercon *Octavianus* returning, and in his defence making a speech in the senate against *Antony* and the consuls, assigned a day for them again to assemble, when he promised he would exhibit to them letters, and other evidences, to make good all that he had said; but before that day came, both the consuls and several other senators that were of *Antony's* party, left the city and repaired to him; and *Octavianus*, instead of hindering them, gave out that they went with his permission, and caused it publickly to be declared, that all else who were so inclined should have free liberty to do the same; whereby having rid the city of all opponents, he was there left at full scope to say and do whatsoever he thought fit for the advancing of his own interest, and the depressing of that of his adversary: Of which *Antony* having an account, ^o called together the chief men of his party, and after consultation had with them about this matter, by their advice declared war against him, and ^p sent a bill of divorce to *Octavia*, and messengers to *Rome* to drive her out of his house in that city, in which she had hitherto lived. And in pursuit of the war, he ^q had by this time so far advanced his preparations for it beyond those of *Octavianus*, that had he forthwith pushed it to a final decision, he must unavoidably have carried the day, *Octavianus* being then in no readiness to stand before him either at sea or land; but the gratifying of his luxury, and the indulging of his pleasures at *Samos* and *Athens* causing a procrastination of this matter, it was deferred till the next year after, which proved the loss of all: For by that time *Octavianus* had gotten together those forces whereby he ruined him at *Actium*, as will be by and by related. And besides, while he thus delayed, many of his friends and partizans ^r deserted him, and went over to *Octavianus*; the principal of which were ^s *Plancus* and *Titius*, whom *Cleopatra's* ill usage drove from him, which tended very much to his damage: For they having been made

^m Plutarchus in Antonio. ⁿ Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 416. & lib. 50. p. 419. Suetonius in Octavio, cap. 17. ^o Dion Cassius lib. 50. p. 420. ^p Dion Cassius ibid. Plutarchus in Antonio. Epitome Livii lib. 132. Eutropius lib. 7. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 19. ^q Plutarchus ibid. ^r Plutarchus & Dion Cassius ibid.

privity to all his counsels and secret designs, on their revolting from him disclosed them all to *Octavianus*; whereby he much served his cause, especially by the discovery which they made to him of *Antony's* will. For he having made a very extravagant will in favour of *Cleopatra* and her children, to the damage and dishonour of the *Roman* state, and lodged it with the vestal virgins at *Rome*, they informed *Octavianus* of it; whereon having gotten this will out of the hands of those with whom it was entrusted, and openly read and recited all the offensive particulars of it to the people, he thereby very much excited them against *Antony*, who had hitherto been well affected to him, as well as all others, expressing great indignation hereat: And this very ill thing being from the authentic instrument undeniably made out against him, it operated much farther to his hurt, in that it made every thing else that was charged upon him, how false soever, to be believed also; and advantage was taken herefrom to load his reputation with many vile imputations, that had not the least foundation of truth in them: For nothing was thought bad enough not to be believed of him after this matter.

OCTAVIANUS having gotten a fleet and army ready, which he thought sufficient for the encountering of the adversary, no longer delayed declaring war, but caused it to be decreed only against *Cleopatra*. For though the war was in reality against *Antony*, yet he craftily took care that his name should not be mentioned in this decree, for several reasons relating to his interest at that time: For this would less provoke the friends of *Antony*; this would make him the more odious at *Rome*, by putting it upon him to be the aggressor in this war against his own countrey; and this would in several other particulars best serve the designs of *Octavianus* against him. Both called all their friends and allies to their help. *Octavianus* had all the west, and *Antony* all the east on their sides, and both brought great armies into the field; and both also set forth as great fleets at sea for the decision of this quarrel. For *Antony's* forces at land and sea consisted of an hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse, and five hundred ships of war, and *Octavianus's* of eighty thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and two hundred and fifty ships of war; and with these preparations they begun their hostilities against each other both by sea and land. In order hereto *Octavianus* rendezvoused both his fleet and army at *Brundisium*, and *Antony* came as far as *Corcyra* to meet him, but the summer being now spent, and the tempestuous season of the year advanced, they were forced both to retreat, and put their armies into winter quarters, and lay up their fleets in winter stations till the next spring.

WHILE the preparations for this war were thus carrying on, *Herod* had provided an army for the assistance of *Antony*; but when he was ready to put himself on his march towards him, came letters from *Antony*, which excusing him from this expedition, sent him to make war nearer home

^s In that will he had declared, that *Cæsarion*, *Cleopatra's* son, was born in lawful wedlock, and therefore was the lawful son, and true heir of *Julius Cæsar*. And he had by the same will given most of the territories of the *Roman* empire which were under his command to *Cleopatra* and her children, and ordered his body, wherever he should dye, tho' at *Rome* it self, to be sent to *Alexandria* to *Cleopatra*, there to be buried as she should order. *Plutarchus*. *Dion* & *Suetonius* *ibidem*.

^r *Plutarchus* & *Dion Cassius* *ibid*.
lib. 1. cap. 14.

^u *Josephus* *antiq.* lib. 15. cap. 6. & *de bello Judaico*

against *Malchus* King of *Arabia Petraea*. It hath been above related how *Cleopatra* extorted from *Antony* a grant of that part of *Malchus's* dominions which bordered upon *Egypt*. *Malchus*, instead of quarrelling with her about it, agreed out of fear of *Antony* to hold that territory of her for a certain tribute; this tribute he duly paid while *Antony* was in power, and at liberty to force him to it; but now finding him involved in this war with *Octavianus*, and expecting he would perish in it, as accordingly it happen'd, he with-held his hand, and would pay it no longer; and for this reason *Antony*, at the instigation of *Cleopatra*, ordered *Herod* to make war upon him. But this wicked woman had farther view in this matter than the bare recovering of her tribute: She concluded that when these two Kings should be thus put together by the ears, one of them would be killed in the war, and then she should have the kingdom of the slain for a prey to her. *Herod* on the receipt of these orders marched with all his forces into *Arabia*, and there after a sharp fight with *Malchus*, obtained a very signal victory over him; but in a second engagement with him at *Cana* in *Cæle-Syria* he had not the same success: For *Athenion*, who was *Cleopatra's* lieutenant in those parts, out of hatred to *Herod* joining with *Malchus* in the battel against him, he was there overthrown with a great slaughter, and he himself hardly escaped with some remains of his vanquished army, the rest being all cut in pieces.

AND not long after ^w another calamity happen'd to him from a terrible earthquake, which shaking the whole land of *Judæa* in a more grievous manner than had been before known, destroyed about thirty thousand of the inhabitants in the ruins of the houses which it overthrew. *Herod* being much afflicted herewith, sent to the *Arabians* to crave peace, but they having it rumoured among them that the destruction was much greater than it was, despised the message; and therefore putting the ambassadors to death, invaded the land, as expecting not to find a sufficient number left alive to defend it against them. But *Herod's* forces having been all encamped abroad when this earthquake happen'd, they suffered nothing from it, save the overthrowing of their tents, which killed no body. And therefore ^x he having gotten them together, and encouraged them with a speech proper for the purpose, marched with them over *Jordan* to meet the enemy, and in the first encounter overthrew them with the slaughter of five thousand of their men, and besieged the rest in their camp; where he distressed them so far for want of water, that he drew them to another battel, in which he slew seven thousand more, and forced all the remainder to yield themselves prisoners to him; whereon the *Arabians* were necessitated to sue in their turn for peace to *Herod*, and were glad to accept what they lately despised, on such terms as he thought fit to demand from them; whereby *Herod* having obtained all that he intended by this war, returned with victory and full triumph again to *Jerusalem*.

^w Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 7. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 14. It is to be observed that Josephus saith in his antiquities, that only ten thousand perished in this earthquake. His words there are *πρὸς μυριάδας*, i. e. one myriad; but in his book of the Jewish war it is *τρεῖς μυριάδας*, that is, three myriads, which is thirty thousand; for every myriad is ten thousand. This latter number seems best to agree with his description of the calamity. ^x Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 8. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 14.

IN the interim *Octavianus* and *Antony* were hastening to bring their contest to a final decision. As soon as the season would permit, their armies again took the field; and their fleets the sea, and several encounters happen'd between parties sent out from each side both by sea and land, in all which victory declared in favour of *Octavianus*. This caused that many of *Antony's* side despairing of his success, especially since they saw him so much under the conduct of *Cleopatra*, went over from him to *Octavianus*. This made *Antony* distrustful of all the rest, and therefore resolved to push the matter to as speedy a decision as he could; and the other being as eager for it as he, this brought on the battel of *Actium*, which was so called from the place near which it was fought. This was ² a small city lying on the south side of the mouth of the *Ambracian* gulph in *Epirus*. There *Antony* with the gross of his army lay encamped, having his fleet near him on the shoar, and on the opposite side *Octavianus* was encamped at a place, where afterwards in commemoration of the victory, which he there obtained, he built a city, which he called ³ *Nicopolis*; and there he had his fleet also near him on the shoar, so that the stations in which both fleets anchored, were not above a mile's distance from each other. *Canidius* who had the chief command of *Antony's* army, ⁴ persuaded him to decamp from *Actium*, and march into the inland countrey of *Thrace* or *Macedon*, and there try his fortune in a battel at land, as being much stronger in his army by land, than in his fleet by sea. For *Antony* had been forced ⁵ to burn many of his ships for want of rowers and mariners to navigate them; ⁶ most of those, who first came out with them, being dead through want of necessaries, whereby to subsist, and the rest were but ill mann'd. But notwithstanding this, *Cleopatra's* ⁷ advice prevail'd to have the matter decided by a fight at sea; for in case of the worst she thought she might much better escape in her shipping by sea, than she could by a flight at land; and therefore either foreboding or fearing the worst, she prevail'd with *Antony* to try his fortune by sea, and accordingly on ⁸ the second of *September* this year both fleets engaged before the mouth of the *Ambracian* gulph near *Actium* in the fight of both armies at land; the one being drawn up on the north side, and the other on the south side of the *Streights* entering this gulph, there to wait the event of this battel. The ⁹ fight for some time continued dubious, and with as fair a prospect of success for *Antony* as for the other, till *Cleopatra* deserted him; for she being affrighted with the noise and terror of the battel, as being what ladies use not to be acquainted with, fled before there was any reason for it, and drawing after her all her *Egyptian* squadron to the number of sixty tall ships of war, sail'd off with them towards *Peloponnesus*; hereon *Antony* giving all for lost made after her, and this flight gave the victory entirely up to *Octavianus*, however he came not easily by it; for *Antony's* ships fought so valiantly for him even after he was fled, that al-

¹ Plutarchus in Antonio. Dion Cassius lib. 50. ² Dion Cassius lib. 50. p. 426. Strabo lib. 10. p. 451. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 1. ³ *Nicopolis* in Greek signifieth the city of victory.

⁴ Plutarchus in Antonio. ⁵ Dion Cassius lib. 50. p. 428. ⁶ Plutarchus in Antonio. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 19. ⁷ Dion Cassius ibid. Plutarchus ibid. ⁸ Dion Cassius saith this battel was fought on the fourth of the Nones of September, which according to our reckoning is the second of that month. Dion lib. 51. in initio libri. ⁹ Plutarchus in Antonio. Dion Cassius lib. 50. L. Florus lib. 4. cap. 11. Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 85. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 19. Suetonius in Octavio cap. 17.

though

though the fight begun at noon, it was night e'er it was ended, so that the victors were forced to lye on board their ships all night. Next morning *Octavianus* finding his victory complete, sent a squadron of his ships in pursuit after *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, but they soon finding them to be gone out of reach too far to be overtaken returned again to the rest of the fleet. In the interim *Antony* and *Cleopatra*^b got to *Tenarus* in *Laconia*.^c Although *Antony*, as soon as he came up with *Cleopatra's* ship, was taken on board it, yet he saw her not through all this voyage, but setting himself down in the prow of the ship, and there leaning his elbows on his knees, and his head on both his hands, as one confounded with anger and shame for the ill conduct and miscarriage of his affairs, continued in this melancholy posture for three days together till his arrival at *Tenarus*. But after this beating brought again together they again conversed with each other, and did eat together, and lye together in the same manner as before; for *Antony* was so bewitched to this woman, that he still continued his fondness for her, even at this time when he had all the reason in the world to detest and abhor her to the utmost, as having been in the manner above related the cause of his ruin.

ANTONY had not been long at *Tenarus*, till some of his ships that had escaped the fight, and several of his friends, there repaired to him; by whom having an account of the total defeat of his fleet, but that his army at land was still safe, he wrote to *Canidius* to retire with it through *Macedonia* into *Asia*, purposing there to renew the war. *Canidius* for seven days made the march which *Antony* directed him to, but being then overtaken by *Octavianus*, he fled by night to *Antony*; whereon the army finding themselves deserted by their generals went over to *Octavianus*, and were lifted by him among the rest of his forces.

AFTER this defeat^d the foreign auxiliaries, that helped *Antony* in this war, fled all home to their respective countries, and afterwards made their peace with *Octavianus* upon the best terms they could. Some of the Princes he deposed, and some of them he continued in their former state; but on all of these last, as well as on the free cities, that had joined with *Antony*, he imposed heavy mulcts, wherewith he discharged the expences of the war. But as to the *Romans* that were of *Antony's* party, some of them he pardoned, and some he fined, and others he put to death, according as their conduct had been towards him. Among those whom he put to death was *Cassius Parmensis* the last survivor of *Cæsar's* murderers, and he perished in as calamitous a manner as did all the rest. For after the battle of *Actium* he fled to *Athens*, where being terrified with the like apparition, as^e *Brutus* had been at *Philippi*, he was soon after overtaken by those whom *Octavianus* sent to execute that vengeance upon him, which he deserved. In cases of murder it seldom happens that providence permits any that are guilty herein to escape its vindictive hand, especially in the murder of Princes, of which this of *Cæsar* was a very signal instance; for of all those who conspired his murder in the senate-house (who are said to have been^f 60 persons) it's remarked, ^g not one died in his bed, but all of them came to their end in a violent and calamitous manner. And al-

^b Plutarchus ibid.

^c Plutarchus ibid. Dion Cassius lib. 51.

^d Plutarchus ibid.

^e Valerius Maximus lib. 1. cap. 7.

^f Dion Cassius & Plutarchus.

^g Suetonius in Julio Cæsare cap. 80. Eutropius lib. 6. in fine.

^h Plutarchus in Cæsare.

though this *Cassius* escaped the longest, yet at length vengeance overtook him also, and he perished as miserably as did all the others.

FROM *Tenarus* *Cleopatra* failed to *Alexandria*, and *Antony* to *Libya*. He had formerly sent thither *Pinarus Scarpus* to be governor of that province, and there placed an army under his command for the guarding of the western borders of *Egypt* against all that should come that way to disturb it. This army he thought to have had for his service, which was the end of his going thither. But on his landing there he found *Scarpus* and all with him had revolted to *Octavianus*; which disappointment casting him into despair he would have slain himself, and it was with difficulty that he was diverted from it by his friends: All therefore that was now left for him to do was to follow *Cleopatra* to *Alexandria*, where she was returned a little before. On her arrival thither fearing she might not be received, were her misfortunes known, she entered the harbour with her ships crowned, as if she had come back with victory; by which means she got again into full possession of that city, and also of the whole kingdom with it; and as soon as she had so, she put to death all those of the nobility who were any way averse to her, thereby to prevent the tumults which she feared they might raise against her on the discovery of the true state of her affairs. *Antony* on his coming to *Alexandria* found her engaged in a very extraordinary undertaking; for fearing she might fall into the hands of *Octavianus* on his pursuit of her into *Egypt*, for the preventing hereof she projected the drawing of her ships that were in the *Mediterranean* from that sea into the *Red-sea* over the *Isthmus* of ^w 70 miles, which lay between them, and after having joined them with other ships which she then had in the *Red-sea*, to put on board them all her treasure, and sailing down the *Red-sea* with them to seek some other place for her habitation. But the *Arabians* who dwelt on that sea, having at the instigation of *Q. Didius* (who had then seized the presidency of *Syria* for *Octavianus*) ^x burned all those ships, this wholly disappointed her of that design. *Antony*, when he arrived at *Alexandria*, went not to the palace, but shut himself up in a house on the sea-shoar near *Pharus*, and there sequester'd himself from the company and conversation of all men. For being forsaken by almost all his friends he pretended to act the part of ^z *Timon the Man-hater*, and therefore called this house his *Timonium*, and there solitarily spent his time in meditating, hatred, and detestation against all mankind for the sake of those who had now deserted him, wrongfully imputing to them his ruin, which his own ill conduct and folly had brought him to. But he did not long relish this way of living; he was soon again found with *Cleopatra* at the palace, and there with her revell'd away the remaining part of his life in all those excesses of luxury, voluptuousness and folly, in which he had spent the former. In the mean time ^b *Octavianus*

^p Plutarchus in *Antonio*. Dion Cassius lib. 51. ^q Dion Cassius lib. 51. p. 446.

^r Plutarchus & Dion Cassius ibid. ^s Dion Cassius lib. 51. p. 446. ^t Dion Cassius ibid.

^u Plutarchus in *Antonio*. Dion Cassius lib. 51. p. 447. ^w Plutarch saith the length of this Isthmus was no more than 300 furlongs, which is 37 of our miles, but the Arabian geographers reckon from *Pharma* to *Sues*, which is the straightest cut over that Isthmus, to be 70 miles.

^x Plutarchus & Dion Cassius ibid. ^y Plutarchus in *Antonio*. Strabo lib. 17. p. 794.

^z De quo videas Plutarchum in *Antonio*, & Diogenem Laertium lib. 9. & Lucianum in *Dialogis*. ^a Plutarchus in *Antonio*. ^b Suetonius in *Octavio* cap. 17.

having settled the affairs of *Greece* and *Lesser Asia* repaired to *Samos*, and there took up his winter quarters.

BUT in them he did not long continue, some disturbances in *Italy* ^{An. 30. Herod 8.} calling him thither in the midst of winter to appease them. After the battle of *Actium* ^a he had dismiss'd a great part both of his own and *Antony's* foldiers. The veterans he sent into *Italy*, and others elsewhere, without giving them any pay, having not then sufficient for it; for want hereof those in *Italy* raised a mutiny; for the quelling of this ^d he sent *Agrippa* his chief confident into *Italy*; but the work being too hard for him, ^e *Octavianus* was forced in the most tempestuous season of the year to hasten after him to *Brundisium*. On his arrival at that place ^e he was there met by the senate and a great part of the better rank of the people of *Rome*, and having there called the mutineers to him ^e he distributed to some money, as far as what he then had would go, and to others lands, and made such promises of speedy satisfaction to the rest as induced them all to be contented for the present, and accordingly after the conquest of *Egypt* ^f he paid them all out of the spoils of that countrey, and added donatives over and above. And having thus settled all matters in *Italy* ^g he returned again within thirty days, and for the more speedy passage, and to avoid the tempests of the sea round *Peloponnesus*, he sailed into the gulph of *Corinth*, and drawing his ship over the *Isthmus* of *Peloponnesus* passed that way by the shortest cut into *Asia*, and again arrived there before *Antony* and *Cleopatra* had any notice of his going thence.

ON his coming to *Rhodes* ^h *Herod* King of *Judæa* there made his address to him. It hath been above related how much he was in friendship with *Antony*, neither did he leave him till his case was grown absolutely desperate. ⁱ On his return into *Egypt*, *Herod* sent an especial messenger to him with the best advice the state of his affairs was then capable of, that was, to kill *Cleopatra*, seize her kingdom, and with her treasure raise a new army to carry on the war; and promised him in this case to stand by him to the utmost. But when he found this advice was neglected, and that *Antony* was fallen again into the snares of *Cleopatra* as much as ever, he thought it high time to look to himself, and endeavour to make his peace with *Octavianus* on the best terms he could. But *Hyrcaus* being still alive, who was the only remaining person of the male line of the *Asmonæans*, and who had himself reigned in *Judæa* under the protection of the *Romans* till deposed by the *Parthians*, ^k *Herod* had suspicion that if any thing went hard with him it would turn in favour of *Hyrcaus* for the restoring of him again to the kingdom; and therefore for the preventing of it having trumped up a sham plot against that old Prince, as if he held correspondence with *Malchus* King of *Arabia* for the accomplishing of treasonable designs against him, caused him under this pretence to be put to death, after he had passed the eightieth year of his age.

BUT still fearing what might happen, ^l to provide the best he could for the worst; should that be his fate, he lodged *Mariamne* and *Alexandra* her

^a Plutarchus in Antonio. Suetonius ibid.

^d Dion Cassius lib. 51. p. 444. 445. Plutarchus

in Antonio. Suetonius ibid.

^e Dion Cassius ibid.

^f Dion Cassius lib. 51. p. 445, 446.

^g Dion Cassius & Suetonius ibid.

^h Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 10. & de bello Judaico

lib. 1. cap. 15.

ⁱ Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 10.

^k Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 9

^l Josephus ibid.

mother in the castle of *Alexandrium* with a strong guard under the command of *Joseph* and *Sohemus*, two of his most trusty confidants, and sent his mother and sister with the rest of his kindred to *Massada*, the strongest fortress in *Judaea*; and committing them and the government of his kingdom to the care of *Pheroras* his brother, ordered him, in case he should miscarry, to assume the crown to himself, and keep it as well as he could. And having thus settled all matters at home, he set forward on his journey to meet *Octavianus*; ^m and having found him at *Rhodes*, and there obtained audience of him, on his entering into his presence laid aside his diadem, and in his speech of address to him, freely owned all “ that he had done “ for *Antony*, and what farther he was ready to have done for his interest “ both by his counsel and assistance, would he have accepted of them. “ This, he said, he thought himself obliged to by the friendship that was “ between them; and would he be pleased to think the like friendship “ worthy of his acceptance, he should, now he saw *Antony* was wholly “ lost, be ready with the same fidelity to serve him.” *Octavianus* being much taken with this generous and frank way of *Herod's* thus delivering himself before him, told him, that he readily accepted the friendship which he offered, and ordering him again to resume his diadem, ⁿ confirmed him in the kingdom: Whereon he made very large and magnificent presents to *Octavianus* and all his friends, and after this had more of his favour and friendship than any other tributary Prince of the *Roman* empire as long as he lived.

HEREON *Herod* being much pleased with this good success, went back into *Judaea* with much joy; but on his arrival thither found all this soured with troubles in his own family: For ^o he found *Mariamne* his most beloved wife, in whose conversation he most delighted, so imbitter'd against him, that she rejected all his caresses with the utmost aversion; and when he thought to please her by relating to her the manner of his journey, and the success which he obtained in it, instead of taking any satisfaction herein, she answered him only with sighs and groans, and such a behaviour as plainly expressed she would have been better pleased had he never returned from this journey, but had utterly perish'd in it. The cause of this was, ⁿ when *Herod* committed her and her mother to the charge of *Sohemus* on his going to *Octavianus*, he order'd him, that in case he should be put to death, he should immediately on his having certain notice of it, put them to death also, and do the utmost he could to preserve the crown for *Pheroras*, to whom he had in this case disposed it. And this he did not only that no one else might have the enjoyment of the beautiful *Mariamne* but that none might be left alive of the *Asmonean* family to claim the crown in opposition to that disposal which he had made of it to *Pheroras* his brother, she and her mother being the only persons remaining of that house for the opposing him herein. And *Alexandra* being a lady of an aspiring spirit, thought her self as capable of governing that realm, as her grandmother of the same name, who as Queen had presided over it with great wisdom and prudence for nine years together. And to give her her due, she had the best headpiece for craft, design, and political intrigue, of any woman of her time; and *Herod* well knowing this, thought he could not

^m Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 10. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 15.
Strabo lib. 16. p. 765. Tacitus hist. lib. 1. cap. 9.

ⁿ Josephus ibid.

^o Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11.

be sure that any part of the scheme which he had laid for the succession could take place, if either she or her daughter were left alive after him, and therefore ordered, that both of them should be put to death in case it should happen to him as he feared; and *Sobemus* having blabb'd this out to *Mariamne*, though committed to him under the greatest charge of secrecy, this was that which created in her that aversion and hatred to him which I have mentioned; which behaviour *Cyprus*, *Herod's* mother, and *Salome* his sister, who had always been upon ill terms with her, taking the advantage of to exasperate him against her, prevailed with him at length to put her to death in the manner as will be by and by related.

FROM *Rhodes* *Octavianus* passed thorough *Lesser Asia*^p into *Syria*, from thence to invade *Egypt* on that side, while *Cornelius Gallus* his lieutenant, whom he had appointed to succeed *Scarpus* in *Libya* and *Cyrene*, invaded it on the other. On his arrival at *Ptolemais*^q *Herod* there waited on him, and entertained him and all his army with great magnificence, and furnished them with necessaries till their arrival into *Egypt*, and over and above presented *Octavianus* with eight hundred talents; by which hospitality and munificence he very much ingratiated himself with him and all his followers. In the interim *Antony* and *Cleopatra* tried all they could to obtain peace with *Octavianus*, but without any success. Three times they sent ambassadors to him for this purpose, and went so far as to offer to resign all and be contented with a private life in any place which *Octavianus* should appoint, only the kingdom of *Egypt* was desired for *Cleopatra's* children; but neither of these embassies could obtain any answer for *Antony*, but to *Cleopatra* some hopes were given; *Octavianus* was desirous of having her treasure and her person in his power, the former for the discharging of the expences of the war, and the other for the adorning of his triumph; and therefore would not make her desperate, lest she should destroy both; for the preventing of this several kind messages were sent to her, and by them she was made to expect much favour in case she would kill *Antony*; this she would not do, but after this she betrayed him in all things, till at length she forced him thereby to kill himself. The first instance of her treachery to him was at *Pelusium*; for on *Octavianus's* approach to that city, it was^r by her order without any resistance delivered up unto him. This on the eastern side of *Egypt*, and *Peritonium* on the western, were the two gates of that countrey, and no enemy, but thorough one of them, could enter thither with a land army. *Pelusium* being a very strong place, *Antony* expected it should have held out a long time, and therefore^s went to secure *Peritonium*. *Cornelius Gallus* then held this place for *Octavianus*. The army which *Gallus* there commanded having been in the pay and service of *Antony*, till carried over from him to *Octavianus* by the desertion of *Scarpus*, he hoped that on his appearing before *Peritonium* they would again return to their former master, and deliver up the place to him; but when he approached to the walls, and would have spoken to the soldiers, *Gallus* caused all his trumpets to sound, so that not a word of what he said could be heard by them; and *Gallus* immediately after fallying out upon him, not only re-

^p Plutarchus in Antonio. Suetonius in Octavio cap. 17. Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 10. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 19. ^q Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 10. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 15.

^r Plutarchus in Antonio. Dion Cassius lib. 51.

^s Plutarchus & Dion Cassius ibid.

^t Dion Cassius lib. 51. p. 448, 449.

pelled his land forces, but having by a stratagem hemm'd in all his ships in the port, took or destroyed every one of them. For on the approach of this fleet he dropped chains by night to the bottom of the entrance of this port, and permitted them to sail into it without opposition; but on their being gotten in having, by engines provided on each side, strained those chains so as to bring them up to the surface of the water, he thereby hinder'd their return, and then forthwith assailing them on every side both from sea and land, obtained over them the victory mentioned. *Antony* after this defeat hearing of the taking of *Pelusium*, and that *Octavianus* was advancing towards *Alexandria*, hasten'd thither for the defence of that place; and there falling on *Octavianus's* horse on their first coming, while under the fatigue of their march thither, " he put them to a total rout; but in a second engagement with the foot he was vanquished and driven back into the city with a great loss; whereon " early the next morning he went down to the harbour, there to put his fleet in order with purpose to vanquish the enemy at sea, or else in case of failure to sail with it for *Spain* and there renew the war. But when both fleets were drawn up in line of battel, that on *Antony's* side, instead of engaging the enemy, all went over to them; whereon *Antony* returning into the city had this farther mortification, that he there found all his land forces, both horse and foot, had also deserted from him; and perceiving all this to have been effected by the treachery of *Cleopatra*, he could no longer forbear expressing his resentments for it with loud complaints; whereon *Cleopatra* for fear of him * fled to a monument, which she had caused to be built of a great height and wonderful structure near the temple of *Isis*. Thither she had before removed the best of her treasure, and there having now shut her self up with two of her maids and one of her eunuchs, caused it to be given out that she was dead; which *Antony* hearing of † fell on his sword, and thereby gave himself the wound of which he died; but living some few hours after, and hearing that *Cleopatra* was still alive, he caused himself to be carried to her monument, where being with ropes drawn up to her by the hands of her self and her two maids, he there died in her arms on the first of *August*, eleven months after the battel of *Actium*. He was a person of a benign temper, and of great generosity, and of eminent note for his military abilities, the two great victories of *Pharsalia* and *Philippi* being chiefly owing to his valour and conduct; and he was also an eloquent speaker, but exceeding corrupt and vicious in his manners, especially in his lust for women; which *Cleopatra* observing, laid hold of him on this weak side, and for the gratifying of her avarice and her ambition, which were two predominant passions in her, sacrificed her self to his lust; and when she could no longer serve her designs of him, was content to give him up to ruin for the saving of her own interest; but she succeeded not herein according to her expectations: For although *Octavianus* gave her fair hopes, thereby to have her treasure preserved for his occasions, and her person for his triumph, yet when he had gotten both into his power he no longer regarded

* Dion Cassius lib. 51. p. 449.

† Dion Cassius ibid. Plutarchus in Antonio.

‡ Dion Cassius & Plutarchus ibid. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 19. * Plutarchus & Dion Cassius ibid. † Plutarchus in Antonio. Dion Cassius lib. 51. p. 450. L. Florus lib. 4. cap. 11. Strabo lib. 17. p. 795. Suetonius in Octavio cap. 17. Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11. Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 87. Eutropius lib. 7.

her, which she being sensible of, ²and having private notice given her that she was to be carried to *Rome* within three days, to make a part in the shew of *Octavianus's* triumph, she ²caused her self to be bitten with an ^aasp, and so died of it for the avoiding of this infamy, after she had reigned from the death of her father ^btwenty two years, and lived ^cthirty nine. She was a woman of great parts, as well as of great vice and wickedness. She readily spoke several languages: For besides being well skill'd in *Greek* and *Latin*, ^cshe could converse with *Æthiopians*, *Troglodytes*, *Jews*, *Arabians*, *Syrians*, *Medes* and *Persians*, without an interpreter; and always gave to such as were of these nations, as often as they had an occasion to address to her, an answer in their own language. In her death ended the reign of the family of the *Ptolemys* in *Egypt*, after it had there lasted from the death of *Alexander* 294 years: For after this *Egypt* was reduced into the form of a *Roman* province, and was governed by a prefect sent thither from *Rome*. ^d*Cornelius Gallus* was, by the appointment of *Augustus*, the first that had this prefecture; and under this form of government *Egypt* continued a province of the *Roman* empire six hundred and seventy years, till it was taken from them ^eby the *Saracens* in the year of our Lord 641.

OCTAVIANUS having thus made himself master of *Egypt*, and thereby put an end to the civil wars of the *Romans*, he cut off all such of the opposite party as he thought might again revive them; among whom were ^f*Antyllus*, *Antony's* eldest son by *Fulvia*, ^g*Cæsarion*, *Cleopatra's* son by *Julius Cæsar*, and ^h*Canidius*, *Antony's* general; others he impoverished with great mulcts, and others he pardoned. *Cæsarion* having claimed to be the lawful heir of *Julius Cæsar*, for that reason could not be born by the adopted son. What was the especial cause of *Antyllus's* being cut off is not said, but he having ^hespoused *Julia* the daughter of *Octavianus*, and all manner of endeavours having been made to save him, we may from hence infer, that he would not have been put to death but that there was some extraordinary reason that caused it. To ⁱ*Antonius*, the younger brother of *Antyllus* by the same mother, and to all the rest of *Antony's* children, whether by *Fulvia*, *Octavia*, or *Cleopatra*, *Octavianus* shewed great kindness, especially to *Antonius*, who afterwards became one of the chiefest of his favourites; and he gave him in marriage one of the daughters of *Octavia* his sister, which she had by *Marcellus* her first husband; and he continued in his favour, till at length being convicted to have been an adulterous corrupter of *Julia*, *Augustus's* only daughter, he was deservedly put to death for it. The children which *Antony* had by *Octavia* were two daughters, the eldest was called *Antonia major*, and the youngest *An-*

² Plutarchus in Antonio. Dion Cassius lib. 51. p. 452. Galen. de Theriaca ad Pisonem cap. 8. Velleius Patereulus, Florus & Eutropius ibid.

^a An asp is a serpent of Egypt and Libya proper only to those countries. Those that are bitten by it dye within three hours, and the manner of their dying being by sleep and lethargy, without any pain, Cleopatra chose it as the easiest death.

^b Canon Ptolemæi. Plutarchus in Antonio. Eusebius in Chronico. Porphyrius in Græcis Eusebianis Scaligeri. Clemens Alexandrinus Strom. lib. 1. ^c Plutarchus ibid.

^d This Gallus was a famous Latin poet, of whom Virgil wrote his tenth eclogue, he being a familiar friend of his. ^e Elmacini historia Saracenica sub anno Hegiræ vicesimo.

^f Plutarchus in Antonio. Dion Cassius lib. 51. Suetonius in Octavio cap. 17.

^g Velleius Patereulus lib. 2. cap. 87. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 19.

^h Dion Cassius lib. 51.

ⁱ Plutarchus in Antonio.

tonia minor; from the latter of which were descended *Caligula* and *Claudius*, and from the former *Nero*, who all three afterwards became *Roman* emperors. For *Antonia minor* being married to *Drusus* the younger brother of *Tiberius*, bore him *Germanicus* the father of *Caligula*, and *Claudius* who succeeded *Caligula*; and *Antonia major* being married to *L. Domitius Ænobarbus*, bore him *Cneus Domitius*, who by *Agrippina* the daughter of *Germanicus*, and sister of *Caligula*, was the father of *Nero*. And therefore tho' *Octavianus* now obtained the empire, yet *Antony's* posterity afterwards enjoyed it, which none of *Octavianus's* ever did. And thus it often happens to victories and the conquests of kingdoms, the same as to riches; those that gain them know not who shall afterwards enjoy the fruits of them: And yet it is the general inclination of mankind to be more concern'd for their posterity than for themselves; and it must be reckon'd as one of the mercies of Providence that it is so, for otherwise the world could not be supported.

WHILE *Octavianus* was in *Egypt*, he^k went to the sepulcher of *Alexander*, and there saw his body, which being embalmed, was there still preserved in a case^l of glass. It had formerly been kept in a case of gold, but that having been taken away by *Seleucus Cybiosactes* (as^m hath been above related) it was afterwards put into a case of glass, and in that *Octavianus* saw it, and paid great honour and reverence thereto; but he would not seeⁿ the sepulchers of the *Ptolemys*, who had reigned in *Egypt*; neither could^o he be induced to make a visit to the *Egyptian Apis*, but told them who pressed him hereto, that he worshipped the gods, but not beasts.

As *Octavianus* came to *Alexandria* in the beginning of *August*, so he had there settled all the affairs of *Egypt* by the end of it; and in the beginning of *September* again marched thence to return by the way of *Syria*, *Lesser Asia*, and *Greece*, again unto *Rome*. From this conquest of *Egypt* begun the æra of the *Actiac* victory, by which the *Egyptians* afterwards^p computed their time till the first year of the Emperor *Dioclesian*, anno Domini 284. From that time what was before called the æra of the *Actiac* victory, was afterwards called the æra of *Dioclesian*, and by the Christians of those parts the æra of the Martyrs; because in the reign of that Emperor began the tenth persecution, in which a very great number of Christians suffer'd martyrdom for their holy religion. Although this æra had its name from the *Actiac* victory, yet it had not its beginning^q till near a full year after it, that is, from the time that *Egypt* was reduced; for the day from whence it commenced was the 29th of *August*: And therefore that was ever after the first day of the year through all the years by which these æra's, that is, the æra of *Dioclesian* or the Martyrs, as well as that of the *Actiac* victory, did calculate the times thro' which they were used. The reason which fixed the beginning of this æra, and of all the years in it,

^k Suetonius in *Octavio*, cap. 18. Dion Cassius lib. 51. p. 454.

^l Strabo lib. 17. p. 795.

^m Part II. book VII. under the year fifty seven.

ⁿ Dion Cassius & Suetonius *ibid*.

^o Dion Cassius *ibid*.

^p Dion Cassius tells us lib. 51. p. 447. that the Romans decreed the day on which *Octavianus* reduced *Alexandria* should be declared a fortunate day, and that from thence all their future years in *Egypt* should be reckoned; that is, as from a fixed and stated Epochæ, and so accordingly it was there done.

^q The *Actiac* victory was gotten on the second of September, and the æra of this victory begun in *Egypt* the 29th of August following.

to the twenty ninth of *August*, was, say some, because on that day *Cleopatra* died, and the *Macedonian* empire in that countrey thereby ending, the *Roman* began; but this is only a modern conjecture, for none of the ancients say it; all that we can learn from them is, that she died about the end of that month, but none of them tell us on what day it happen'd. The true reason of fixing it at this day was, because this was then the first day of their month *Thoth*, which was always the new-year's day of the *Egyptians*, from whence they began all their annual calculations, and therefore it was thought the properest time from whence to begin all the alterations in their æra, and their year, which the *Romans* on the conquest of their countrey made in both, and that especially since the time of that conquest fell in therewith. For at that time the form of their years, as well as the æra by which they calculated them, was changed by the order of the conqueror. The old æra which was till now in use among them was the *Philippic*, which commenced from the death of *Alexander*, and the beginning of the reign of *Philippus Arideus* his successor, and the form of their year was the same with the *Nabonassaræan* made use of by the *Chaldeans*, which consisted of twelve months of thirty days each, and five additional days subjoined to them; that is, it consisted in the whole of 365 days without a leap year, the want whereof made this year to be a moveable year, which after every four years begun a day sooner, than it did in the four years immediately preceding; so that in the space of 1460 years this form carried back the beginning of the year through all the different seasons of summer, spring, winter, and autumn, till it brought it about again to the same point of time with the loss of one whole year in the cycle. For the remedying hereof the *Romans* on their subduing this countrey made a leap year in the *Egyptian* kalendär in the like manner as in the *Julian*, by adding at the end of every fourth year one day more than had been in the other three. For whereas the other three had only five days superadded at the end of each of them, the leap year had six, that is, it consisted of twelve months of thirty days each, and six additional days subjoined to them whereas all the other years; that were not leap years, had the same number of like months, and only five of those days added after them. And hereby the *Egyptian* year was made to consist exactly of the same number of days as the *Julian*, though not exactly in the same form; for in all other particulars the old form of the *Egyptian* year was retained after this reformation in the same manner as before. And the first of *Thoth*, which was always the first day of the *Egyptian* year, falling on the 29th of *August*, and about the same time when the *Romans* on their conquest of *Egypt* ordered this reformation; this induced them, that they fixed the beginning of the new year where they found the beginning of the old, and the 29th of *August* ever after continued to be the first day of the *Egyptian* year, as long as the empire of the *Romans* continued in that countrey; and from thence also, that is from the 29th of *August* of this year, the new *Egyptian* æra of the *Actiac* victory, as well as their new reformed year, for the same reason had its commencement. But against this

† *Thoth* was the first month in the Egyptian year. † The conquest of Egypt, and the total reduction of that countrey to the Romans, was accomplished in the month of August, and fully settled about the end of it. See the decree of the senate for the changing of the name of that month from *Sextilis* to that of *Augustus*. Macrobius Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 12.

it is objected, that in this year^s the first of *Thoth* did not fall on the 29th of *August*, but on the 31st of that month, and that therefore this cannot be the reason why the beginning of the *Egyptian* æra of the *Actiac* victory, or the beginning of the year thenceforth used in that countrey, was fixed to that day. And it must thus far be acknowledged, that according to the exact calculation of the time this objection is true; for according to that the first of *Thoth* fell this year in the *Roman* kalendar on the 31st, and not on the 29th of *August*, but the *Romans* then used the form of the *Julian* year erroneously, whereby it came to pass, that the same day, which was the thirty first of *August* in their true kalendar, was the twenty ninth in their erroneous kalendar; which error proceeded from hence, that after the death of *Julius Cæsar* the *Pontifices* at *Rome* (as hath been^s above-mentioned) "mistaking the time of the intercalation, made every third year to be the leap year instead of every fourth, by which error six hours were added every third year more than should be, which in the sixteen years that intervened from the first use of that form to this year, amounting to a day and a quarter, this erroneous addition had then protruded the 29th of *August* in the erroneous kalendar into the place of the 31st of *August* in the true kalendar; and according to this erroneous kalendar, the *Romans* then computed, and so continued to do for thirty six years after the first forming of this year by *Julius Cæsar*, till at length "Augustus on the discovery of this error took care, that by making no leap year for twelve years together, all the time that was erroneously added was again left out, whereby the protruded days in the erroneous kalendar were all brought back again to their proper places, where they ought to have been according to the true kalendar. But the protrusion of the day making no alteration in its number or name, hence it came to be said that it was the 29th of *August*, whereas truly it was the 31st of that month, from whence this *Egyptian* æra of the *Actiac* victory, and all the years by which it computed, had their beginning. This æra truly had its beginning from the conquest of *Egypt*, and therefore ought to have been called the æra of the *Alexandrian* victory, whereby that countrey was reduced under the *Roman* yoke. But the *Egyptians*, to avoid the disgrace of thus owning this conquest, rather chose to call it the æra of the *Actiac* victory, tho' that was gained a whole year before, and since this æra was only used in *Egypt*, they had it there in their full power to call it by what name they pleased.

HEROD hearing of the death of *Antony*, and that *Octavianus* had thereon made himself master of *Egypt*, "hatten'd thither to him, where he was received with great kindness; and on *Octavianus*'s leaving *Egypt*, having accompanied him as far as *Antioch*, he so far ingratiated himself with him on the way, as to gain a chief place in his friendship, the effect whereof he found in the grants which he made him of large augmentations to his dominions. For he not only restored to him the territory of *Jericho*, which with the balsam gardens therein had been taken from him by *An-*

^s The first of *Thoth*, which was the new year's day of the *Egyptians*, was not fixed always to the same season in the old form of the *Egyptian* year, but was moveable, for it moved backward one day in every fourth year. The *Romans* first fixed it to the same season, and made their year to be a fixed year in the same manner as the *Julian*.
^t Under the year 46. " *Macrobius Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 14.*
Suetonius in Octavio cap. 31. * *Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11.*

tony to gratify *Cleopatra*, but gave him also *Gadara*, *Hippon*, and *Samaria* in the inland countrey, with the towns of *Gaza*, *Anthedon*, *Joppa*, and *Straton's* tower on the sea coast, which added a very considerable enlargement to his kingdom.

OCTAVIANUS on his arrival at *Antioch* * found there *Tiridates* (who had been set up to be King of *Parthia* in opposition to *Phraates*) waiting his coming thither; and there also he found ambassadors from *Phraates* on the same errand, that is, to solicit his assistance against each other. It hath ^y already been related, how after *Antony's* unfortunate expedition into *Media* a breach was made between *Artavasdes* King of *Media* and *Phraates* King of *Parthia*, about dividing the prey then taken from the *Romans*. Hereon ^z *Artavasdes* making a league with *Antony* called him to his assistance, who accepting the invitation marched into *Armenia*, and from thence furnished *Artavasdes* with such a body of *Roman* soldiers, as enabled him to overthrow *Phraates* in a great battel; this happen'd in the year thirty three. But the next year following ^a *Antony* on his entering into war with *Octavianus*, having not only recalled those soldiers from him, but also retained those which *Artavasdes* had sent him out of *Media* in lieu of them, this so far weakened *Artavasdes*, that in a second battel he was not only overthrown but also taken prisoner, and *Phraates* in pursuit of this victory, made himself master of all *Media* and *Armenia*, and re-instated in the latter *Artaxias* the son of *Artabazes* again in his kingdom, out of which he had been driven by *Antony*; with which success, as well as with that which he had before obtained over *Antony*, ^b *Phraates* being much puffed up and elated, carried himself with such tyranny, cruelty, and proud oppression, that the nobility of *Parthia* being no longer able to bear him, in the year thirty one conspired against him, and having driven him into banishment chose the above-mentioned *Tiridates* to reign over them in his stead. But the next year after (that is in this present year thirty) *Phraates* ^c returned with an army, and having vanquished *Tiridates* recovered again his crown, and forced the usurper to flee into *Syria* for refuge; where he being followed by the ambassadors from *Phraates*, which I have mentioned, both parties accosted *Octavianus* at *Antioch* on his return thither out of *Egypt*, to crave that assistance from him against each other, which they wanted. *Octavianus* gave to each a friendly answer without intending to help either, but rather to dash the one against the other and thereby waste and weaken both so far as to make the *Parthian* nation no longer formidable to the *Romans*. And with a view hereto he gave leave to *Tiridates* to continue in *Syria*, till he should be in a condition again to return, accepting of him a son of *Phraates*, that had fall'n into his hands, whom he carried to *Rome*, there to reserve him as an hostage against *Phraates*. After this having ^d appointed *Messala Corvinus* to be prefect of *Syria*, he marched from *Antioch* into the province of proper *Asia*, and ^e there took up his winter quarters.

* Dion Cassius lib. 51. p. 456.
chus in Antonio.

^y Under the year 35.
^a Plutarchus & Dion Cassius ibid.

^z Dion Cassius lib. 49. Plutar-

^b Justin. lib. 42. cap. 5. Dion

Cassius lib. 51. p. 456.

^c Justinus & Dion Cassius ibid.

^d Dion Cassius lib. 51. p. 447.

Videas Casauboni contra Baronii exercitationem primam cap. 30.

^e Dion Cassius lib. 51.

p. 446.

An. 29.
Herod 9.

IN the beginning of the next year *Octavianus* entered his fifth consulship, and had therein many great honours decreed to him at *Rome*. In the summer following having settled all the affairs of the several provinces of lesser *Asia*, and the isles adjoining, ^s he passed into *Greece*, and from thence ^b returned to *Rome*, where he arrived ⁱ in the month of *Sextilis*, afterwards called *August*, and entered it ^k in three triumphs, which were celebrated three days together; the first for his victories over the *Dalmatians*, *Pannonians*, and some other *German* and *Gallic* nations, whom he had vanquished and brought under, before his war with *Antony* began; the second for his sea victory at *Actium*; and the third for his victories in *Egypt*, and the subduing of that countrey; which last was the most splendid of the three. In it were led before him the children of *Cleopatra*, and although he could not have her in person to adorn this triumph, as he much desired, yet she was carried before him in effigy with an asp hanging at her arm to denote the manner by which she died. At this time such vast riches were brought to *Rome* from *Egypt* on the reducing of that countrey, and the return of *Octavianus* and his army from thence, ^l that the value of money fell one half, and the prices of provisions and all vendible wares were doubled thereon. After this triumph *Octavianus* ^m had the title of *Imperator*, that is Emperor, conferred on him; not in the common sense, wherein it was formerly understood; (for in that it imported no more than a complement given by the soldiers to their General after a victory obtained by them under his command) but in a much higher: For in the sense in which it was given to *Octavianus* at this time, it carried with it the same meaning, in which all that afterwards governed the *Roman* empire were called emperors.

HEROD on his return from the late visit which he made unto *Octavianus*, how much content and satisfaction soever he had therein, and the success of it, found nothing but trouble and vexation at home in his own house. ⁿ *Mariamne* still retained her resentments for the cruel commission given by him to *Sohemus* against her and her mother, and carried them on so far as to treat with equal aversion him and all his relations, especially *Cyprus* his mother, and *Salome* his sister. Them she frequently upbraided with the meanness of their birth in respect of her's, which was provoking enough to a female spirit; and him she as often reproached with the death of her father, her grandfather and her brother. In this humour he left her on his last going unto *Octavianus*, and in this humour he found her on his return, without knowing the cause; (for that *Mariamne* had concealed for the sake of *Sohemus*.) On his offering her his caresses and the kindest tenders of his affection she still rejected them with neglect and aversion, and nothing that he could do for the sweetening of her imbittered spirit, and the reconciling her again to him, could have any effect. This last injury soured her to such a degree, as to frame her mind for the reception of the utmost resentments, which his former wrongs done her and her family deserved. The commission formerly given against her to *Joseph* his uncle, and the above-mentioned murders, of her nearest relati-

^f Dion Cassius lib. 51. p. 457. Suetonius in Octavio cap. 26.

^g Dion Cassius lib. 51. p. 458.

^h Dion Cassius ibid.

ⁱ Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 12.

^k Dion Cassius ibid. Epi-

tome Livii lib. 133. Suetonius in Octavio cap. 22. Virgilius Æneid. lib. 8. v. 714. Servius in illum locum.

^l Dion Cassius lib. 51. p. 459. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 19.

^m Dion Cassius

lib. 52. p. 493, & 494.

ⁿ Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11.

ons were all brought to her remembrance on this occasion, and all worked together to exasperate her against him to the utmost. *Herod* bore this humour for a whole year after his return from *Rhodes*, and was exceedingly perplexed by it. Sometimes in a rage he would be ready to run into extremities against her; but as often as he was so, his wrath was checked by the great love he had for her; and thus he was harassed between two opposite passions, till at length an occasion happen'd which gave his mother and his sister an advantage for the exciting of him to her ruin, and he had near effected his own by it. For being at one time in the heat of the day retired to his chamber to repose himself, he called for *Mariamne* to come to him, out of a desire of then having conjugal conversation with her: At his call she so far obeyed as to go into the chamber to him; but on his offering her his caresses and embraces, she rejected them with the utmost aversion, and added over and above such bitter reproaches for the death of her relations, as provoked and enraged the tyrant to so high a degree, that he had much ado to forbear laying violent hands immediately upon her for the revenging of the indignity. *Salome*, on her understanding how the matter went, took the advantage of this fit of rage he was then in, to send in his butler to him, whom she had before suborned for this purpose, to accuse *Mariamne* of tempting him to administer to him a poisonous cup. This adding to the rage with which he was then too much excited against her already, he forthwith ordered her favourite eunuch, without whose privacy he knew she did nothing, to be put on the rack; but all that could be extorted from him was, that it was something which *Sobemus* had told *Mariamne* that had put her into so ill an humour. *Herod* on his hearing of this, from his rage of anger fell into as violent a rage of jealousy; and therefore crying out that *Sobemus*, who had hitherto been so faithful to him, could never have been induced to betray this secret to her but at the price of an adulterous conversation, he ordered him immediately to be put to death: And having packed a bench of judges out of such as were his creatures, brought *Mariamne* before them to be tried for her life; who finding by the vehemency with which *Herod* in person prosecuted the accusation, that no other sentence but that of death would be acceptable to him, accordingly passed it upon her; but none thought, nor did he then intend, that the execution should be precipitated, but that she should be confined to some of his castles; and this at first was his resolution. But the malice of his mother and his sister was so bitter against her, by reason of the affronts she had put upon them in upbraiding them with the meanness of their extraction, and for other womanish quarrels had between them, that they would not let him be quiet till she was put to death. They urged, that if she was kept alive the people would rise in her behalf, and that there was no other way to keep things quiet, but by cutting her off. By which suggestion *Herod* being terrified ordered her execution. In the way as she was led to it she was accosted by *Alexandra* her mother, who fell on her with bitter railings, accusing her of being wicked and ungrateful towards a kind and affectionate husband, and telling her that she had what she deserved; and all this she expressed with such a seeming emotion of spirit, as if she would fly in her face all the way as she went; she fearing her turn might come next, and therefore to save her life she acted this scandalous and shameful part: But her daughter without answering her a word passed on in silence, only by her looks she expressed some shame and concern

concern for her mother's exposing her self in so odd and extravagant a manner in this case, otherwise she went on to her execution with an intrepid mind, without changing colour upon the approach or apprehensions of death, but died as she had lived, great, firm, and fearless to her last: And thus ended the life of this virtuous and excellent Princess. In the beauty and other charms and graces of her person she excelled all the women of her time, and would have been a lady without exception, could she have carried it with some better temper and complaisance towards her husband. But considering that he had built his fortunes upon the ruin of her family; that he had usurped from them the crown which he wore; that he had caused or procured ^o her father, ^p her grandfather, ^q her brother, and her ^r uncle to be put to death for the serving of his designs, and had twice ordered her death in case of his own, it would put difficulties upon the most patient and best tempered woman in the world, how to bear such an husband with any affection or complaisance. But *Herod's* rage being quenched with her blood, his love to her again revived; whereon followed such a bitter scene of late repentance as is scarce any where else to be met with. As soon as his wrath was allayed, instead of it agonies of sorrow, regret, and tormenting remorse for what he had done filled his mind, which would not let him rest either day or night; wherever he went the thoughts of *Mariamne* pursued him, and caused bitter reflections in his breast. These he endeavoured to stifle by wine, company, feastings, and other divertisements; but none of them effecting his relief, he at length fell into downright distraction, and in his fits of it would often call for *Mariamne*, and order his servants to bring her to him, as if she were still alive.

An. 28.
Herod
10.

HEREUPON also there happen'd ^s a grievous pestilence, which carried off great numbers both of the common people and nobility of the land; which all there reckoned as a just judgment from God for the death of the Queen. This farther added to *Herod's* grief and disorder, so that not knowing what to do, he flung up the care of all business, and retired to *Samaria*, where he fell into a great sickness. After having languished under it for some time, he at length got rid of it with difficulty, and returned again to *Jerusalem*, and the care of his kingdom; but never again recovered his former temper: For after this he was observed to act with greater rigour and cruelty than he ever had before, and continued so to do to his life's end.

WHILE he lay sick at *Samaria*, ^t *Alexandra*, whose active and busy head could never be at rest, reckoning that *Herod* would dye of this sickness, immediately laid plots for the seizing of the government; in order where-to she treated with the governors of the two castles of *Jerusalem*, that of *Antonia* on the mountain of the temple, and the other in the city, to have them delivered into her hands, knowing that whoever had these two castles, had with them the mastery of *Jerusalem* and all *Judæa*. Her pretence was to secure the kingdom in case of *Herod's* death for his sons by *Mariamne*; but the governors of those castles liking neither *Alexandra*,

^o i. e. Alexander the son of Aristobulus, who was put to death at Antioch, by the procurement of Herod and Antipater his father.

^p Hyrcanus the father of Alexandra the mother of Mariamne.

^q Aristobulus the High-priest.

^r Antigonus the brother of Alexander her father.

^s Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11.

^t Josephus ibid.

nor her designs, sent an account hereof to *Herod*, who immediately gave order to have her put to death: So she got nothing by that hypocritical and infamous part which she acted at her daughter's execution; for notwithstanding that, and the court which she made thereby to *Herod's* favour, she was the next that was executed after her.

"*OCTAVIANUS* having at *Rome* filled the senate with his creatures, whose fortunes depended on his holding on the government, then proposed to them to resign his authority, and put all again into the hands of the people upon the old foundation of the *Roman* commonwealth; craftily making this offer for the gaining of the applause of the people, and the cloaking of his own ambition, when he knew that all of that assembly (their interest lying on the other side) would unanimously press him to the contrary, and so accordingly it happen'd: For he had no sooner in a set speech made the proposal, but the whole senate with an unanimous voice dissuaded him from it, and pressed him with all manner of arguments to take upon him alone the whole government of the *Roman* empire, which at length he yielded to with a seeming reluctancy; and by this management brought it about that the monarchy of the whole *Roman* empire was at this time, by the unanimous consent both of the senate and people of *Rome*, conferred on him for ten years: For he would not accept of it for any longer term, pretending, that by that time he hoped he should have settled all things in such peace and order that there would be no farther need of him, but that he might then with safety to the commonwealth ease himself of the burthen, and put the government again into the hands of the people and senate, as it formerly had been. This method he took to make the matter go the more plausibly, but with intention, when those ten years should be expired, again to renew his lease; and so accordingly he did from ten years to ten years as long as he lived, all this while governing the whole *Roman* empire alone with an absolute authority: And therefore here ended the ancient republican government of the *Roman* state; for all the authority of the people and senate being now vested in *Octavianus*, it continued in him and his successors ever after, as long as the *Roman* empire continued, without being ever again retrieved. With this new power it was resolved to confer on him a new name; some were for his assuming that of *Romulus*, thereby to import that he was as another founder of *Rome*, and others offered other names; but "*Munacius Plancus* having proposed the name of *Augustus*, which signifieth something that above humane is sacred and venerable, that was made choice of, and conferred on him by the general suffrage of the senate; and it was always after this born by him and his successors; so that instead of the name of *C. Julius Caesar Octavianus*, which he had hitherto born, he from thenceforward took that of *C. Julius Caesar Augustus*. And therefore whereas I have hitherto mentioned him by the name of *Octavianus*, I shall henceforth always give him that of *Augustus*, as often as there shall be an occasion to speak of him in the future series of this history. That he might seem not to take the whole power of the *Roman* empire to himself, he made a shew of allowing the senate a share of it with him: For having divided the empire into two parts, the one containing those pro-

An. 27.
Herod
11.

" Dion-Cassius lib. 53. * Dion Cassius ibid. Suetonius in Octavio cap. 7. Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 91. Epitome Livii lib. 134. Censorinus de die natali cap. 21. L. Florus lib. 4. cap. 12. -x Dion Cassius ibid.

vinces which were quiet and peaceable, and the other those which lying upon the outskirts of the empire, and bordering upon the barbarous nations, were exposed to troubles and wars, the former of these he assigned to the senate to be governed by such of them as had been consuls and pretors, according to their former usage; and the others he reserved to himself to be governed by his presidents and other officers whom he should appoint; whereby it seemed, and so he would have it thought, as if he desired to leave the sweet of the government still to the senate, and reserve only the troublesome and dangerous part to himself. But herein he shewed his great wisdom and sagacity; for by this method he secured all the armies and military power, wherein consisted the whole strength of the empire, to himself, they all lying in those provinces which he had chosen; whereas the others being without them, such as governed those provinces could have no power from thence to create him any danger or disturbance. The latter were called the senatorial provinces, and the other the imperial; and of this imperial sort were particularly *Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Egypt* in the east, besides others in the other borders of the empire.

An. 26.
Herod
12.

^y *SALOME* falling out with *Costobarus* the *Idumæan* her second husband, whom she had married after the death of *Joseph* her first husband, sent him a bill of divorce contrary to the law and usage of the *Jews*: For according to that ^z the husband might divorce the wife, but not the wife the husband; but *Salome* by *Herod's* authority made that go for law which best pleased her. On her having thus abdicated her husband she returned to her brother, and to make her self the more acceptable to him, pretended that she had discovered *Costobarus* to be conspiring against him with *Lysimachus, Antipater, and Dosithæus*, men of note in that countrey, and that for this reason she left him, as preferring the love of her brother before that of her husband: And to gain the better credit to her accusation, she discovered where *Costobarus* had concealed the sons of *Babas* contrary to his order and interest. These being chief sticklers for the interest of the *Asmonæans*, *Herod* at the taking of *Jerusalem* gave strict orders to have them cut off, and entrusted *Costobarus* with the executing of them; but he for some by-ends of his own saved them alive, and giving out that they had made their escape, conveyed them to a place of safety, where he had kept them concealed ever since. *Herod* on *Salome's* information sent to that place which she named, and there finding all to be true which she had told him concerning them, he believed her as to all the rest; and therefore forthwith ordered not only them, but also *Costobarus, Lysimachus, Antipater, Dosithæus*, with several others, who were accused as their accomplices, to be put to death.

CORNELIUS Gallus being recalled from *Egypt*, ^a *Petronius* was made prefect in his place. *Gallus* on his return to *Rome* being too ^b lavish of his tongue against *Augustus* was for this reason forbid his house and the provinces under his command, and noted with infamy. After this other accusations coming against him of concussions, rapines, extortions, and other misdemeanors committed by him, while governor of *Egypt*, he was by the unanimous vote of the senate condemned to banishment; but he prevented the execution of this sentence by falling on his sword and slaying

^y Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11.
Mark x. 4. Maimonides de repudiatione.

^z Deut. xxiv. 1, 2, &c. Matth. v. 31. & xix. 7.

^a Strabo, lib. 17. p. 819.

^b Dion Cassius lib. 53. p. 512. Suetonius in Octavio cap. 66.

himself.

himself. He ^c was an eminent poet, and ^d a familiar friend of *Virgil's*, as appears by his tenth eclogue, which was written on him.

HEROD having cut off all of the *Asmonæan* party without leaving any alive, that had been favourers of it, thought himself now secure against all future dangers, and therefore ^e made bold in many things to deviate from the *Jewish* usages by bringing in foreign rites and customs. For he built at *Jerusalem* a theatre, and an amphitheatre, and in honour of *Augustus* celebrated games, and exhibited shews in them, which were much disliked by the generality of the *Jews*, as things which they thought inconsistent with the legal constitutions and religion of their country. But nothing offended them more than some trophies, which he had set up round his theatre in honour of *Augustus*, and in commemoration of his victories: For they taking them to be images, for that reason could not bear them. *Herod* to convince them of this folly having called several of the principal of them upon the place caused the armour to be taken off in their presence, and when they saw nothing appeared under, ^f but a naked stem of a tree, their indignation was turned into laughter, and so this matter went off.

But the other innovations stuck hard with many, and gave such great offence, ^g that some of them to the number of ten persons entered into a conspiracy against him for the cutting of him off by an assassination, for which purpose having provided themselves with daggers under their garments, they went to the theatre, where *Herod* was then to come, designing there to fall upon him and slay him. But one of *Herod's* spies (of which he had great numbers abroad) having gotten some inkling of the matter made discovery of it to him, as he was going to enter the theatre, just when the plot was ready to have been executed upon him; whereon the conspirators being seized, they were all put to death by most exquisite torments. And he that made the discovery did not fare any better; for he having thereby incurred the general odium of the people, some of them meeting with him in a convenient place fell on him, and tore him to pieces. But *Herod* never left making enquiry after this matter, till he had discovered all that were concerned in it, and he did put every one of them to death for it.

To secure himself the better against all such tumults and conspiracies for the future he thought it would be safest for him to have other places of strength in the land to depend upon besides *Jerusalem*, and therefore setting himself on the building of several other strong cities in the land he begun with that of *Samarita*. This city, once famous for being the capital of the kingdom of *Israel*, was destroyed by *John Hyrcanus*, as hath been above related. When *Gabinus* was made president of *Syria* ^h he ordered the rebuilding of it; from him it was some time called the city of the *Gabinians*, that is of those, whom *Gabinus* had planted there; but under them the place advanced no farther, than to be a small village. *Herod* first made it again a city, and restored it to its pristine splendor, and in

^c Vide Vossium de poetis Latinis.

^d Videas Servium in eclogam Virgilii decimam.

^e Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11.

^f A trophy was a whole suit of armour with the head-piece, dressed up upon a stem of a tree, and was usually erected in commemoration of a victory.

^g Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11.

^h Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 10.

ⁱ Cedrenus Syncellus p. 308.

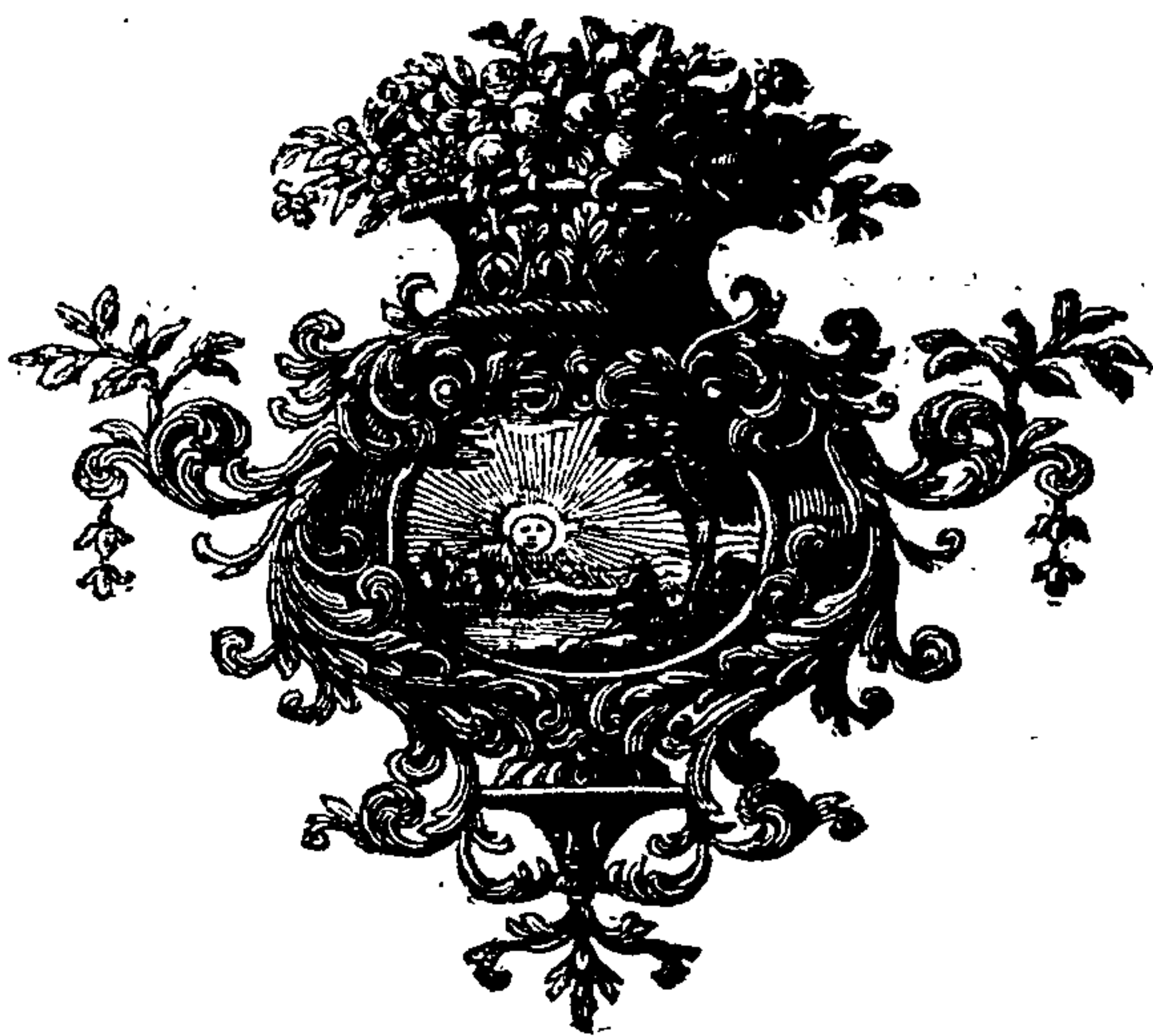
honour of *Augustus* called it *Sebaste*; for *Sebastos* in *Greek* is the same with *Augustus* in *Latin*, and therefore *Sebaste* is as much as to say the city of *Augustus*. This place ^k he planted with six thousand new inhabitants invited thither from all parts, and divided among them the countrey about it, which being of a very fertile soil, as soon as it was cultivated, it brought forth such plenty, as in a short time render'd the place rich and populous, and made it fully answer all the purposes for which he intended it. He also put a garrison into *Straton's* tower (which in honour of *Cæsar Augustus* was afterwards called *Cæsaria*) and he did the same in *Gabala*, and in some other fortresses, which lay convenient for the keeping of the countrey in quiet.

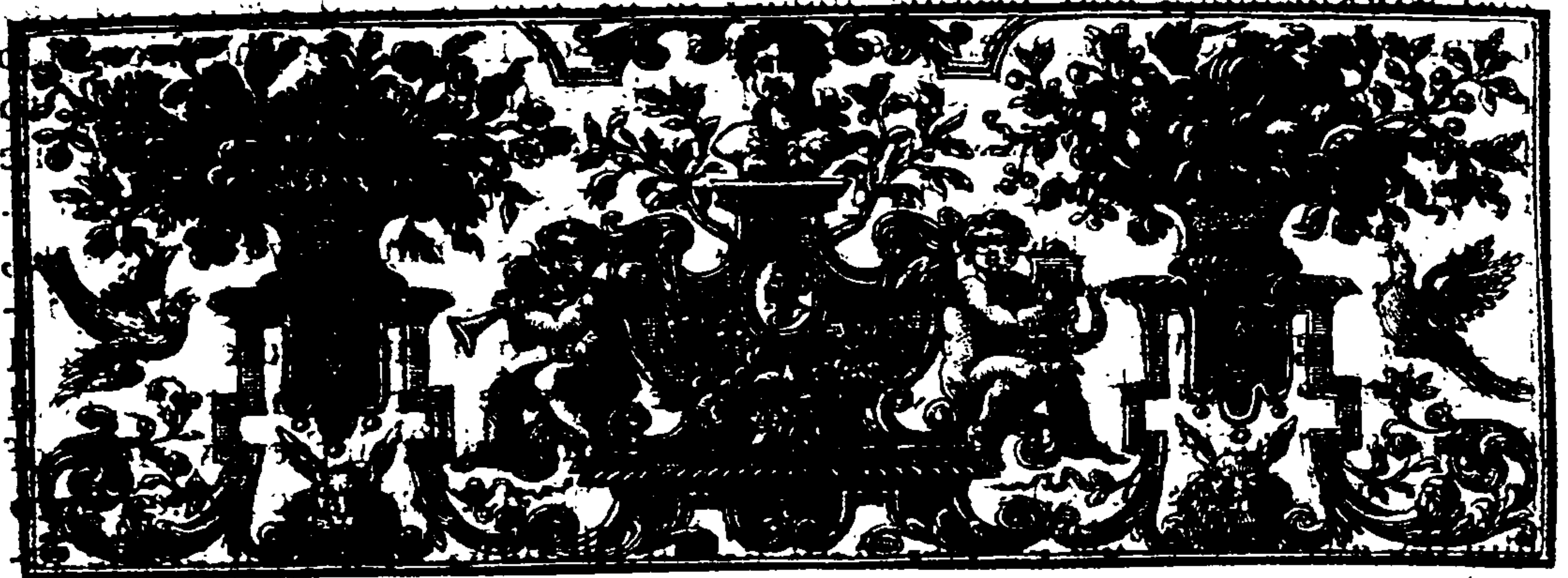
THE name of *Augustus* growing famous all over the world, ^lthe remotest nations of the north and the east, that is the *Scythians*, the *Sarmatians*, the *Indians*, and the *Seres*, sent ambassadors with presents to him to pray his friendship; the last of which, ^m*Florus* tells us, were four years on their journey, which is to be supposed coming and going. The *Seres* were the farthest people of the east, the same whom we now call the *Chinese*; they being anciently famous for the making of silk and filken manufactures, hence ⁿ*Serica* became the name of silk, and *Sericum* of a filken garment both among the *Greeks* and *Latins*.

THIS year, it being the 13th of the reign of *Herod* ^o great calamities fell upon the people of *Judæa*; a long drought produced a famine, and that famine a pestilence, which swept away great numbers of the inhabitants. *Herod* for the remedy hereof (his treasure being then empty) melted down

^k Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 11. ^l L. Florus lib. 4. cap. 12. Suetonius in Octavio cap. 21. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 21. Eutropius lib. 7. ^m Lib. 4. cap. 12. ⁿ The Seres first used the way of making silk from the web of the silk-worm; from them that name and thing came to the Persians, and from them to the Greeks and Latins. The first time that any silk was brought into Greece was on Alexander's having conquered Persia, and from thence it came into Italy in the flourishing times of the Roman empire. But it was a long while very dear in all these western parts, as being weight for weight of equal value with gold, a pound of the one costing a pound of the other. For the Persians took care to keep this manufacture for a long while wholly to themselves, not permitting the silk-worms to be carried out of Persia, or any to pass from thence into the west, that were skilled in the managing of them, and thus it continued to the time of Justinian the Emperor, who died Anno Dom. 565. He looking on it as a great hardship, that the subjects of his empire should buy this manufacture of the Persians at so dear a rate, in order to put an end to this imposition sent two Monks into India, to learn there how the filken trade was managed, and on their return to bring the silk-worms with them, that so he might set up the manufacture in his own dominions. These Monks on their return told him, that the silk-worms could not be brought so long a journey, but understanding from them that their eggs might, and that from them the worms might be propagated, he sent them back the second time to bring him of those eggs; who having effected what they went about, and brought to Constantinople on their return thither great quantities of those eggs, from them have been propagated all the silk-worms and silk-trade, which have since that been there, or any where else in Europe. Till that time the ancients were so ignorant how silk was made, that it was a common notion among them, that it grew on the tops of trees: But since that it hath been sufficiently made known, that though cotton be produced from trees, silk is no where made, but by the web of the silk worm. For a long while silk was worn only by women, and it was thought a great instance of luxury and effeminacy for a man to have any part of his garments made of it, so that in the beginning of the reign of Tiberius, as Tacitus tells us, (annal lib. 2. cap. 33.) a law was made ne vestis Serica viros foedaret, i. e. That no man should defile or dishonour himself by wearing filken garments. When the stuff was all of silk, it was called Holofericum, when the woof only was silk, and the warp of linen or woollen, or the warp only of silk, and the woof of linen or woollen, it was called Subfericum. When afterwards it came into use for men to wear silk, it was at first only of the latter sort, that which was all silk, was for a long time left wholly to the use of the women; so that it was reckoned by Lampridius as one of the infamous parts of Heliogabalus's character, that he was the first man that wore Holofericum. Videas de hac re plura apud Vossium in Etymologico sub voce Sericum, & de idololatriâ lib. 4. cap. 90. & Salmasium in notis ad Tertullianum de Pallio, ad Solinum, & ad historiam Augustam. ^o Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 12.

all the plate of his palace, even that which was most valuable for its fashion and workmanship, and making money of it, sent it into *Egypt* to buy corn, where there was then great abundance of it; and by the friendship of *Petronius* the *Roman* prefect got sufficient from thence not only to supply the wants of all his own people, but also wherewith to relieve the necessities of his neighbours in *Syria*, who were under the same distress. And whereas most of the flocks of *Judæa* were consumed by the drought, so that there was not wool enough in the land for the cloathing of the inhabitants against winter, he took care that such quantites were imported from foreign countries, that every one before the approach of the cold season was provided with sufficient to fence him against all the severities of it; by which acts of charity and generosity he not only reconciled unto him the affection of his people, with whom till now, by reason of the severities and cruelties of his government, he stood upon very ill terms; but also made his name famous among all the neighbouring nations, gaining among them the reputation of a wise, gracious, and generous Prince. But he was not of a temper long to hold this character among his own people; for the tyrannical male-administrations of his government still continuing after this good deed in the same excess as before, what he gained by the one, was soon again lost by the other; and therefore he continued to make himself, to his life's end, the general odium and aversion of those over whom he reigned, and it was owing only to the protection and power of *Augustus*, and the *Romans*, that he was supported against it.



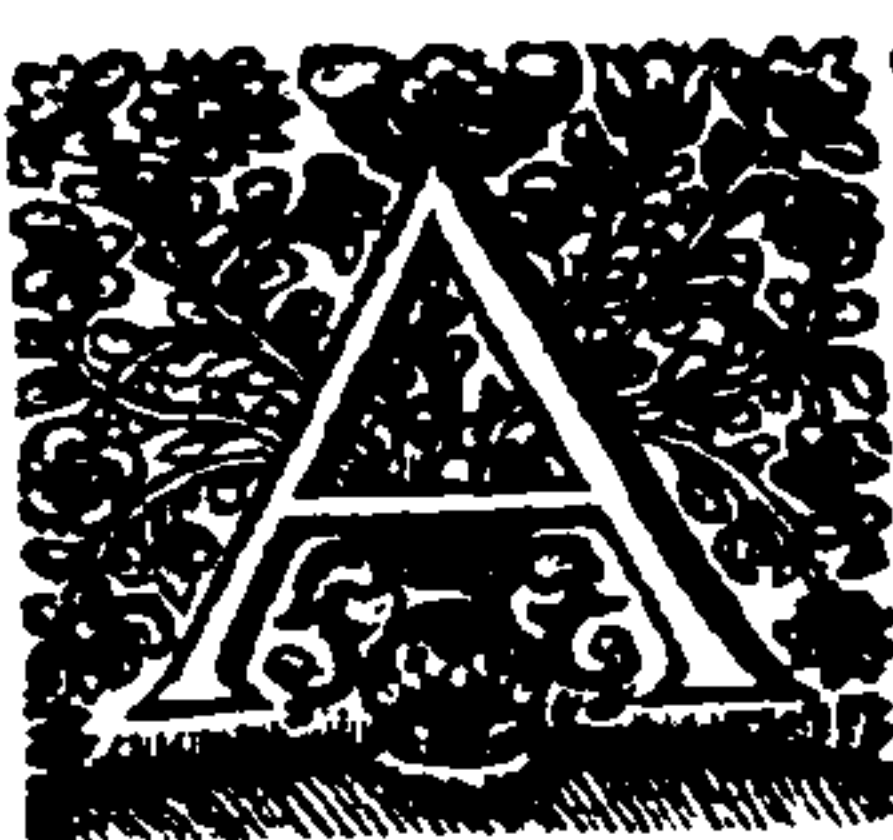


THE
 Old and New TESTAMENT
 Connected in the
 HISTORY
 OF THE
 Jews and Neighbouring Nations,
 FROM THE
 Declension of the Kingdoms of *Israel* and *Judah*
 to the time of CHRIST.



PART II. BOOK IX.

An. 24.
 Herod
 14.



AUGUSTUS with the beginning of this year entering in-
 to his tenth consulship, * had a decree of the senate made
 in his behalf, which freed him from the obligation of all
 laws, and set him above them all, with an absolute power
 to do all things in the government of the empire according
 to his arbitrary will and good pleasure; and many things
 else were decreed in his honour through the flattery of some who courted
 his favour, and the fear of others who dreaded his power.

* Dion Cassius lib. 53. p. 516.

HEROD being now at peace and in full prosperity, ^b set himself on the building of a stately palace on mount *Sion*, which was the highest part of the city of *Jerusalem*; and made it a structure of that largeness and magnificence, that in some manner it exceeded herein even the temple it self. And it was more especially famous for two large and sumptuous apartments erected in it, the one of which he called *Cesareum* in honour of *Augustus Caesar*, and the other *Agrippæum* in honour of *Agrippa*, *Augustus's* principal favourite.

THIS same year ^c *Herod* furnished *Augustus* with five hundred men out of his guards for the carrying on of an expedition against the southern *Arabs*. ^d He having heard of the wealth of those people, that they abounded in gold and silver, and other riches, proposed either by treaty to make them his friends, and so open a way for commerce with them, or else by conquest to make them his subjects; and could he compass either of them, he expected thereby much to augment the wealth and riches of his empire. And he had also this farther view, that in case he should either as friend or conqueror gain a footing in that countrey, he should through it have an easy way open for the subduing of the *Troglodytes*, their countrey being separated from the southern *Arabia* only by the narrow streights now called the streights of *Babelmandel*, through which the *Arabian* gulph dischargeth it self into the southern ocean: For as the *Arabs* dwell on the eastern side of those streights, the *Troglodytes* did then dwell over against them on the western side. *Ælius Gallus*, a *Roman* of the equestrian order, was the general sent on this expedition, for which *Augustus* furnished him with ten thousand men; to these were added the five hundred men from *Herod* above mentioned, and a thousand more that were brought him by *Syllæus* from *Obodas* King of the *Nabathæan Arabs*. This *Obodas* had succeeded *Malchus* in that kingdom, and *Syllæus* was his chief minister, and a person of great craft, vigour, and application. He knowing the countrey, undertook to be *Gallus's* guide in this expedition, and thereby made it miscarry by betraying him in it. It was proposed to march thorough the countrey of the *Nabathæans*, and from thence to enter on this expedition; but *Syllæus* falsely informing *Gallus* that there was no safe passage thither by land, this put him on building a fleet to pass thither by sea; and therefore having provided an hundred and thirty transports at *Cleopatris*, a port at the bottom of the *Arabian* gulph or *Red-sea*, he there put his army on board them, and sailed to *Leucocome*, a port of the *Nabathæans* lying on the eastern side of that sea. This being a very dangerous navigation, by reason of the many rocks and shelves that are in that part of the *Arabian* gulph, and *Syllæus* piloting him the worst way through it, he was fifteen days in the passage, and lost several of his ships in it; and when he was landed all his army falling sick of a disease common in that countrey, he was forced to lye by all the remaining part of the summer, and the winter following to wait their recovery.

EARLY ^e the next spring he set out from *Leucocome* in the expedition in ^{An. 23.} which he was sent, and after a march of six months southward came into ^{Herod} ^{15.}

^b Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 12. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 16. ^c Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 12. Strabo lib. 16. p. 780. ^d Josephus ibid. Plin. lib. 6. cap. 28. Strabo lib. 2. p. 118. lib. 16. p. 780, 781. & lib. 17. p. 819. Dion Cassius lib. 53. p. 516.

^e Strabo & Dion Cassius ibid.

those parts of *Arabia* where he intended, vanquishing in his march all that opposed him: But through the difficulties of the way which *Syllæus* treacherously led him, the heat of the climate, and the unwholsomeness of the air, water, and herbs of the countrey, he had by this time lost the better half of his army, and therefore was forced again to return without effecting any thing of what was designed, through want of sufficient strength to execute it. But by this time perceiving the treachery of *Syllæus*, he marched back under the conduct of other guides, and by their assistance returned in sixty days to the same parts of the *Nabatæan* countrey, from whence he had been six months in marching out, and there shipping his forces at the next port called *Negra*, crossed the *Arabian* gulph in eleven days, and landed at *Myos Hormus* on the *Egyptian* side, and from thence by the way of *Coptus* led back the remainder of his army again to *Alexandria*, after having been two years on this expedition. The miscarrying of it being wholly owing to the treachery of *Syllæus*, he was at length for this, among other crimes then laid to his charge, publickly executed at *Rome* by the rods and ax of the lictor. But this was not till several years after; in the interim there will be occasions of speaking again of him more than once in the future series of this history.

WHILE *Gallus* was in this expedition, ^s *Candace* Queen of *Æthiopia* invading the province of *Thebais* in the upper *Egypt* with a great army, took *Syena* and several other places on the borders, and carried the garrison soldiers into captivity; whereon *Petronius* then prefect of *Egypt* marched with an army against her, and having vanquished her forces in battel, and driven them out of the countrey, pursued them into *Æthiopia*, and having there pierced above eight hundred miles into the countrey, subdued all before him, taking all the cities that lay in his way, and among them *Napata* the metropolis of the kingdom, which he destroyed; and from thence marched on, till at length being able to proceed no farther by reason of the great desarts of sand, nor to stay there any longer by reason of the excessive heats of the climate, he was forced to march back; and therefore having put a garrison of four hundred men into *Premnis* one of the strongest fortresses in *Æthiopia*, in order to keep footing in that countrey, and victualled it for two years, he returned to *Alexandria*, carrying all his captives with him; a thousand of the principal of them, among whom were the chief commanders of *Candace's* army, he sent to *Augustus*, the rest he sold on his return, being many thousands in number.

PHRAATES King of *Parthia* being again driven out of his kingdom by *Tiridates*, ^b prevailed with the *Scythians* to bring him back with a great army; whereon ⁱ *Tiridates* with the chiefs of his party fled to *Rome* to pray the assistance of *Augustus*, promising to hold the kingdom from him as his homager in case he might be restored by his help. *Phraates* hearing which way he was fled, sent ambassadors to *Rome* after him, there to obviate his designs, and to demand of *Augustus* the delivery of his rebel subjects to him, and the release of his son, whom *Tiridates* had put into his hands in the manner as above related. *Augustus* having given them an hearing, answered them in the same manner as he had before at *Antioch*, that he would not deliver *Tiridates* into the hands of *Phraates*, nor give either of

^r Strabo lib. 16. p. 782.

lib. 6. cap. 29.

^s Strabo lib. 17. p. 820.

^b Justin. lib. 42. cap. 5.

Dion Cassius lib. 54. p. 524. Plin.

ⁱ Justin. ib. Dion Cassius lib. 53. p. 519.

them

them any help against the other. However, that he might gratify both in something, he permitted *Tiridates* to live under his protection at *Rome*, ordering him there a maintenance out of the publick treasury, whereby to subsist with plenty and honour; and he sent back to *Phraates* his son, upon condition that he should restore all the captives and ensigns which the *Parthians* had taken from *Crassus* and *Antony* in their wars against them. This was then promised, but not performed till *Augustus* came into *Syria* three years after, and by the dread of his name, and the threats of a new war, induced him hereto.

At this time there being at *Jerusalem* a very beautiful young lady called *Mariamne*, the daughter of *Simon* the son of *Boëthus*, an ordinary Priest of that place, *Herod*^k fell in love with her, and took her to wife; but first for the making of her a more suitable match for him, he made her father High-priest of the *Jews* instead of *Jesus* the son of *Phebes*, whom he removed of purpose to make room for him. After this^l he built a stately palace at the distance of about seven miles from *Jerusalem*, in the place where he had formerly defeated the *Parthians*, and the *Jews* of the *Asmonean* party, when he fled from that city on *Antigonus's* becoming master of it. This from his own name he called *Herodium*: It stood in a very pleasant and a very strong situation on the top of an hill, from whence there was a prospect of all the countrey round. From this palace the hill declined all round with an equal and uniform descent, which made a very beautiful shew; and at the foot of it were soon built such a number of houses as amounted to the proportion of a considerable city.

AUGUSTUS having been seized this year with a dangerous sickness, when nothing else could bring him any help, ^m was cured by the use of the cold bath, and cooling potions prescribed him by *Antonius Musa* the eminentest physician among the *Romans* of that age: And he had hereon great rewards and great honours decreed him by the senate. But a little after *Marcellus* falling sick, while he endeavoured to cure him by the same method, he caused his death, which was much to the grief of *Augustus*: For he was the son of *Octavia* his sister by her first husband, and being a young man of great hopes, *Augustus* had married his daughter to him, adopted him for his son, and intended him for his heir in case he should have no son of his own; but he had the misfortune this year to lose him in the manner here mentioned. This is the *Marcellus* whose untimely death *Virgil* most ingeniously sets forth in the sixth book of his *Æneids*.

HEROD having finished *Samaria*, which from the name of *Augustus* he called *Sebaste*, heⁿ began the building of another city at *Straton's* tower on the sea coast of *Palestine*, which also in honour of him from his other name he called *Cæsarea*. In the building and adorning hereof he spent twelve years, and expended vast sums of money, whereby he made it a city of prime note in those parts, and the most convenient and safest port in all the coasts of *Phœnicia*. For whereas before it was a very dangerous harbour, so that no ship could ride safe in it when the wind blew south-west, to remedy this he ran out a mole in a circular form, which fenced the port against

^k Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 12. & lib. 18. cap. 7. ^l Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 12. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 16. ^m Dion Cassius lib. 53. p. 517. Suetonius in Octavio, cap. 59. Plin. lib. 19. cap. 8. lib. 25. cap. 7. & lib. 29. cap. 1. ⁿ Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 13. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 16.

both the south and the west, and encompassed room enough for a great fleet to ride safe within against all wind and weather, leaving a passage into it only on the north, where the sea was less rough, and the harbour least exposed to storms from it. This work alone was of vast labour and expence; for it was built with stones brought from far, and of a very large size, they being fifty foot long, eighteen broad, and nine deep, some greater, some lesser, and the foundation was laid twenty fathom deep into the sea. When *Judea* was reduced into the form of a *Roman* province, this city was usually made the residence of him that was sent to govern it.

ALEXANDER and *Aristobulus*, the sons of *Herod* by *Mariamne* now growing up, their father^o sent them to *Rome* for their education, there providing a reception for them in the house of *Pollio*, an especial friend of his; but *Augustus* taking them into his particular care, assigned them apartments in his own palace; and farther to express his friendship and favour to *Herod*, he gave him full power to leave the succession of his kingdom to which of his sons he should think fit: And moreover at the same time added^p *Trachonitis*,^q *Auranitis*, and *Batanea* to his former dominions, which was done on this occasion. There was^r one *Zenodorus* tetrarch of a territory^s lying between *Trachonitis* and *Galilee*, who had farmed from the president of *Syria* the provinces of *Trachonitis*, *Auranitis*, and *Batanea*; which had formerly been the principality of^t *Lyfanius* the son of *Ptolemy*, whom *Antony* put to death, as hath been above mentioned. This person not being contented with the honest gain of his farm, (in which he had a great bargain) to make the most of it that he could, went shares with a company of thieves, who had taken harbour in certain caves in the mountains of *Trachonitis*, and permitted them to rob all the countrey round upon terms of sharing the plunder with them. This being a great grievance and mischief to the people of those parts, they complained of it to *Varro* then president of *Syria*, who writing to *Augustus* about it, received orders from him at any rate to root out those robbers. But before these orders could be executed, *Varro* being recalled, the grievance and the complaint still continued; whereon^u *Augustus*, to provide an effectual cure for this evil, did put all the three provinces which *Zenodorus* had farmed into the hands of *Herod*, adding them to his former dominions; who forthwith marching thither with such forces as were necessary, broke into the dens of those thieves, and by killing a great number of them, and driving out the rest, soon cleared the countrey of them: Whereon *Zenodorus* being deprived not only of his unrighteous gain, but also of his farm, went to *Rome* to make complaint against *Herod*; but not meeting with success in any of his accusations, he on his return excited the *Gadarens* to an attempt of giving him trouble, and accordingly they applied to *Agrippa* with complaints and accusations against him: For *Agrippa* had then the government of all the east conferred on him by *Augustus*. *Agrippa*, as hath been above related, was the chief favourite and prime confidant of *Augustus*; but now *Julia* the daughter of *Augustus* being grown up, and married to *Marcellus*

^o Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 13.

^p These three districts or toparchies lay beyond the sea of Galilee between that and Damascus, having for their boundary mount Libanus on the north, and the countrey of Peræa on the south.

^q Auranitis is the same with Ituræa, being another name of it.

^r Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 13. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 15.

^t Josephus ibid.

^s He is by Josephus called Prince of Chalcis from the city Chalcis where he resided.

^u Josephus ibidem.

^v Josephus antiq. ibid.

^w Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 13.

the son of *Octavia*, *Augustus*'s sister, the old favourite grew jealous of the son-in-law, so that they could not bear each other. Hereon * *Augustus*, to put an end to these differences, sent *Agrippa* out of the way, committing to his charge † all the provinces of the east that lay beyond the *Ægean* sea; and he taking up his residence at *Mitylene* in the isle of *Lesbos*, from thence by his lieutenants governed *Lesser Asia*, *Syria*, and all the other countries that were within his commission. As soon as *Herod* heard of *Agrippa*'s settling there, ‡ he sailed thither to make a visit to him, and thereby farther cultivated the friendship that had been before between them. Immediately on his departure § came the *Gadarens* thither with their accusations against him in a very unlucky time for their affair; for they then found *Agrippa*, by reason of the endearments that had been revived between them in the conversation of the late visit, so far prepossessed in favour of *Herod*, that having no ear open to any complaints against him, he caused these accusers of him to be all clapp'd in chains, and sent them thus bound into *Judæa* to be there delivered unto him. *Herod* thinking to sweeten them by clemency, dismissed them without any harm; and this for some time quieted the troubles which they and *Zenodorus* would have raised against him.

AUGUSTUS intending a progress into the east, on his arrival in *Sicily* in his way thither † sent for *Agrippa* to come to him; and having given him in marriage *Julia* his daughter, being now become a widow by the death of *Marcellus* her former husband, sent him to *Rome*, there to take care of the affairs in the west, while he himself should be absent in the east. *Mæcenat* † chiefly advised this match, telling *Augustus* that having made *Agrippa* so great as he then had, he had nothing else to chuse but either to make him his son-in-law, or put him to death. To make way for this match *Agrippa* was forced to divorce his former wife, though daughter of *Octavia* the sister of *Augustus*, who was afterward † married to *Antonius* the son of *Antony* the triumvir. After this † *Augustus* sailed from *Sicily* into *Greece*, and having there settled all matters, passed into the isles, † and wintered at *Samos*.

WHILE *Augustus* lay at this place, there † came thither to him ambassadors from *Candace* Queen of *Æthiopia*. It hath been above related how *Petronius*, on his return from his late inroad into *Æthiopia*, had left a garrison in *Premnis* a strong fortress in that countrey: In the beginning of this year † *Candace* sent an army to besiege it; whereon *Petronius*, coming to the assistance of his garrison, raised the siege, and forced *Candace* to sue for peace. On the coming of her ambassadors to him for this purpose, they were referred by him to *Cæsar*; but their answer being, that they knew not who *Cæsar* was, he sent messengers with them to conduct them to *Augustus*, who finding him at *Samos*, there obtained from him the peace which they desired, and then returned again into *Æthiopia*.

* Dion Cassius lib. 53. p. 518. Suetonius in Octavio cap. 66. Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 93. † Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 13. Dion Cassius ibid. Velleius Paterculus ibid. ‡ Josephus ibid. § Josephus ibid. † Dion Cassius lib. 54. p. 524. Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 93. † Dion Cassius lib. 54. p. 525. † Plutarchus in Antonio. † Dion Cassius ibid. † Strabo lib. 17. p. 821. Dion Cassius lib. 54. p. 525. † Strabo & Dion Cassius ibid.

An. 20.
Herod
18.

EARLY the next spring *Augustus*^h passed from *Samos* into lesser *Asia*, and having settled all matters there, continued his progress through that countrey into *Syria*, and came to *Antioch*. On his arrival there, *Zenodorus* with delegates from the *Gadarens*ⁱ addressed to him with their old complaints against *Herod*, hoping to have a more favourable hearing from him than they had from *Agrippa*. They accused him of tyranny, violence, and rapin, and also of sacrilege in plundering and violating temples; and *Augustus* went so far into them, as to appoint a day for *Herod*, who was then present at *Antioch*, to make his defence; in the hearing of which he was treated with so much tenderness and favour, as made the *Gadarens* despair of their cause, so that the night following some of them drowned themselves, others cast themselves down precipices, and the rest did cut their throats, or otherwise made themselves away through fear of being delivered to *Herod*, and *Zenodorus* did the same; for having taken poison it corroded his guts, and cast him into a violent dysentery, of which he died that same night. Hereon *Augustus* looking on their self-execution to be self-condemnation, and a clear acknowledgment of guilt on their side, absolved *Herod*, and would admit no more such accusations to be brought against him. And to make him amends for the trouble he had been put to by *Zenodorus*, and his *Gadarens*, he gave him the tetrarchy of *Zenodorus*, and for his greater honour joined him in commission with the president of *Syria*, as his procurator in that province, ordaining that nothing should be done in the affairs of it without his knowledge and advice; and moreover at his request gave to *Pheroras* his brother a tetrarchy in those parts. In acknowledgment of all these favours *Herod* built unto him in the lands of *Zenodorus* near the mountain *Paneas* (at the foot of which is the fountain of the river *Jordan*) a sumptuous temple all of white marble. By which idolatrous flattery, and other like compliances with heathen usages, he farther alienated from him all those *Jews*, that were zealous for their law, and the religion of their fore-fathers.

PHRAATES King of *Parthia*, on *Augustus*'s coming into *Syria*,^l sent ambassadors to him to pray his friendship; for being then upon ill terms with his people, whom he had much alienated from him by his tyranny and cruelty, he dreaded a foreign war; and he had reason at that time to fear it from *Augustus*. For whereas *Augustus* had three years before released to him one of his sons (whom he had in captivity at *Rome*) upon promise that he would send back to him all the prisoners and ensigns, which the *Parthians* had taken from the *Romans* in their wars with *Crassus* and *Antony*, he had not as yet discharged himself of that obligation; that therefore this might not be a cause of war against him, he now not only sent back all those captives and ensigns, but also yielded to all other terms of peace, which were then required of him, and gave four of his sons with their wives and children in hostage for the performance of them. Whereupon^m *Justin* remarks, that *Augustus* did more herein by the greatness of his name, than any other commander could do by war. But *Tacitus*ⁿ tells

^h Dion Cassius lib. 54. p. 525.
& de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 15.

ⁱ Dion Cassius ibid. Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 13.
^k Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 13. ^l Dion Cassius lib. 54. p. 525, 526. Strabo lib. 6. p. 288. & lib. 16. p. 748. Livii epitome lib. 139. L. Florus lib. 4. cap. 12. Orosius lib. 6. cap. 21. Justin. lib. 42. cap. 5. Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 91.

^m Lib. 42. cap. 5.

ⁿ Annal. lib. 2. cap. 1.

us, that *Phraates* was induced hereto not so much by the fear of *Augustus*, as by the diffidence which he had of his own people, and what ^o *Strabo* and ^p *Josephus* tells us is agreeable hereto; for laying both of them together the matter appears to have been as followeth. ^q A very beautiful *Italian* woman called *Thermusa*, having been formerly sent by *Augustus* to *Phraates* for a present, she first became his concubine, and afterwards on her bringing him a son, was married to him, and advanced to be his Queen; and having in this station gained an absolute ascendant over him, made use of it for the securing of the succession of the crown of *Parthia* to her son, in order whereto she proposed to *Phraates* the putting of his other sons, which were four in all, into the hands of the *Romans*, and *Phraates* not thinking himself safe against his subjects, as long as there were at hand any other of the race of *Arfaces* of a fit age to be put in his place, on this consideration readily complied herewith; and accordingly, when matters were made up between him and *Augustus*, and hostages were demanded for the securing of the terms of that agreement, he delivered these his four sons into the hands of *Augustus* for this purpose, who carried them to *Rome*, where they remained many year's, and *Thermusa's* son, who was called *Phraatices*, was bred up for the succeeding of him in the kingdom. The *Parthians* ^r were so superstitiously addicted to the race of *Arfaces*, that *Phraates* well knew they would bear him, how great soever their hatred to him was, as long as they had not another of that family of a fit age to be set up to reign in his place; and for this reason it was, that he so readily yielded up his sons into the hands of the *Romans*, that being removed so far out of the way, they might create him no danger, nor give him any jealousy. But at length his destruction came from what he thus projected for his safety; for ^s as soon as *Phraatices* was grown up, *Thermusa* not having patience any longer to wait for the vacancy, that was ready in a short time naturally to happen, unnaturally poisoned her husband to make room for her son the sooner to succeed him. But this met with that disappointment, which so wicked an act deserved; for the people not bearing so wicked a parricide, rose in a tumult against him, and drove him into banishment, wherein he perished; but it was not till some years after that this happen'd.

AND at the same time that *Augustus* made peace with *Parthia*, he settled also the affairs of *Armenia*. It hath been above related, how that *Artabazes* King of *Armenia* being taken prisoner by *Antony*, and carried to *Alexandria*, *Artaxias* his son succeeded him. He having ^t made himself grievous to his subjects by an oppressive and tyrannical reign, they accused him before *Augustus*, and desired to have *Tigranes* his younger brother to reign over them in his stead; hereon *Augustus* sent *Tiberius* the son of *Livia* by her former husband with an army to expel *Artaxias*, and place *Tigranes* on the throne in his stead; but *Artaxias* being slain by his own people before he arrived, and *Tigranes* thereon admitted to succeed without any opposition, *Tiberius* had no opportunity by any military action of gaining honour by this commission, which was the first he was employed in.

^o Lib. 6. p. 288. ^p Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 3. ^q Josephus ibid. *Strabo* lib. 16. p. 748, 749.

^r *Strabo* lib. 16. p. 749. ^s Josephus antiq. lib. 18. cap. 3. ^t *Dion Cassius* lib. 53. p. 526. *Tacitus* annal. lib. 2. cap. 3.

AUGUSTUS toward the end of the summer returning out of *Syria*, was attended by *Herod* to the sea-shoar; where he embarked, and from thence sailed back to *Samos*, and there resided all the ensuing winter in the same manner as he had the former, and in consideration hereof on his departure thence the next spring he gave the *Samians* their liberty, and made them a free city, in reward of the accommodations with which he was there furnished among them.

HEROD on his return to *Jerusalem* finding the people much offended, because of the many breaches he had made upon their law and religion by his frequent compliances with the idolatrous usages of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, was put to difficulties to avoid the ill consequences of it: For although he endeavoured to excuse himself by alledging the necessity he was under of pleasing *Augustus*, and the *Romans* in this matter, this gave no satisfaction, but discontents on this account grew to a great height against him among the generality of the people. And therefore to prevent the ill effects hereof he prohibited all meetings at feasts and clubs, and all other assemblies of many together; and he had spies in all quarters to bring him constant intelligence, how all matters went; and he would often himself go out in disguise, that he might hear and observe, how the people stood affected towards him; and by these means making discovery of all, that had ill designs against him, and thereon severely treating such as were guilty, he made a shift to secure himself and keep all quiet. And for this end at the same time he would have imposed an oath of fidelity on all his subjects; but *Hillel* and *Shammai* with all their followers of the pharisaical sect, and also all the *Essenes* refusing to take it, he was forced to let it drop; only those who had render'd themselves suspected were forced to comply herewith, for the avoiding of the severity with which he could otherwise have treated them.

An 19.
Herod
19.

WHILE *Augustus* lay at *Samos*, there came thither to him a second embassy from the King of *India* to desire the establishment of a league and friendship with him, to which purpose he wrote him a letter in the *Greek* language, telling him therein, that though he reigned over six hundred Kings, yet he had such value for the friendship of *Augustus* by reason of the great fame which he had heard of him, that he sent this embassy on so long a journey of purpose to desire it of him. To which letter he subscribed by the name of *Porus* King of *India*. The six hundred Kings, whom he boasted to reign over, were the *Raja's* or petty Princes, who governed the kingdom under him, several of whose descendants there remain even to this day, who paying tribute and homage to the great *Mogul* govern their subjects at home with sovereign authority. Of the ambassadors that first set out from *India* on this embassy three only reached the presence of *Augustus*, the others that were in commission with them died by the way. Of the three surviving, one was *Zarmarus* a gymnosophist, who following *Augustus* to *Athens* there burnt himself in his presence, in like manner as *Calanus* another of that sect had formerly done in the presence of *Alexander*, it being the usage and manner of that sort of men, when they thought they had lived long enough, to pass out of life by thus

* Dion Cassius lib. 53. p. 527. Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 13.

cap. 13. * Strabo lib. 15. p. 719, 720. Dion Cassius lib. 53. p. 527.

Alexandro. Arrian. lib. 7. Diodor. Sic. lib. 17. Strabo lib. 15. p. 686.

" Josephus antiq. lib. 15.

* Plutarchus in

casting themselves alive upon their funeral piles. Among the presents which they brought were several tygers, and these were the first of this sort of wild beasts, that had been seen either by the *Greeks* or *Romans*. After this ^y *Augustus* returning to *Rome* was there received with great honour, his bringing back the ensigns and prisoners, that had been taken in the *Parthian* wars, being what the *Romans* valued beyond the rate of the greatest victory. And therefore a temple was erected in the capitol in commemoration of it, which was dedicated to *Mars the Revenger*; and there the recovered ensigns were hung up. And *Augustus* valued himself so much upon this matter, that many of his coins still remaining bear the inscription *Signis receptis*; and the poets of his time made it the common ^z argument of their flatteries towards him.

HEROD being now in the full enjoyment of peace and plenty, and having finished his buildings at *Sebaste*, and far advanced those at *Cæsarea*, ^a formed a design of new building the temple at *Jerusalem*, whereby he thought he should not only reconcile to him the affections of the *Jews*, but also erect a monument of lasting honour to his own name. The temple built after the return of the *Jews* from the *Babylonish* captivity fell much short of that of *Solomon's* in the height, the magnificence, and other particulars, and five hundred years being elapsed since its erection, several decays had happen'd to it both by the length of time, and also by the violence of enemies. For the temple by reason of its situation being the strongest part of *Jerusalem*, whenever the inhabitants were pressed by war, they always made their last refuge thither, and whenever they did so some of its buildings suffered by it. For the amending and repairing of all those defects and decays *Herod* designed to build the whole temple anew, and in a general assembly of the people offered to them what he intended. But when he found them startled at the proposal, and under apprehensions, lest that when he had pulled down the old temple, he should not be able to build them a new one; to deliver them from this fear he told them, that he would not take down the old temple, till he had gotten all the materials ready for the immediate erecting of a new one in its place; and accordingly he did forthwith set himself to make all manner of preparations for it, employing therein a thousand waggons for the carrying of the stones and timber, ten thousand artificers to fit all things for the building, and a thousand priests skilful in all parts of architecture to supervise and direct them in the work. And by these means in two years time he had got all things ready for the building; and then, and not before, did he pull down the old temple to the very foundations, to make room for the erecting of a new one in its place. *Josephus* tells us *Herod* made this proposal in the eighteenth year of his reign, that is from the death of *Antigonus*, which happen'd not till about the midsummer after he was taken prisoner, and therefore according to this reckoning the nineteenth year of *Herod* not beginning till about the midsummer of the 19th year before *Christ*, the six first months of that year did belong to the 18th year of *Herod*; and the passover, at which was the greatest assembly of the *Jews*, falling within the compass of those six months, then it's most probable this proposal was made.

^y Dion Cassius lib. 53. p. 526, 527, 528.
lib. 4. odâ 15.

^z Ovidius in quinto libro fastorum. Horatius
^a Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 14.

An. 18.
Herod
20.

ÆLIUS Gallus succeeding *Petronius* in the prefecture of *Egypt* made a progress into the upper parts of that countrey as far as *Syene* and the borders of *Æthiopia*, in which *Strabo* the geographer accompanied him, and ^b at *Thebes* he tells us he saw the statue of *Memnon*, which according to the ^c poets saluted the morning sun every day at its first rising with an harmonious sound; and he saith, that he heard that sound on his being on the place one morning; but professeth not to know the cause from whence it proceeded, but suspected it to come from some of the by-standers. He ^d was born at *Amasia* in *Pontus*, and published his geography in the fourth year of the reign of *Tiberius*, being then a very old man. It is a most excellent work, the ancients have scarce left us any thing more valuable: For it is written with great judgment and care, he having travelled almost over all the places which he describes, and his descriptions are so exact, that most of the places may be known by them even to this day. He also wrote an history, which *Josephus* quotes, and hath some passages out of it, but excepting some few such fragments dispersed in other authors, that work is now entirely lost.

An. 17.
Herod
21.

HEROD having after two years preparation made ready all materials for the new building of the temple pulled down the old edifice, and began the erecting of his new one just forty six years before the first passover of *Christ's* personal ministry, at which time the *Jews* told him (*John* ii. 20.) *Forty and six years* ^e *hath this temple been in building*. For although then forty six years had passed from the time this building was begun, and in nine years and an half it was made fit for the divine service, yet a great number of labourers and artificers were there still continued at work for the carrying on of the out-buildings all the time of our Saviour's being here on earth, and for some years after, till the coming of *Gessius Florus* to be governor of *Judæa*; ^f when eighteen thousand of them being discharged at one time, after that for want of work they began those mutinies and seditions, which at last drew on the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and the temple with it.

THIS year *Julia* the daughter of *Augustus* ^g brought *Agrippa* a second son, called *Lucius*; the eldest called *Caius* ^h was born three years before. They being the grandsons of *Augustus*, as soon as *Lucius* was born ⁱ he adopted them both for his sons, and declared them the heirs of his empire: For this he thought would best conduce to the settling of his affairs, and the quashing of all such treacherous designs, as otherwise, for the usurping of his power, might be contrived or imagined against his person.

An. 16.
Herod
22.

HEROD ^j sailed into *Italy* there to pay his respects to *Augustus*, and to see his sons *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, whom he had sent to *Rome* to be educated. In his way thither ^k he stopp'd in *Greece*, and was present at the 191st olympiad, and presided therein; where finding those shews were much sunk in their credit and esteem, by reason that the poverty of the *Eliaus* disabled them from setting them forth in their usual pomp and splendor, he settled a constant revenue on them for the restoring of them to

^b Strabo lib. 17. p. 816. ^c Vide Juvenalem Satyrâ 15. *Dionysium* in *Perieg.* v. 249. aliosque. ^d Vide Vossium de historicis Græcis lib. 2. cap. 6. ^e Thus the text ought to be rendered. ^f Josephus antiq. lib. 20. cap. 8. ^g Dion Cassius lib. 54. p. 333. ^h Dion Cassius lib. 54. p. 526. ⁱ Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 1. ^k Josephus de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 16. & antiq. lib. 16. cap. 9.

their former solemnity and honour: In acknowledgment whereof they granted him the honour of a president in those games as long as he should live. On his arrival at *Rome*¹ he was there received with great honour and kindness by *Augustus*; from whom having received his sons now fully disciplin'd and instructed in all the *Roman* exercises and literature, he returned with them into *Judæa*, and a little after^m provided them with suitable matches, marrying *Alexander* the eldest of them to *Glaphyra* the daughter of *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, and the other to *Berenice* the daughter of *Salome* his sister. By the comeliness of their persons, the agreeableness of their behaviour, and other laudable qualifications which they were accomplished with, ⁿ they drew to them the love and esteem of all the *Jews*; but *Salome*, and such others as had been her accomplices in procuring the death of *Mariamne* their mother, fearing their revenge, did all that in them lay by evil artifices to work their destruction also, and at last accomplished it, as will be in its due place related.

IN the interim the work of the temple went on, and ^o after an year and half that part which was most properly the temple (that is that which contained the holy place, the *holy of holies*, and the porch through which was the passage leading to both) was wholly finished, and after eight years more all the rest was built which *Herod* proposed.

AUGUSTUS having sent *Agrippa* again into the east, as soon as *He-*^{An. 15.}
rod heard of his arrival in the province of *Proper Asia*, ^p he went thither^{Herod}
to him, and having prevailed with him to accept of an invitation which he^{23.}
earnestly made him to come into *Judæa*, on his arrival there he entertained him and all his attendants with all manner of honour, magnificence, and sumptuous fare; and having shewn him all his new built cities and castles, as *Sebaste*, *Cæsarea*, *Alexandrium*, *Herodium*, and *Hyrkania*, he led him in the last place to *Jerusalem*; on his approach to it he was at some distance met by all the people in their festival apparel, and conducted into the city by a solemn procession and loud acclamations. After some stay there he offered an hecatomb at the temple, and feasted all the people, and then hastening to the port where his fleet lay, he sailed back again into *Ionian* before the winter came on.

ASANDER King of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus* being dead, ^q left his^{An. 14.}
kingdom to *Dynamis* his wife, in whose right he had held it, she being the^{Herod}
daughter of *Pharnaces* the son of *Mithridates*. One *Scribonius* pretend-^{24.}
ing to be a grandson of *Mithridates*, and to have a grant from *Augustus* to succeed *Asander*, took *Dynamis* to wife, and seized the countrey: Whereon *Agrippa* sent *Polemon* (whom the *Romans* had made King of *Pontus* and the *Lesser Armenia*) to make war upon him; but before his arrival the *Bosphorans* having discovered *Scribonius* to be a cheat in all his pretensions, had put him to death. However they would not submit to *Polemon*, but tho' they had been vanquished in battel by him on his first coming into the countrey, yet still stood out against him; which brought *Agrippa* upon them with all his army, and a dangerous war ensued. *Herod* hearing of this ^r hasten'd to the assistance of *Agrippa* with a fleet and army, thereby farther to ingratiate himself with him, which he fully effected by this oppor-

¹ Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 1.
lib. 16. cap. 1.

^m Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 2.

ⁿ Josephus antiq.

^o Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 14.

^p Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 2.

^q Dion Cassius lib. 54. p. 538.

^r Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 3.

tunity: For coming up with him at *Sinope* in *Pontus*, when he was in some distress for want of such a supply as *Herod* brought him, nothing could be more acceptable to him than his arrival thither with it at that time. With this assistance *Agrippa*^s soon reduced the *Bosphorans* to a thorough submission: Whereon *Dynamis* being given to *Polemon* to wife, he had with her the kingdom of *Bosphorus* conferred on him, and by the favour of *Augustus*, who confirmed the grant, held it with that of *Pontus* and the *Lesser Armenia*, which he had before. He had been a long time a faithful ally to the *Romans*, and had these kingdoms given him for the reward of the many important services he had done them. He had not the whole kingdom of *Pontus*, but only that part of it which lay next *Cappadocia*. This from him was afterwards for distinction sake called *Pontus Polemoniacus*, in which kingdom^u his son of the same name afterward succeeded him by the favour of *Caligula*. After matters were thus settled in *Bosphorus*^w *Agrippa* returned through *Paphlagonia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Phrygia* unto *Ephesus* in *Ionian*. *Herod* accompanying him all the way thither, procured many favours of him in behalf of several of the people of those parts who prayed his mediation: And on his coming into *Ionian*^x he had there an especial occasion to solicit him for his favour in behalf of the *Jews* that had been settled in those parts. It hath been above related how *Antiochus the Great* had planted two thousand families of the *Babylonish Jews* in *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and other provinces there adjoining: These being increased to a great number, and spread over all *Lesser Asia* and the isles, they were maligned and oppressed by the other inhabitants, among whom they dwelt; so that they would not permit them to live according to their law and religion, or suffer them to enjoy the immunities and privileges which had in that behalf been formerly granted to them, first by the Kings of *Syria*, and afterwards by the *Romans*. *Herod* on their application to him undertook their cause, and solicited it so effectually with *Agrippa*, that he obtained for them all that they desired; all their grievances being redressed, and all their immunities and privileges restored and confirmed to them in as ample manner as they had at any time before been in possession of them. After this *Agrippa* passed over to *Samos*, and *Herod*^y returned again into *Judaea*. On his arrival at *Jerusalem* having assembled the people together, he related to them the successes of his journey, and what he had done and obtained for the *Jews* of *Lesser Asia*; and then the more to ingratiate himself with them he remitted to them one fourth part of their taxes, which was accepted with great rejoicing and thankfulness by them.

LEPIDUS being dead, who had born the office of *Pontifex Maximus* or High-priest of *Rome*, *Augustus*^z took that office to himself, as did all his successors in the empire after him, as well Christians as heathens, till the time of *Gratian*, who succeeded his father *Valentinian* in the year after *Christ* 375. He being a zealous Christian, thought it inconsistent with his religion to bear as much as the title of High-priest in heathen rites, and for this reason first refused it, and all the rest that afterwards succeeded him in the *Roman* empire following his example did the same.

^s Dion Cassius lib. 54, p. 538.^t Justinianus in novella 28.^u Dion Cassius lib. 59.^w Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 3.^x Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 4.^y Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 5.^z Suetonius in Octavio cap. 31. Dion Cassius lib. 54.

p. 540.

^a Zosimus lib. 4.

As soon as *Augustus* had enter'd on this office, ^b he set himself on the reforming of many things in the matters which were thereby put under his care. And he first began with examining into the prophetic books which then went abroad: For a great number of these being at this time every where spread among the people, created great disturbances, and raised many vain hopes and fears in the minds of men, according as they were interpreted for or against what was then uppermost in the government. All these *Augustus* called in, and caused most of them, to the number of two thousand volumes, to be burnt as spurious, reserving only those which bore the name of some of the *Sibyls* for their authors: And these also he subjected to a strict examination, and retained of them none other than such as were on this trial judged genuine, the rest he committed to the same flames as the former. Those that were judged genuine he put into two golden cabinets, and laid them up in the temple of *Apollo*, which he had built in the palace, placing them there under the pedestal on which the image of that heathen deity was there erected. These *Sibylline* oracles having been of great repute in the old heathen world, and also often appealed to by the ancient writers of the christian Church, it is proper that here I give some account of them, and also of those by whom they are said to have been delivered.

THE *Sibyls* were ^d women of ancient times said to have been endued with a prophetic spirit, and to have deliver'd oracles foretelling the fates and destinies of kingdoms and states. We have in the writings of the ancients mention made ^e of ten of them, the eldest of which being named *Sibylla* ^f, all others of the same sex, who afterwards pretended to have the like fatidical spirit and power, were from her call'd *Sibyls*; the eminentest of which were the ten I have mention'd; and of these the most noted was she whom the *Romans* call'd *Sibylla Cumæa*, and others *Erythræa*, for she was ^g one and the same *Sibyl* who had both these names. She was born at *Erythræ* in *Ionian*, and therefore was by the *Greeks* called *Erythræa*; but having removed from *Erythræ* to *Cumæ* in *Italy*, and there delivered all her oracles, she was from thence by the *Romans* and *Italians* called *Cumæa*. The place at *Cumæ* where she lived, and from whence she is said to have given out her oracles, was a cave or subterraneous vault digg'd out of the main rock. ^h *Justin Martyr*, who had been upon the place, speaking of it, and the *Sibyl* which there prophesy'd, tells us ⁱ as followeth. " This
" *Sibyl* they say being a *Babylonian* by descent, and the daughter of *Bero-*
" *sus* who wrote the *Chaldaic* history, came I know not how into *Campa-*
" *nia*, and there delivered her oracles in a city called *Cumæ*, situated at the
" distance of six miles from *Baia*. I having been upon the place, did there
" see a large chapel or oratory which was all hewn out of the main rock,
" a work great and wonderful: In which chapel, as the inhabitants made
" report unto me according as they had it by ancient traditions from their
" fore-fathers, the *Sibyl* gave forth her oracles. In the middle of the cha-
" pel they shewed me three hollow places hewn out of the same rock,

^b Suetonius in Octavio cap. 31.

^c Servius in Virgilii Æneid. lib. 6. v. 69.

^d Videas de eis Opsopæum, Salmasium in exercitationibus ad Solinum p. 75, 76, &c. Blondellum de Sibyllis, Montacutium, aliosque.

^e Lactantius de falsa religione lib. 1. cap. 6.

^f Salmasius ibid. p. 80.

^g Aristoteles de admirandis. Servius in Virgilii Æneid. lib. 6. v. 321.

^h He wrote his first apology for the christian religion an. Dom. 140.

ⁱ In cohortatione ad Græcos.

“ in which being fill’d with water they told me she used to wash her self,
 “ and that then after having put on her garment, she retired into the inner-
 “ most cell of that chapel, which was also hewen out of the same rock;
 “ and there having settled her self upon an high advanced seat in the mid-
 “ dle of that cell, from thence utter’d and gave forth her oracles.” Thus
 far *Justin Martyr* of this vault. *Onuphrius* writes^k that it continued to be
 seen many hundred years after, until the year of our Lord 1539, in which
 all *Campania* having been terribly shaken with an earthquake, at *Puteoli*
 huge mountains of sand, gravel, and slime were then cast up from the bot-
 tom of the sea, which totally overwhelmed, and utterly ruin’d this chapel
 of the *Cumæan Sibyl*. The same *Onuphrius* tells us, that about nine years
 after, that is, in the year of the Lord 1548, having been upon the place,
 and made diligent inquiry of the inhabitants, he found, that till that earth-
 quake every thing in that vault was exactly as *Justin* had described it,
 but that then it was utterly destroyed. But travellers^l are there still shewn
 a vault, which they call the *Grotto* of the *Sibyl* even to this day.

OF the time when this *Sibyl* lived, there are various opinions. *Justin Martyr* in saying^m that she was by descent a *Babylonian* and the daughter
 of *Berosus* the historian, puts her below the time of *Alexander*. No doubt
 he mistook her for *Athenais* the second *Sibyl*,ⁿ which was called the *Ery-
 thræan*, who lived about that time; but she never came to *Cumæ* in *Italy*.
Virgil^o makes her to have lived at *Cumæ* in the time of the *Trojan* war,
 and to have been contemporary with *Æneas*: And others place her in the
 time of *Tarquin* the last King of *Rome*. These last found their opinion
 upon the supposal that it was she her self that brought the books of her
 prophecies to that King, but this is no where said. The story which they
 tell us of this matter is as followeth.

WHILE *Tarquin* the second of that name reigned at *Rome*,^p there came
 a certain woman unto him of a foreign countrey, with nine books contain-
 ing the oracles of the *Sibyls*, which she offered to sell to him, demanding
 for them three hundred pieces of gold. But *Tarquin* refusing to give that
 price for them, she burnt three of the nine, and then offered him the re-
 maining six at the same price; at which demand she being thought to be out
 of her wits, was rejected with scorn and laughter; whereon she burnt three
 others of them, and then offering him the remaining three, persisted still
 to demand the same price for these, as she first had for all the nine. At
 which strange procedure *Tarquin* being moved, and thinking that there
 might be something in it more than ordinary, sent for the *Augurs* to con-
 sult with them about it; who on their examining into the matter told him,
 that they found by certain signs, that what he had despised was a divine
 gift; that it was a great loss and damage that he had not bought all the
 nine books that were first offered him, and therefore pressed him to give
 the woman for the remaining three the price which she asked: Whereon
 the money being paid, and the books delivered to *Tarquin*, the woman
 gave him strict charge to keep them safely, as containing oracles relating
 to the future state of *Rome*; and after that she disappeared and was no

^k In libro de Sibyllis & carminibus Sibyllinis.

^m Justin. Martyr in cohortatione ad Græcos.

^o Æneid. lib. 6.

^p Dionysius Halicarnas. lib. 4.

^l See Sandys, Lassel, and others.

ⁿ Strabo lib. 13. p. 645.

Aulus Gellius lib. 1. cap. 19. Lactan-
 tius de falsa religione lib. 1. cap. 6. Servius in Virgilium ad lib. 6. v. 72.

more seen. Hereon *Tarquin* putting these books into a stone coffer, laid them up in a vault under ground in the temple of *Jupiter* in the capitol, and appointed two of the principal of the nobility to have the keeping of them, with strict charge not to divulge them or suffer any other besides themselves to have the perusal of them, or on any occasion whatsoever as much as in the least to look into them; which was so strictly required, ^a that *Marcus Attilius*, one of the first to whose custody these books were committed, having given liberty to *Petronius Sabinus* to take a copy of these books, he was for this breach of his trust fown up in a sack and cast into the river; which was a punishment among the *Romans* that never else used to be inflicted save only on parricides. After the dissolution of the regal power the commonwealth continued the same regard to these books, and craftily made them a main engine of state in the ensuing government, for the quieting of the people in all disturbances that after happen'd among them. For whenever any great misfortune beset them, any prodigies appeared to fright them, or any other accident or occasion made a ruffle or disorder among the people, these books were ordered to be consulted, and the keepers of them always brought forth such an answer as served the purpose, and in many difficulties the governors of that state helped themselves this way: And therefore there was nothing among the *Romans* which they kept with a more strict and sacred care than these books, that thereby the use of them might be made the better to answer the end designed. For they always chose the keepers of them out of the chief of the nobility, assigned them this office for term of life, and exempted them from all the burthens of the state both military and civil, as men wholly consecrated to this one thing only. These ^c at first were only two, afterwards they were augmented to ten, and after that again to fifteen. None were allowed to look into these books save these only, and not they neither, but when on any exigency of the state they were ordered so to do by a decree of the senate. These books ^d were thus carefully kept till the civil wars of *Sylla* and *Marius*; when the capitol being accidentally set on fire and burnt down to the ground, these books were burnt with it. This happen'd while ^e *Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus* and *Caius Norbanus Flaccus* were consuls at *Rome* in the year before *Christ* eighty three. But seven years after the capitol being again rebuilt ^f *Caius Scribonius Curio* being then consul, made a motion in the senate about the restoring the *Sibylline* oracles. The use of them for the purposes above-mentioned having been found very beneficial to the commonwealth in cases of publick difficulties, it was resolved by no means to be without them were it possible they could be any way again retriev'd. And therefore the senate having taken this matter into their consideration, and understanding that there were none of these oracles then preserved at *Cumæ*, where that *Sibyl* prophesied, whose books were burnt; but that there were some

^a Dionysius Halicarnas. lib. 4. Valerius Maximus lib. 1. cap. 1. § 13.

^c ^d When they were only two they were called Duumviri, when ten they were called Decemviri, and when fifteen Quindecimviri. They were first made ten in the year of Rome 388, (which was the year before *Christ* 366) and fifteen on the restoration of the capitol after it had been burnt, and the laying up of a new collection of *Sibylline* oracles in it anno 76. ^e Dionysius Hal. ibid.

Plutarchus in *Sylla*. Appianus de bellis civilibus lib. 1. ^f Tacitus hist. lib. 3. cap. 72.

Appian. ibid. Julius Obsequens de prodigiis. ^g Lactantius de falsa religione lib. 1. cap. 6. & de ira Dei cap. 22. & de falsa sapientia cap. 17.

of them at *Erythræ* in *Ionia*, where she was born, "they sent thither *P. Gabinus*, *M. Otacilius*, and *Lucius Valerius*, three ambassadors from their body to take copies of them, and bring them to *Rome*; who having there gather'd together from the papers of several private persons about a thousand verses in the *Greek* language pretended to be the prophecies and oracles of this and other *Sibyls*, came back with them to *Rome*; and at the same time " enquiry being also made at *Samos*, *Ilium*, and other cities in *Greece*, *Sicily*, *Africa*, and *Italy* for the like oracles and prophecies of the *Sibyls*, great numbers that pretended to be such were gotten together, and laid up in the capitol to supply the place of those that were burnt. But there was this great difference between the *Sibylline* books that were burnt with the capitol, and those that were afterwards put in their place, that whereas the former having never been in any other hands than those to whose custody they had been committed, were vulgarly known to none, it was otherwise as to the latter. For they having been in the hands of the vulgar in all places, where they were collected, before they were brought to *Rome*, were still after that collection vulgarly known as before, and much more so, because the reputation which the *Romans* gave them by making this collection of them, made them the more to be enquired after, and the more to be dispersed; whereby it came to pass, that of all this collection laid up in the capitol there was scarce any one prophecy or oracle, of which there were not copies in private hands; and from them *Virgil* had that *Sibylline* prophecy of the coming of *Christ*, and the restoring of justice, righteousness, and blessedness to the world by him, which he hath set forth in his fourth eclogue; and from them came also the many other prophecies, which at this time went abroad of the same import. But the use which the *Romans* proposed to make of these oracles being much defeated by their being thus vulgarly known, a law was made, " that all that had any copies of them should bring them in to the pretor of the city, and all were prohibited under pain of death to retain any of them. But notwithstanding many that had transcripts of these oracles still privately keeping them in their hands, and their number increasing by new forgeries made of them, *Augustus* on his taking on him the high-priesthood of *Rome* *revived the law; whereon so many copies of these pretended prophecies being brought in, as amounted to a great multitude of volumes, he ordered them all strictly to be examined, and having burnt and destroyed all that were disapproved, to the number above-mentioned, repositied the rest for the use of the state. These afterwards *Tiberius* caused to be examined over again, and burnt many more of them, preserving only such as were of moment, and found worthy of approbation for that service of the state for which they were originally intended. And to these as long as *Rome* remained heathen great recourse was made; for about this time on the coming of *Christ our Saviour*, the great oracle of all truth, ² all other oracles ceasing, the *Sibylline* prophecies, and the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, the *Sortes Prænestinæ*, with some other like foolish inventions for divinations, were the only oracles they had to con-

^u Lactantius ibid. Tacitus in annalibus lib. 6. cap. 12. Dionysius Halicarnas. lib. 4.

^w Tacitus in annalibus lib. 6. cap. 12. Justinus Martyr in secunda apologia pro Christianis.

^x Tacitus ibid. Suetonius in Octavio cap. 31. ^y Dion Cassius lib. 57. p. 615. Tacitus ibidem. ^z Plutarchus de oraculorum defectu.

sult. And in this use these *Sibylline* prophecies continued till the year of our Lord 399, when they were utterly destroyed. For not long before that time ^aa prophecy being given out by the heathen *Romans*, pretended to be taken from the *Sibylline* writings, which imported that *Peter* having by magic founded the christian religion to last for the term of 365 years only, it was at the end of this term wholly to vanish and be no more professed in the world, and this term expiring in the year of our Lord 398, (for that was just 365 years after *Christ's* ascension into heaven, and the first establishing of the christian religion thereupon) *Honorius* the *Roman* Emperor taking the advantage hereof to convict these writings of manifest forgery and imposture ^bordered them all to be destroyed, and accordingly the next year after (that is in the year of our Lord 399) *Stilico* by virtue of a decree from him, burnt all those prophetick writings, and pulled down and utterly demolished the temple of *Apollo*, in which they were reposit. And ^cthe same year became fatal to many other heathen temples in *Africa* and elsewhere through the *Roman* empire.

There is still preserved in eight books of *Greek* verse, a collection of oracles pretended to be the *Sibylline*. This collection must have been made between the year of our Lord 138, and the year 167. It could not be earlier, for therein ^dmention is made of the next successor of *Adrian*, that is *Antoninus Pius*, who did not succeed him till the year 138. And it could not be later, because *Justin Martyr* in his writings several times quotes it, and appeals to it, who did not outlive the year 167, being then put to death under the fourth persecution. But whether this was a true collection of the oracles called *Sibylline* or a fictitious composition made out of a pious fraud by some Christian of the time, when it was first published, is a question among learned men. ^e*Baronius*, ^fBishop *Mountague* of *Norwich*, and others, would have it to be genuine, that is, to contain a true collection of what was received among the heathens for the oracles of the *Sibylls* before *Christ* was born, but ^gmost look on it as the spurious production of some zealous Christian, who compiled it for the promoting of the interest of the religion he professed. For any one, say they, that shall with an unbiassed judgment peruse the book, will find therein such an abstract of the history and doctrines of the Old and New Testament, as must necessarily make him conclude none but a Christian could write it, and in one place the compiler of it plainly ^hacknowledgeth himself to be so. Besides the whole mystery of our salvation, the method whereby it was to be accomplished, what belongs to the person of the *Messiah*, and his spiritual kingdom, his birth, crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension, are all more explicitly, clearly and fully spoken of in these pretended prophecies, than they are in any of the true and undoubted prophecies of the Old Testament; which is sufficient proof, that they were written after they were accomplished; it being by no means to be believed that God would reveal himself by heathen prophets to the heathen nations more clearly, fully and explicitly, than he had by his own

^a Augustinus de civitate Dei lib. 18. cap. 53, & 54.

^b Rutilii itinerarium lib. 2.

^c Augustinus de civitate Dei lib. 18. cap. 54.

^d Libro quinto.

^e In apparatu ad annales.

^f Acts and monuments of the Church before Christ.

^g See Casaubon, Blondel, and others.

^h Lib. 8. Where is this verse,

Nos igitur Christi sancta de stirpe creati.

true prophets to his own people. Besides the compiler of these prophetick books ⁱspeaks of *Christ's* reigning here upon earth, according to the notion of the *Millenarians*, which plainly proves them to have been written after the origin of that heresy, which could not have being till after *Christ's* time; neither had it till the second century, when it was first introduced by *Papias* Bishop of *Hierapolis* in *Phrygia*. Herein also is given a ^k succession of all the *Roman* Emperors from *Julius Caesar* to *Antoninus Pius*, and the time of his adopting *M. Antoninus*, and *L. Verus*, in such manner as manifestly shews it to have been written rather as an history of things past than as a prophecy foretelling what was to come. And in the same book the pretended prophetess tells us, that ^lshe was wife to one of the three sons of *Noah*, and was with him in the *Ark* during the whole time of the deluge, and many other like particulars are contained therein, which favour all of fiction and imposture. All this put together, seems evidently to prove, that a great part of this book, instead of containing a true collection of the oracles received for *Sibylline* among the heathen before *Christ's* time, is nothing more than the invention and imposture of the compiler.

BUT on the other side it is urged for the truth and genuineness of this book, that it was appealed to by *Justin Martyr*, and many others of the ancient writers of the christian Church, as *Athenagoras*, *Theophilus Antiochenus*, *Tertullian*, the author of the apostolical constitutions, *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *Jerom*, *Austin*, &c. That ^m*Clemens Alexandrinus*, who lived in the second century, tells us, that *Paul* himself in his preaching to the *Gentiles* frequently referred to these oracles of the *Sibyls*; that these contained in this collection are the same that were received for such in the time of *Cicero*, which they say appears by his mentioning the *Acrostichis* which is now found in them; that *Josephus* in the first book of his antiquities chap v. quotes the *Sibylline* oracle for the building of the tower of *Babel*, and the confusion of languages which followed thereupon, and that very quotation is found in the present book.

TO this it is replied, that *Justin Martyr* was a person of great credulity, who believed and laid hold of every thing that he thought might make for the christian religion, whereof instances have been ⁿabove already given; and he having appealed to this book of *Sibylline* oracles, all the rest of the ancients that did so were led to it by his example; that as to what *Clemens* saith of St. *Paul's* quoting the *Sibyl*, he could have this only by tradition; for there is nothing of it in the scriptures: That for many years before the birth of *Christ* many prophecies went abroad under the name of *Sibylls* foretelling his coming; and that it's possible St. *Paul* might quote some of these in his preachings to his heathens, is readily acknowledged: But this doth not prove these eight books which we now treat of to be a true and genuine collection of them. As to the *Acrosticks*, *Cicero* ^oindeed says, the *Sibylline* oracles were written in such sort of verses; and that there are a certain number of *Acrosticks* ^pin this collection, is acknowledged; but these are of a different sort from the *Acrosticks* mentioned by *Cicero*: For according to him the *Acrosticks* of the *Sibylline* oracles were so written, that the letters of the first verse of every section

ⁱ Lib. 2. & lib. 3.^q Part II. Book I.^k Libro quinto.^o De divinatione lib. 2. cap. 54.^l Libro tertio in fine.^p Lib. 8.^m Strom. lib. 6.

begun all the following verses in the same order, as they lay in that first verse. As for example, supposing the first verse to be that which begins *Virgil's* fourth eclogue,

Sicelides musæ paulo majora canamus,

to make the Acrosticks, which *Cicero* mentions, the letter (i) which is the second letter must begin the second verse, (c) which is the third letter the third verse, (e) the fourth verse, (l) the fifth verse, and so on to the end; and when all the letters of the first verse were thus exhausted, so as that the whole first verse might be read downward in the initial letters of the following verses, as well as forward in the first, there ended the section. And then another verse begun another section; and by the letters of it another *Acrostichis* was made in the same manner as the former, and so on through the whole volume. But the Acrosticks, which are in the present collection, and are alluded to by ^a*Tertullian*, and quoted by ^rthe Emperor *Constantine* and ^s*St. Austin*, are of another sort. For in them the letters of the first verse do not become the initial letters of the following verses in manner as above-mentioned, but the letters of these *Greek* words, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεῶν Υἱὸς Σωτὴρ Σταυρὸς, are the initial letters in these Acrosticks. And the *English* of these *Greek* words being *Jesus Christ the Son of God, the Saviour, the Cross*, and the substance of the acrostichal verses, whose initial letters make these words, being a summary of the principal parts of the history and doctrines of the gospel, it is scarce to be imagined that any one in his wits should think these to have been the Acrosticks, which *Cicero* mentions, or to have been at all existing in *Cicero's* time. It is most likely the compiler of this collection finding in *Varro*, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Cicero*, and other writers then extant, mention made of Acrosticks in the *Sibylline* oracles, invented these of purpose to cloak the imposture, which he was guilty of in the greater part of the book, and so make the cheat the better go down by this imitation; but he not hitting it exactly, the fraud instead of being covered is detected thereby. As to the quotation of *Josephus* concerning the tower of *Babel*, and the confusion of languages at the building of it, it is acknowledged, that certain verses went about in *Josephus's* time under the name of the *Sibyls*, out of which *Josephus* quoted the passage mention'd, and that this very passage, tho' not in the same words, is yet in substance in the third book of the collection of the *Sibylline* oracles, which we now treat of. But this doth not prove all that collection to be genuine, and not, in a great part of it, the spurious production of some impostor. But not to detain the reader with a long examination of all that hath been said by learned men on this subject, I shall lay down what appears to me to be the whole truth of the matter in these following positions.

I. THE oracles of the *Sibyls* have from ancient times been in great reputation both among the *Greeks* and *Latins*. For ^r*Plato* and ^u*Aristotle*, as well as *Varro*, *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, and *Livy* make mention of them with great regard. But who, or how many those *Sibyls* were, or when or where they lived, various authors as to these particulars write

^a De Baptismo. For there by the *Greek* word Ἰησοῦς made out of the initial letters of these words Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεῶν υἱὸς σωτὴρ, which make the Acrosticks in the eighth book of the *Sibylline* oracles, he plainly refers to those Acrosticks. ^r In oratione ad cœtum sanctorum apud Eusebium.

^s De civitate Dei lib. 18. cap. 23.

^r In Phædro.

^u De admirandis.

variously of them, and most that they say concerning them is manifestly fable and fiction.

II. How much soever they might pretend to the gift of prophecy, they could not have it by divine inspiration; for most of the oracles, that were produced from them, when consulted by the *Romans*, directed to such idolatrous ^w and abominable rites, as cannot without the greatest impiety be said to come from God.

III. If therefore they ever had the power of foretelling things to come, they must have received it from diabolical spirits inspiring them therewith. For these had their oracles in many places among the heathen nations in the times preceding the birth of *Christ*, and most of them were delivered by women; so it was at *Delphos*, and so it was at *Dodona*, and so in other places where temples were erected to the heathen deities. But the world having been always too fond of prophecies and predictions, this often gives advantage for the imposing of false pretences under those names. We see enough of this in the credit that *Nostradamus's* centuries, *Nixon's* prophecies, and other such delusions have in our times gotten among many, but it was much more so in the heathen world. It hath been above-mentioned, how *Augustus* burnt two thousand volumes of these pretended oracles, and how *Tiberius* afterwards destroyed many more of them; but notwithstanding this, like *Hydra's* heads, they grew and multiplied by being cut off, and down as low as the time of *Zosimus*, who lived in the fifth century, there were many collections of these oracles among the heathens even then, when heathenism was almost worn out. For ^s he tells us he had perused *πολλὰς χρησμῶν συναγωγὰς*, *i. e.* many collections of oracles. And there is now scarce a nunnery beyond sea, in which one or other of the sisters doth not pretend to be inspired, and deliver oracles and prophecies determining the fates of kingdoms and states. Sometimes an enthusiastick spirit, sometimes hysterical fits, but mostly pride and vanity lead them to these pretences, and most likely the *Sibyls* had no better foundation for all these oracles of their's, that have obtained so great a reputation in the world.

IV. THE story of the three books of the *Sibyls* sold to *Tarquin*, was all a cheat and a fraud devised for the convenience of the state. Some tell it of ^y *Tarquinius Superbus*, and some of ^z *Tarquinius Priscus*; but most likely what is said of it was done in the time of *Numa*, it being of a piece with all the rest that he did for the establishing of the *Roman* state. For he built it all upon superstition and imposture, ^a pretending the direction of the goddess *Egeria* for all his institutions, thereby the better to make them go down with the people. And no doubt by a like device it was, that an unknown old woman brought from some foreign place, was suborned to act the part mentioned in the story, and to burn six of the books thereby to give the greater value to the other three. And this artifice

^w For out of those books they sometimes were commanded to sacrifice a Grecian man, and a Grecian woman, and a Gallic man, and a Gallic woman, by burying them alive in the Boarian Forum, or bullock market, and for the most part as often as they were consulted, other sacrifices were made according to the answers from them, which were altogether as impious. ^x Historiarum lib. 2.

^y Dionysius Halicarnassensis lib. 4. A. Gellius lib. 1. cap. 19. Plin. lib. 13. cap. 13. Solinus cap. 2. ^z Lactantius de falsâ religione cap. 6. Isidor. Orig. lib. 8. cap. 8.

^a Plutarchus in Numa.

fully answered the end intended; for the consulting of those books, and the pretended answers from them, served very often for the quelling and composing of many disorders and disturbances among the people, when nothing else could. The manner in which these oracles were said to be given forth, ^b was by ecstacy and enthusiastick rage, under which the inspired gave forth their oracles without understanding, or as much as knowing what they said. From hence *Cicero* ^c argues against them, because of the Acrosticks, in which they were written; for he rightly saith, that their being composed in such a sort of verses demonstrates them to be the product of art and contrivance, and not possibly to come from such, as were in ecstacy, and besides themselves.

V. NONE being ^d allowed to inspect, or in the least peruse the oracles of the *Sibyls* in the capitol, that is, either those that were there laid up before the burning of that edifice in the time of *Sylla*, or those that were there laid up after it, excepting the sacred college only, to whose keeping they were committed; the members of this college were thereby enabled, whenever the consulting of these oracles was decreed, to bring forth such an answer as would best serve the purpose for which that decree was made. And this they always did, whether they found it in these oracles or not, and herein lay the whole mystery of this matter, and we have several instances wherein it was thus practised. For when the great men of *Rome* had gotten from *Ptolemy Auletes* King of *Egypt* all the money he could give for the procuring of his restoration, when expell'd his kingdom, and they found it inconvenient for the state to do what they had promised, they ^e procured an oracle to be brought forth from the *Sibylline* books to forbid the thing. And when *Cæsar* had a mind to be declared King before he should begin his intended expedition against the *Parthians*, ^f he dealt with the keepers of those books to give out an oracle as from them, that the *Parthians* could not be overcome but by a King; upon which occasion ^g *Cicero* thus writes, “ Let us deal with the keepers of those books to bring forth any thing out of them, rather than a King, which neither the gods nor men will henceforth bear at *Rome*.” Which words plainly argue, that those books were made use of as an engine of state, out of which the keepers of them brought forth under the name of oracles such answers, as they themselves contrived, according as they thought they would best serve the end intended.

VI. AFTER the first books of the *Sibylline* oracles, that had been laid up in the capitol at *Rome*, were burnt with it, and thereon search was made for the restoring of them from other places, as is above-mentioned, abundance of prophecies under the name of the *Sibyls*, were ^h every where produced; and by reason of the reputation given them by that search their number grew and multiplied, every one bringing forth whatsoever prophetick writings he had by him, and publishing them for the most part under the name of some *Sibyl* or other, the better to recommend them to acceptance, and

^b Cicero de divinatione lib. 2. cap. 54. Virgilius Æneid. lib. 6. Servius in eundem.

^c De divinatione lib. 2. cap. 54. ^d Dionys. Halicarnas. lib. 4. Valerius Maximus lib. 1. cap. 1. §. 13. Cicero ibid. ^e Dion Cassius lib. 39. p. 98. Plutarchus in Pompeio, Catone, Cicerone, & Antonio. Cicero in epistolis ad Lentulum. ^f Dion Cassius lib. 44. p. 247.

Plutarchus in Cæsare. ^g De divinatione lib. 2. cap. 54. ^h They were collected from the papers of private persons, so saith Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and so say others.

by these means for about eighty years before the birth of *Christ*, the world became filled ⁱ with prophecies of all sorts.

VII. AMONG these prophecies which then went about, there were several which foretold the coming of the *Messiah*, and the greatness, bliss, and righteousness of his kingdom. Two of these have been already mentioned, that is that of *Virgil's* fourth eclogue, and the other spoken of by *Julius Marathus*, neither of which can admit a rational interpretation any otherwise, than when applied to the *Messiah*. And it is particularly to be observed of the prophecy spoken of by *Julius Marathus*, that the words whereby it is related are ^k *Regem populo Romano naturam parturire*, i. e. *That nature was about to bring forth a son that should be King of the Romans*; which phrase expresseth something more than ordinary both in the cause and the effect. For here nature it self, that is, the God of nature, is made the immediate cause of the birth, and he must be more than an ordinary person that was to be produced by so extraordinary a generation. But both these prophecies speak of the birth of the *Messiah* in general, without naming in particular the people of whom he should be descended, or the countrey where he should be born. But there were other prophecies which determined both, and declared that he should come out of *Judæa*, and for this we have the testimonies of *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*, two eminent *Roman Historians*; the first of which speaking of the time when *Vespasian* waged war with the *Jews*, hath these words; ^l *A firm persuasion had prevailed among a great many, that it was contained in the ancient sacerdotal books, that about this time it should come to pass, that the east should prevail, and that those who should come out of Judæa should obtain the empire of the world.* And *Suetonius* speaking of the same time, saith as followeth: ^m *There had prevailed all over the east an ancient and constant notion, that the fates had decreed, that about that time there should come out of Judæa those, who should obtain the Empire of the world.* The completion of those prophecies is by both these ancient writers referred to the coming of *Vespasian* out of *Judæa* to the empire, which happen'd but a few years after the death of *Christ*, and the beginning of his kingdom here on earth, to which they truly belonged.

VIII. GOD having ordained that the coming of his son should by these prophecies be foreshewn to the heathens, and for some time before his appearing be proclaimed among them: This was accomplished by a twofold means, 1st, by the dispersion of the *Jews* among them, and 2^{dly}, by the heathen oracles themselves, which they used to consult. For

IX. FIRST, for several years before the birth of *Christ*, not only ⁿ *Simeon* and *Anna* the prophets, but the whole nation of the *Jews*, were in earnest expectation of his coming, and of the redemption of *Israel* by him. And this not only the history of the Gospel in many places tells us, but ^o *Josephus* the *Jewish* historian doth also attest the same: For he tells us, that the expectation which the *Jews* for some years before the destruction of *Jerusalem* had of the arising of a great King from among them, who should have the empire of the whole world, was the true cause which then

ⁱ This appears by the two thousand volumes of them that Augustus burnt, and the many others of them that Tiberius destroyed the same way. ^k Suetonius in Octavio cap. 94. ^l Tacitus histor.

lib. 5. cap. 13.

^m Suetonius in Vespasiano cap. 4.

ⁿ Luke ii. 25—38.

^o De bello Judaico lib. 7. cap. 12.

excited them to that war against the *Romans*, in which that city, and the temple in it were utterly destroyed: And *Suetonius* ^p saith the same thing: The prophecies of *Daniel* and other prophets of the *Old Testament* having not only spoken of the righteousness, glory and bliss of the kingdom of the *Messiah*, but determined his appearance to the very time when it happen'd, gave just reason for this expectation; and for above eighty years before *Christ's* birth, the whole house of *Israel* were big hereof: For so long ^q *Anna* the prophetess being actuated by it, had attended at the temple in fasting and prayer to wait his appearance; and therefore for so long time these prophecies, and the received interpretations of them, being much talked of through all *Judaea* with a view to the speedy completion of them, especially after *Pompey* had subjected that countrey to the *Roman* yoke, from thence the same manner of discoursing of them, and the same expectations of their being speedily accomplished, became diffused to all the *Jews* of the dispersions, wherever they were all the world over; and great numbers of them being then settled in *Rome*, and in the cities of *Greece* and the *Lesser Asia*, as well as in other parts of the world, they there frequently spoke among their heathen neighbours of these prophecies, and the expectations they then had of their speedy completion; which being often rumoured about among the heathen people in those places of the *Jewish* dispersions, at length insensibly grew into reputation, and were received among them as if they had been prophecies from their own oracles; and they most of them became ingrafted among the oracles of the *Sibyls*, as if they had come from them. And from hence most of those prophecies among the heathens, which in the times above mentioned predicted the coming of a great King out of *Judaea*, who should in great power and glory reign over the whole world, seem chiefly to have had their original: For this notion the *Jews* then had of the *Messiah*, and it still continues among them.

X. BUT secondly, another way of their being declared among the heathens, seems to be from the heathen oracles themselves. Thus God forced *Balaam* ^r to prophesy of the coming of his son out of *Jacob*; thus he made ^s the magians to come from the east to acknowledge and adore him, and thus he forced ^t the devils themselves, when cast forth by him, to own him to be the son of God most high; and thus also most probably the diabolical spirits, which presided in the heathen oracles, were before their leaving those their habitations (which they were compelled to do before the coming of our Saviour) in like manner forced to proclaim him. And by these two means most probably was it, that all the prophecies which before our Saviour's birth were spread abroad among the heathens concerning him and his kingdom, whether they were those called *Sibylline*, or others, were all introduced among them, there not being a third way whereby it could be done.

XI. A collection being made of the predictions which had been received among the heathens for oracles of the *Sibyls*, and by some heathen *Greek* digested into a book of *Greek* verses about the time of our Saviour, or a little before, and all those prophecies above mention'd relating to him having been found therein, this operated much to the advantage of christianity

^p In Vespasiano cap. 4.

^q Luke ii. 37.

^r Num. xxiv. 17.

^s Matth. ii. 1-12.

^t Matth. viii. 29. Mark v. 7. Luke viii. 28.

in its earliest times, so as to prove of great efficacy for the converting of many thereto: And therefore Christians, in their disputes with the heathens, often out of this book making use of those oracles, and frequently appealing to them for the proof of what they professed, they were from hence ^u called *Sibyllists*. This book was afterwards, about the time of *Antoninus Pius* the Roman Emperor, interpolated with many additions by some Christian, who was more zealous than either honest or wise herein: For by thus adulterating the oracles truly received as *Sibylline* with those of his own invention, which were never heard of among the heathen before, he destroyed the authority of the whole, and the christian cause was much damaged thereby. The book made up of this mixture I reckon is that which we now have: Several, for the sake of the many spurious particulars which are manifestly in it, think all the rest to be of the same sort, and would therefore reject the whole. That the major part is justly thus condemned I readily acknowledge, but cannot yield it for all the book. ^w *Celsus*, the greatest enemy that christianity had among the ancients, chargeth the imposture no farther than upon the interpolations, neither will I. But to return to our history.

An. 13.
Herod
25.

ALEXANDER and *Aristobulus*, *Herod's* sons by *Mariamne*, having on their return from *Rome* lived three years at home with their father, ^{*} at length fell grievously under his displeasure. The young men in the heat of their youth let fall many rash words, which expressed their resentments for the death of their mother, with threats of revenge upon those who had been the authors of it; at which *Salome* and *Pheroras*, who were the chief advisers of her execution, being alarmed, laid plots for the ruin of the two young men to prevent their own. In order whereto they took care that all the rash words which these young men had at any time indiscreetly bolted out on the subject of their mother's death, were all represented to *Herod*, as including threats against himself; and the more to ensnare them, frequent occasions were taken to provoke them to speak out all the anger and indignation which they had conceived in their minds concerning this matter; which being carried to *Herod* with all the malicious glosses and aggravations which the words could admit, had all the effect which was intended, in exciting in him jealousies against these his two sons, as if they were hatching ill designs against his person. And therefore whereas hitherto they had held the first place among his sons, as those who were designed next to succeed in the kingdom on their father's death, he brought *Antipater* another son of his to court, and placed him over their heads. This he did in order to humble the two brothers, and bring them to a better temper, but it worked the quite contrary way, in provoking them to greater discontents, and more intemperate language than before; of all which notice being constantly carried to *Herod*, it farther exasperated him against them, and *Antipater*, who was a very crafty as well as a very malicious man, was not wanting to make the advantage of all this for his own interest. This *Antipater* was *Herod's* eldest son by *Doris* his first wife; but she being divorced on his marriage with *Mariamne*, her son was bred up in private till he was brought to court on this occasion; and when fixed

^u Origenes contra Celsum lib. 7.

^w Origenes ibidem.

^{*} This Celsus was an Epicurean philosopher, who lived in the second century, and wrote a book against christianity, which Origen answered.

^{*} Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 6. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 17.

there, he soon brought his mother thither also; and from this time having the crown in his constant view, he became the chief instrument in procuring the destruction of the two brothers, the better to secure his succession to it on his father's death.

AGRIPPA being ^y called to *Rome*, ^z *Sentius Saturninus* and *Titus Volumnius* succeeded him in the government of *Syria* and *Phœnicia*; some would have *Saturninus* only to have been president of the province, and *Volumnius* no other than as legate, or else as *Cæsar's* procurator under him; but *Josephus* speaks of him as in joint commission. But before *Agrippa* departed ^a *Herod* waited on him in *Asia*, carrying *Antipater* thither with him, whom he introduced to *Agrippa's* favour, and sent him to *Rome* with him, ^b where by virtue of recommendatory letters from his father, he got into the good grace of *Augustus*, and many of the great men of *Rome*. But while thus absent he ceased not to carry on his plot against the two brothers, often ^b exciting *Herod* against them by his letters, which he craftily wrote in a style which concealing all manner of malice against the accused, expressed only a concern for his father's safety.

AGRIPPA on his return to *Rome* ^c was sent against the *Pannonians*, *Ar. 12.* who had revolted; but on his coming against them, the rebels being fright- *Herod* ed by the terrour of his name, submitted to such terms of peace as were ^{26.} required; whereupon *Agrippa* returning fell sick in *Campania*, and there died. He was the chief favourite of *Augustus*, and having married *Julia*, *Augustus's* only daughter, shared with him in the government, and bore a great part of the burthen of it. On his death *Augustus* standing in need of another assistant, ^d made choice of *Tiberius* the son of *Livia* by her former husband, but very unwillingly, as knowing the man; but for want of a better being necessitated to fix on him, he gave him his daughter *Julia*, the widow of the deceased, to wife, causing him to divorce his former wife to make room for her.

THE breach between *Herod* and his sons by *Mariamne* still growing wi- *Ar. 13.* der and wider, by the means of those that did ill offices between them, it *Herod* at length came to pass that *Herod* being no longer able to bear them ^{27.}, took them along with him into *Italy*, and made this voyage thither of purpose to accuse them before *Augustus*; and having found him at *Aquileia*, he there brought the cause before him. His charge against them was, that they carried themselves undutifully and insolently towards him, and had formed designs by poison to take away his life. But of this last charge, wherein lay the main of the accusation, nothing appearing but jealousies and groundless suspicions, *Augustus* acquitted the young men, and having reconciled their father to them, sent them all home made fully friends. *Herod* on his return to *Jerusalem* having called the people together in the temple, related to them the event of his journey; and according to the power given to him by *Augustus*, he named *Antipater* in the first place to succeed him in the kingdom, and next after him the sons of *Mariamne*.

^y Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 6.

^z Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 12, & 13.

^a Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 6.

^b Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 7.

^c Dion Cassius lib. 54. p. 541. Livii epitome lib. 136.

^d Dion Cassius lib. 54. p. 543.

Suetonius in Octavio cap. 63. & in Tiberio cap. 7.

^e Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 7, & 8.

An. 10.
Herod
2S.

HEROD after twelve years time ^f having finished his works at *Straton's* tower, and brought them all to thorough perfection, he dedicated the place with great solemnity, and in complement to *Augustus*, from his name of *Cæsar* called it *Cæsarea*. He there made, by an artificial mole of great expence, an excellent port large enough for a great number of ships to ride safely in, and the city which he there built was, next to *Jerusalem*, the largest, the best, and most magnificent of all in that countrey; and when *Judæa* fell under the *Roman* yolk, this was mostly made the feat ^g of the procurator who governed that province. After this ^h he built several other cities, as *Antipatris*, *Cypron* and *Phasaëlis*: The first he named from his father, the second from his mother, and the third from *Phasaël* his brother: And from him also he named a large tower, which he built at *Jerusalem* of equal size with that of *Pharus* near *Alexandria*, calling it the tower of *Phasaël*, of which mention hath been ⁱ already made.

An. 9.
Herod
29.

THE *Jews* of *Asia* and *Cyrene* being oppressed by the heathen inhabitants among whom they dwelt, and not permitted to live according to their own laws and religion, and the privileges formerly granted them in order hereto, ^k addressed themselves to *Augustus* for relief in this grievance, and obtained from him an edict in their favour, whereby all was decreed for them that they desired.

SALOME, *Pheroras*, and *Antipater* ^l pursuing their plot against the sons of *Mariamne*, took care that so many false stories were carried to *Herod* concerning them, and such ill representations of their conduct were from time to time, partly by their agents, and partly by themselves continually made unto him, that at length this caused another open breach between him and the two young Princes: For they had by these malicious artifices so filled the old King's head with jealousies and suspicions, that he could neither sleep by night, nor enjoy any quiet by day, for fear of those plots and designs which hereby he was made believe those two brothers were framing against him. To make discovery of the imagin'd treason he put all the confidents of the young Princes upon the rack, thereby to extort a confession from them of what they knew nothing of. And the torments making some of them for the gaining of ease say any thing that might obtain it, false stories were delivered instead of true confessions, some of which bearing hard upon *Alexander*, he was hereon cast into prison, and loaded with chains, and more persons were put to the question to draw from them accusations against him. *Alexander* by these practices against him, being made desperate, sent four papers to his father, wherein, to create the old tyrant all the vexation and disturbance he was able, he made a confession of plots, and treasonable conspiracies, which were never as much as thought of, and named *Pheroras* and *Salome* his brother and sister, with *Ptolemy* and *Sapinnius* his two prime ministers, and many others of his chief confidents, as accomplices herein. This had the designed effect, by creating the old tyrant more perplexity and vexation than ever any thing before: For being naturally of a very suspicious temper, and the consciousness of his tyrannical and oppressive conduct in the government making him more so, he swallowed for truth all that *Alexander's* papers represented

^f Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 9.

^g Acts xxiii. 23, 24, & 33. xxv. 6, 13.

^h Josephus ibid.

ⁱ Part II. book II.

^k Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 10.

^l Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 11, & 12.

to him; whereon suspecting every body, and trusting no body, he raged like a madman against all, condemning some to death, and tormenting others till they expired on the rack, because they would not confess what they knew nothing of; whereby having turned his palace into a slaughter-house, and filled it all over with confusion and horror, he seemed to act as a madman, and one truly bereaved of his senses.

WHILE he was in this case vexing and tormenting himself and others, ^{Ar. 8.} *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, whose daughter *Alexander* had married, ^{Herod 30.} came to his court, and by the interposal of his good offices brought all things there again to rights. At his first hearing of the charge against *Alexander*, he put on a seeming rage against him that outdid that of *Herod*, threatening to take his daughter from him; and vented himself in such other bitter expressions against him, as at length brought *Herod* to be his advocate, and with tears to plead with him for his son, that his wife might not be taken from him. As soon as *Archelaus* found *Herod* in this temper, he came seriously to the matter, and by his wisdom and good address managed it so, as to procure another reconciliation between *Herod* and his sons; and hereon all jealousies and suspicions being laid aside on one part, and all resentment and discontent on the other, peace was again restored to that distracted family. *Herod* was very sensible of the great kindness *Archelaus* did him in extricating him out of such great difficulties, and therefore made him great presents in acknowledgment of it; and on his return accompanied him in the journey as far as *Antioch*, where he reconciled him to *Titus Volumnius* the Roman governor of *Syria*, between whom and *Archelaus* there had been some difference. This *Archelaus* ^m was grandson to that *Archelaus* who reigned in *Egypt*, and great-grandson to him of the same name that was general of *Mithridates*'s army in his wars with *Sylla*; ⁿ *Antony* from High-priest of *Comana* in *Pontus* made him King of *Cappadocia*, on the account of a criminal conversation he had with *Glaphyra* his mother.

AFTER this *Herod* went to *Rome* to acquaint *Augustus* with what was done in this affair: For he having written to him of this second breach with his sons, and his letters accused them of many high crimes and treasonable practices against him, and pressed hard to have them brought to justice, it was thought proper he should make this journey to give him an account of the reconciliation he had made with them.

WHILE he was thus absent, ^o the thieves of *Trachonitis* taking the advantage of it, returned to their old trade, and ravaged with their depredations all the parts of *Judæa* and *Cæle-Syria* that lay within their reach; which created *Herod* great trouble, and at length involved him in those difficulties with *Augustus* as had like utterly to have excluded him his favour, as will be hereafter related. It hath been above mentioned how *Herod* having received from *Augustus* the provinces of *Auranitis*, *Trachonitis* and *Batanea*, set himself to suppress those thieves which from the mountains and caves of *Trachonitis* infested all that countrey. This having fully effected, he forced those free-booters to betake themselves to the culture of their land for their subsistence; but being soon weary of this course of life, on *Herod*'s former going into *Italy* with his two sons to accuse them before

^m Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 12.

ⁿ Dion Cassius lib. 49. p. 411. Strabo lib. 12. p. 540.

^o Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 13.

Augustus, they took that opportunity to revolt from him, and return again to their old trade; but being quickly broken and reduced by the King's forces, forty of the ringleaders of them fled into *Arabia Petraea*, where *Syllaus*, who governed all under *Obodas* King of that countrey, not only received them under his protection, but gave them also a strong fortress in that countrey called *Repta* for their retreat and safe habitation; from whence, on *Herod's* last going to *Rome*, they made inroads into *Judaea* and *Cæle-Syria*, and miserably ravaged all those countries; and *Syllaus*, out of the hatred he bore to *Herod*, countenanced and protected them herein. The reason of *Syllaus's* hatred to *Herod* was, ^p *Syllaus* would have married *Salome Herod's* sister, and he had gained her consent hereto; but *Herod* requiring that he should first turn *Jew*, and *Syllaus* not daring so to do for fear, as he said, lest the *Arabians* should stone him to death for it on his return, this broke off the match, and ^q *Herod* forced *Salome* to marry *Alexas* a confidant of his; at which *Syllaus* contracting a great hatred against *Herod*, expressed it on all occasions, till at length in the pursuit of it he procured his own ruin, as will be hereafter related. This was the same *Syllaus*, who having undertaken to be guide to *Ælius Gallus* in his march into the southern parts of *Arabia* betrayed him in all that expedition, and made it wholly miscarry thereby, as hath been above related.

HEROD on his return finding his countrey much disturbed and damaged by these *Trachonite* thieves, ^r applied himself immediately to redress the mischief by punishing the authors of it. But not being able to come at them by reason of the protection given them in *Arabia* by *Syllaus*, he resolved to revenge the wrong on those that were related to them: And therefore passing into *Trachonitis*, and searching thorough the whole countrey, he put all to death whom he found there of the families and kindred of any of those who were at *Repta*, by which those thieves being exceedingly exasperated, they in revenge hereof renewed their inroads in a desperate manner, and damaged the countrey more than ever before.

THE *Pontifices* at *Rome* ^s having for thirty six years, from the time that *Julius Caesar* reformed the *Roman* kalendar, made every third year a leap year instead of every fourth, by this error three days were now added to the *Roman* year more than should be; which being observed, *Augustus* this year as High-priest rectified the mistake; and for the bringing of all to rights, order'd first that for the twelve ensuing years no leap year should be at all; and secondly, that after the expiration of the said twelve years, the leap years should thenceforth be made every fourth year; by the first part of which order the three superadded days being flung out, and by the second the leap years fixed to their true times according to *Julius Caesar's* institution, the form of this year hath ever since regularly proceeded, and is under the name of the old style still in use among us even to this day, as hath been already ^t above mentioned. At the same time that *Augustus* made this reformation, ^u a decree passed the senate and people of *Rome*, that the month hitherto called *Sextilis*, should thenceforth from his name be

^p Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 11.

^q Josephus antiq. lib. 17. cap. 1.

^r Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 13.

^s Suetonius in Octavio cap. 31. Macrobius Satur-

nal. lib. 1. cap. 4. Solinus cap. 3. Plinius lib. 18. cap. 25.

^t Part II. book VII. under

the year 46.

^u Suetonius ibid. Macrobius Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 12. Dion Cassius lib.

54. p. 552.

called *Augustus*, and so it hath been ever since in the *Roman* kalendar, and all others that are formed from it.

THE re-edifying the temple of *Jerusalem* by *Herod* being finished at the end of nine years and an half from his first beginning of the building, ^w he celebrated with great pomp and expence the dedication of it, and the day appointed for it falling in with the day of the year when he first received the crown, this augmented the solemnity. And it was very proper and requisite that this house should be thus repaired and fitted up in its best dress, when he that was Lord thereof was coming to it: For within less than four years after this *Christ* was born.

THIS year died ^x *Horace* the poet, and ^y *Mæcenâs* his great patron, who next *Agrippa* was the greatest favourite of *Augustus*, and was always a true and faithful counsellor to him.

HEROD being still vexed by the *Trachonite* thieves, who had taken ^{An. 7.} shelter in *Arabia*, ^{Herod} ^{31.} applied to *Saturninus* and *Volumnius* the *Roman* governors of *Syria*, with complaint against *Syllæus* for his protecting of them; and at the same time commenced a suit against him before the said governors for a debt of sixty talents, which *Syllæus* had borrowed of him for the service of King *Obodas*. To make answer to all this *Syllæus* was forced to appear at *Berytus* before the said governors; and there, on *Herod's* having made good his allegations against him, to stave off farther proceedings at that time, he bound himself by oath within thirty days to pay the said debt, and deliver up all fugitives to *Herod* that were within the dominions of *Obodas*. But ^a when the day came he performed neither of these engagements, but went away to *Rome*: Whereon *Herod* applied again to *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, and having obtained their licence to right himself by arms, marched into *Arabia* with an army, and destroyed *Repta*, the nest of those thieves, and slew as many of them as there fell into his hands. While he was doing this, one *Nacebus* an *Arabian* captain coming to the assistance of those thieves, *Herod* gave him battel, and in the conflict slew him with five and twenty of his men, and put the rest to flight. And after having thus revenged himself of those thieves and their abettors, he marched back again without doing any hurt to the countrey; and on his return placed three thousand *Idumæans* in *Trachonitis* to keep the thieves of that countrey from any more exercising their usual depredations. *Syllæus* at *Rome* having received an account of all this ^b immediately went to *Augustus* with a lamentable account, exceedingly magnifying the matter, as setting forth beyond all truth that *Herod* had invaded *Arabia* with a great army, ravaged and ruined the countrey, pillaged *Repta* of a vast treasure there laid up, and slain two thousand five hundred *Arabians* of the first rank, and with them *Nacebus* their general, his friend and kinsman; at which *Augustus* being exceedingly offended, wrote *Herod* a very sharp letter, and for some time on this account *Herod* was absolutely out of his favour, till at length he became informed of the exact truth of the matter.

^w Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 14.
lib. 55. p. 552.

^z Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 13.

^x Suetonius in vitâ Horatili.

^y Dion Cassius

^b Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 15.

IN the interim ^c died *Obodas* King of the *Nabathæan Arabs*, being poisoned by *Syllæus*. He had laid the plot for his death before he left *Arabia*, and his whole business at *Rome* was to make an interest with *Augustus* for the succession when the avoidance should happen. But the *Nabathæans* without making any application to *Augustus* for a new King, or waiting his pleasure at all about it, immediately placed on the throne of the deceased one *Æneas*, who afterwards by a name very common among the *Arabian* Kings was called *Hareth*, in *Greek Aretas*. The countrey where he reigned was *Arabia Petrea*, so called from *Petra* the *Metropolis*, and the inhabitants being descended from *Nebaioth*, ^d one of the sons of *Ishmael*, were from him named *Nabathæans*.

^e *DIONYSIUS* of *Halicarnassus* this year began to write his *Roman* history. He continued it down in twenty books to the time of the first *Punic* war, and there ended it where *Polybius* begun; but of these twenty books only eleven now remain, the rest being lost. It is written in *Greek*, and is the fullest and most accurate of all that have been written of the *Roman* affairs. He came to *Rome* twenty two years before he begun the composition of this book, a great part of which time he spent in collecting materials for it.

An. 6.
Herod
32.

TIBERIUS the son-in-law of *Augustus* on some discontent, for which various causes are given by historians, ^f left *Rome*, and retired to *Rhodes*, on pretence of improving himself in that place by his studies, where he continued about seven years in a private life. He had a great difficulty in the obtaining of *Augustus*'s consent for this retirement, but greater afterwards to gain his permission to return.

HEROD ^g at this time was involved in great perplexities; his quarrel with the sons of *Mariamne* again revived, and at the same time being out of favour with *Augustus* on the account of *Syllæus*'s information, the *Trachonites* taking the advantage hereof in conjunction with the *Arabians* overpowered *Herod*'s *Idumæan* guards which he had placed in that countrey, and begun again their usual depredations. And *Herod* durst not right himself on them, for fear of farther displeasing of *Augustus*. To remove the prejudices which *Augustus* had conceived against him, he had sent two embassies to *Rome*, but neither of them could obtain an audience from him: Of which these thieves having an account, were encouraged thereby to carry farther on their ravages against him; which at length growing to that height of oppression as to be no longer born, he resolved to make trial of a third embassy, and employed *Nicolaus Damascenus* herein. On his arrival at *Rome*, being informed how much *Augustus* was prepossessed with *Syllæus*'s information against *Herod*, he durst not directly apply to him about that matter. But finding there ambassadors from the *Nabathæans*, he joined with them as their advocate, purposing in the pleading of their cause to bring in that of *Herod*'s by the by, and thus by a side wind to come at the clearing of what was alledged against him. These ambassadors were then at *Rome* on a two-fold account; the first to compliment *Augustus* from their new King, and the second to accuse *Syllæus* of the poisoning of *Obodas*, and many other crimes which they had to ob-

^c Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 15.

^d Gen. xxv. 13. xxviii. 9.

^e Videas Vossium de

historicis Græcis lib. 2. cap. 3. & præfationem ipsius Dionysii ad historiam suam.

^f Suetonius in Tiberio cap. 10.

^g Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 15, & 16.

ject against him. As to the first part of their commission *Augustus* would give them no audience, tho' they brought very submissive letters from *Aretas*, and very valuable presents, being much displeased with him in that he had entered on the government without his consent. But as to the other part, that is, their accusation against *Syllæus*, he appointed them a day for the hearing of it. In the management of which cause *Nicolaus* being the chief speaker, after having laid open his other crimes, which were very many, he at length charged him with being guilty of a great affront upon *Augustus* himself, by audaciously imposing on him lyes and calumnies; and instanced in the account which he had given of the action of *Herod* against the *Trachonites* at *Repta*, which he averred was all false from one end to the other: At which *Augustus* being startled, bid him make out that, waving all other particulars; which *Nicolaus* having done by laying before him the whole truth of the matter as above related, and *Syllæus* then present and confronted, not being able to contradict any one point hereof, *Augustus* gave sentence against him, that he should be carried back into *Arabia*, and made pay^b his debt to *Herod*, and after that be put to death; which was accordingly executed upon him, he being beheaded at *Rome*, as^c *Strabo*, who lived in those times, assures us. *Josephus*^k tells us that when he was carried back into *Arabia*, he there refused to do any thing of what he had been enjoined by *Augustus*, and therefore being hereof accused by *Antipater* in the behalf of *Herod* his father, he was ordered to be again brought to *Rome*, and then most likely was it that he was put to death in the manner as *Strabo* relates.

AUGUSTUS being hereby^l again reconciled to *Herod*, was grieved that he had given so much of his ear to *Syllæus*'s false accusations against him. And therefore to make amends, he had thought of expelling *Aretas* out of the kingdom of the *Nabathæans*, which he had taken possession of without his consent and giving it to *Herod*; but while he was thinking of it, letters were delivered to him from *Herod* which made him alter his purpose. For *Antipater*, *Salome*, and *Pheroras* continuing still to carry on their former plot against the sons of *Mariamne* for the reasons already mentioned, they filled the old King's head so full of jealousies, suspicions, and false accusations against them, and thereby so thoroughly possessed him of their being in a conspiracy against his life, that although nothing was proved against them but their intention of making their escape from him into some other countrey, where they might live out of the reach of his tyrannical cruelty, yet on the proof of this one particular only believing all the rest, he resolved on their destruction, and wrote to *Augustus* for the obtaining of his leave accordingly to proceed against them, setting forth to him all that he had to lay to their charge; and he sent *Volumnius* his Marshal de Camp, and *Olympus* another of his friends, to *Rome* with his letters, wherein all this was contained, giving them in direction, that in case they found *Augustus* by the means of *Nicolaus*'s embassy reconciled to him, then to deliver the letters, but not otherwise. And therefore on their arrival finding that all was again set right with *Augustus*, they presented

^b This debt *Josephus* xvi. 13. saith was no more than sixty talents, *Nicolaus* in his speech to *Augustus* lays it at five hundred talents; the first perchance was the debt, and the other the forfeiture of the obligation. ^c *Strabo* lib. 16. p. 782. ^k *Antiq.* lib. 17. cap. 4. ^l *Josephus* antiq. lib. 16. cap. 16.

him the letters; which being full of invectives and bitter expressions against his sons, *Augustus* on the perusal of them, considering his age and present misfortunes about his children, thought it not proper in these circumstances to burden him with the care of another kingdom; and therefore retracting his resolutions as to this matter, he sent for the *Nabathæan* ambassadors, accepted their presents, and confirmed *Aretas* in his kingdom. However he wrote a kind letter to *Herod*, wherein having condoled his misfortune as to his sons, he gave him full liberty and power to proceed against them according as their crime should be found to deserve, advising him to call a council at *Berytus*, and there with the assistance of the governors of the neighbouring provinces, together with *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, and other friends and persons of honour, to hear and finally determine the whole matter. *Herod* being much pleased with this letter, immediately summoned a council to meet at the place mentioned, calling thither to it *Saturninus* and *Volumnius* governors of *Syria*, and all others whom *Augustus's* letter directed him to, excepting only *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, who being father-in-law to *Alexander*, was thought by *Herod* too much engaged by that relation to be an impartial judge in this matter. The council being sate, *Herod* accused his sons before them with that vehemence, and laid so many things to their charge, that the majority being overborn thereby, passed sentence of condemnation against them, and left it to *Herod* to execute it as he should think fit; whereon sending them to *Sebastæ*, he caused them there both to be strangled. And thus ended the life of these unfortunate brothers, who by too much expressing their resentments for their mother's death, provoked those who had been the chief authors of it at length by like artifices to procure theirs. In which tragedy *Salome* the sister of *Herod* acted the chiefest part; who being a very crafty and malicious woman seldom stood out where any mischief was to be done. She governed her self chiefly by *Herod's* inclinations, and whatsoever wicked purposes she found him intent upon, she humoured him, and always concurred with him therein, and by these wicked means she constantly maintained her interest with that bloody tyrant, and had the first place in his favour and confidence as long as he lived.

At this time *Zacharias* saw the vision in the temple, of which we have an account in the first chapter of *St. Luke*, as he there officiated in his course. For the fuller understanding hereof, it is to be observed, that the priests according ^a to *David's* institution being divided into twenty four courses, ^o each course attended at *Jerusalem* its week; and every course being divided into seven classes, each class served its day at the temple; and each priest of that class had his part in the service appointed him ^p by lot; and therefore *Zacharias* being of the course of *Abiah* came up to *Jerusalem* in the week of his course, there to officiate with the others of it in his office; and when the day of his service came, his lot was to offer incense upon the altar of incense in the holy place; and while he was officiating in that service, the angel *Gabriel* appeared to him, and foretold to him the birth of his son *John the Baptist*, and of the ministry on which he should be sent, whereof we have the history in the said first chapter of *St. Luke*.

^m Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 17.
chap. vi.

ⁿ 2 Chron. xxiv.

^o See Lightfoot's temple service

^p See Lightfoot's temple service chap. ix.

THE sons of *Mariamne* being dead, and *Antipater* having nothing now ^{An. 5.} that stood in his way to the crown but the life of *Herod*, to get rid of him ^{Herod 33.} was the thing next in design; in order whereto *Antipater* entered into a conspiracy with *Pheroras*, and others, for the dispatching of him by poison: For *Pheroras*, though he had always found *Herod* a kind brother to him, was at this time very much out with him on the account of his wife which he had lately married. On the death of his former wife, *Herod* offered him one of his daughters which he had by *Mariamne*; but he being deeply smitten with the love of a maid servant in his house married her, and rejected for her sake the King's daughter; whereon she was given to *Phasaël* the son of *Phasaël* *Herod's* elder brother. However *Herod* after some time to make up the difference offered him the other daughter, which he had by *Mariamne*, and *Pheroras* to avoid absolutely breaking with him consented hereto, and bound himself by an oath to solemnize the marriage within a month; but at the month's end he refused to perform his engagement, not finding in his heart to put away the wife he had lately married, so much he doted upon her; this widening the breach between the two brothers, *Antipater* took the advantage hereof to engage *Pheroras* in his designs. And there was another occasion which did set them farther at difference; about this time the whole nation of the *Jews* being called upon to swear allegiance to *Augustus* and the King, the *Pharisees* to the number of above seven thousand persons refused the oath in the same manner as they had done before, upon a notion that it was against their law to yield allegiance to any Prince that was not of the stock of *Israel*. Hereon *Herod* imposed a fine upon them for the punishment of the contumacy; this *Pheroras's* wife out of the zeal she had for that sect paid all down for them; in requital hereto, those men (who by false pretences had gotten among the vulgar the opinion of a prophetick spirit) gave out, that God had determined the transferring of the kingdom from the line of *Herod* to *Pheroras* and his issue by this woman, which occasioned some seditious discourses and practices among the people: Of which *Herod* having gotten information chiefly by the means of *Salome*, several of the *Pharisees* were taken up upon it, and put to death. *Herod* hereon calling a council of his friends, did therein set forth all this matter, and charging the original of the whole of it upon *Pheroras's* wife, commanded him to put her away, telling him, that he must either disown that woman for a wife, or never more expect to be owned by him as a brother. To this *Pheroras* answered, that nothing should ever make him renounce his beloved wife; that he would rather die than live without her. *Herod* grievously resenting this answer, forbade *Pheroras* his house, and commanded *Antipater*, *Doris* his mother, and all the rest of his family, to have no more conversation or correspondence with him or his wife; which as much angering *Pheroras* as *Herod* was angered against him, he struck in the closer with *Antipater* in his worst designs, and made himself a party with him in the plot to poison the old King; and that both of them might be out of the way when it should be executed, thereby the better to avoid being

^q Josephus antiq. lib. 17. cap. 1.

^r Josephus antiq. lib. 17. cap. 3. & 6.

^f Josephus antiq. lib. 16. cap. 11.

^s Josephus ibid.

^t Josephus antiq. lib. 17. cap. 3.

^u Josephus antiq. lib. 15. cap. 13. See above under the year 20.

^w Deuteronomy xxvii. 15.

^x Josephus ibid.

^y Josephus antiq. lib. 17. cap. 6.

suspected of it, *Antipater*^z procured to be called to *Rome*, there to attend upon *Augustus*, and ^a*Pheroras* gladly laid hold of the commands laid upon him by *Herod* to retire to his tetrarchy, swearing never more to return as long as *Herod* should live, and he made his oath good: For altho' *Herod*, in a sickness which a little after befel him, sent earnestly to speak with him, he would not come at him. But notwithstanding a little after *Pheroras* falling sick, *Herod* made him a kind visit, and with great tenderness lamented his case, which soon after grew so bad he died of it. After his death ^b two of his freed men made heavy complaint to *Herod* that he had been poisoned by his wife. *Herod* on his making strict enquiry, and putting several to the torture, at length came hereby to the discovery of the plot which was laid against himself by *Antipater*, *Pheroras*, and others, to take him off by poison. This poison one *Antiphilus*, a friend of *Antipater*'s, had got prepared at *Alexandria* by a brother of his that there practised physick, and from thence brought it to *Jerusalem*, and there delivered it to *Theudion* the brother of *Doris*, *Antipater*'s mother, who sent it by a freed man of *Antipater*'s to *Pheroras*, who had undertaken to get it to be given to *Herod*; and he delivered it to his wife to lay up, till there should be an opportunity of executing what was intended by it. All which being made out by clear evidence, *Herod* sent for *Pheroras*'s wife, who confessed the whole, acknowledging that she had the poison delivered to her to keep, but that *Pheroras* repenting of the plot on *Herod*'s kind visiting of him in his last sickness, ordered her to fetch the poison, and cast into the fire before his face, and that she accordingly did so, excepting only that she reserved a small part for her self to make use of it if there should be occasion. Hereby it was clearly made out that *Antipater* having procured the death of his two brothers to make his way to the crown, had now for the same end laid a most wicked plot for the poisoning of his father.

WHILE this was a doing in *Judæa* the temple of *Janus* was shut up at *Rome*. Their usage was to lay open its gates in the time of war, and to shut them up in times of peace. They had been shut only five times since the first building of *Rome*. The first ^c time was in the reign of *Numa*; the ^d second after the end of the first *Punic* war; the ^e third after *Augustus* had vanquished *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, and reduced thereby the whole *Roman* empire to a quiet submission to him, which happen'd in the year before *Christ* twenty nine; the ^f fourth time four years after, that is, in the 25th year before *Christ*, on *Augustus*'s return from the war which he had with the *Cantabrians* in *Spain*; and the fifth time ^g was in this year under the reign of the same *Augustus*: For at this time there was a general peace all over the world, and it continued for twelve years together, which was a proper prelude for ushering in his coming, who was the Prince of peace, *Christ* our Lord.

FOR in ^h the sixth month after the Angel *Gabriel* had appeared to *Zacharias* in the temple, he was sent to *Nazareth* a city of *Galilee* to *Mary* a virgin of the house of *David*, lately espoused to *Joseph* of the same li-

^z Josephus antiq. lib. 17. cap. 4.

^a Josephus antiq. lib. 17. cap. 5.

^b Josephus antiq. lib. 17. cap. 6.

^c Livius lib. 1. Plutarchus in Numa.

^d Livius & Plutarchus ibid. Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 38. Florus lib. 2. cap. 3.

^e Velleius Paterculus ibid. Dion Cassius lib. 51. p. 457. Plutarchus in Numa.

^f Orosius lib. 6. cap. 20.

^g Orosius lib. 6. cap. 22.

^h Luke i. 26, 36.

neage, to declare to her the good tidings, that of her was to be born the Son of God; whereonⁱ being over-shadowed by the Holy Ghost, she conceived thereby, and at the end of this year *Christ* the Saviour of the world was born of her.

AUGUSTUS^k having issued out a decree for the taking of a description or survey of the whole *Roman* empire, such as should contain an account of all the persons, possessions, and estates therein, and the taxes issuable from them, it was this year executed in *Judæa*, in the manner as *St. Luke* in his Gospel relates. Such an account used to be taken of the citizens of *Rome* every fifth year, and they had officers of purpose appointed for it called censurs. Their business was^l to take an account, and make a registration of all the *Roman* citizens, their wives and children, with the age, qualities, trades, offices, and estates real and personal of all of them. *Augustus* first extended this to the provinces; and^m three times during his reign he caused the like description to be made of all the provinces of the *Roman* empire. The first was in the year when he himself was the sixth time, and *M. Agrippa* the second time consuls, that is, in the year before the christian æra 28. The second time in the consulship of *C. Marcius Censorinus* and *C. Asinius Gallus*, that is, in the year before the christian æra 8. And the last time in the consulship of *Sextus Pompeius Nepos*, and *Sextus Apuleius Nepos*, that is, in the year of the christian æra 14. Inⁿ the first and last time he executed this with the assistance of a colleague; but the second time he did it by himself alone, and this is the description which *St. Luke* refers to. The decree concerning it, issued out the year I have mentioned, that is, in the eighth year before the christian æra; which was three years before that in which *Christ* was born: So long had the taking of this description or survey been carrying on through *Syria*, *Cæle-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judæa*, before it came to *Bethlehem*; and when it came thither, *Joseph*^o and *Mary* his wife were called from *Nazareth* in *Galilee*, the place of their habitation, to this city of *Bethlehem*, the city of *David*, to which as being of the house and lineage of *David* they did originally belong; that there, as citizens of that place, they, their circumstances and estates might be described and register'd among those who were of the same house and family with them; and while on this occasion they tarried, there was it that *Mary* was delivered, and the promised seed *Christ* our Lord, by whom the world was to be saved, was then born of her in that place, in the manner as in the Gospels is related. That we allow three years for the execution of this decree can give no just reason for exception: For supposing the execution of it in every province of the *Roman* empire to have been committed to the governor of it, (and that it was so in *Syria* to *Sentius Saturninus* the *Roman* president of it, ^p*Tertullian* doth attest) to carry this work thro' all the countries that made up the province of *Syria*, that is, through *Syria*, *Cæle-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judæa*, three yearstime was little enough for it. *Joab* was^q nine months and twenty days in taking an account only

ⁱ Luke i. 35.

^k Luke ii. 1, 2.

^l Censoris officium erat omnia patrimonii, dignitatis, ætatis, artium, officiorumque discrimina in tabulas referre. L. Florus lib. 1. cap. 6. Censores populi, ævitates, soboles, familias, pecuniasque censento, Cicero de legibus lib. 3.

^m Suetonius in Octavio cap. 27. Monumentum Ancyranum quod extat in notis Casauboni ad Suetonium in Grutero & in Leunclavii pandectis Turcicis.

ⁿ Suetonius ibid.

^o Luke ii. 4.

^p Adversus Marcionem lib. 4. cap. 19.

^q 2 Samuel xxiv. 8.

of ten of the tribes of *Israel*, and of no more in them than ^c of the men that were fit for the wars. But the account taken by the decree of *Augustus* at the time of our *Saviour's* birth extended to all manner of persons, and also to their possessions, estates, qualities, and other circumstances. And when a description and survey like this last mention'd was ordered by *William the Conqueror* to be taken for *England* only, I mean that of the dome's-day book, it was " six years in making, and the *Roman* province of *Syria* was much more than twice as big as all *England*. But although this description or survey was at this time made for *Judæa*, and every man's estate estimated and valued according as used to be done by the *Romans* for the laying of their taxes, yet no payment of any tax was there made upon it till the twelfth year after: Till then *Herod*, and after him *Archelaus* his son reigning in *Judæa*, no taxes were then paid by the *Jews* of that countrey, but to these Princes only; but when in the said twelfth year *Archelaus* was deposed, and *Judæa* put under the command and government of a *Roman* procurator, then first were taxes paid the *Romans* for that countrey, *Publius Sulpitius Quirinius*, who in *Greek* is called *Cyrenius*, being at that time governor, that is president of *Syria*. If it be asked for what reason then was this survey or description of *Judæa* made, if no taxes were then to be paid upon it? The answer is, *Augustus* was then at work on the compofure of a book containing such a survey and description of the whole *Roman* empire, as that which our dome's-day book doth for *England*. In order whereto his decree for this survey or description we now treat of, was made to extend to the depending kingdoms as well as to the provinces of the empire, that so he might have a full account of both for the thorough compleating of this work; however taxes were by the people of the provinces only paid to the *Romans*, and those of the dependent kingdoms to their own proper Princes. What tributes the *Roman* Emperors had from these dependent kingdoms was from the Princes of them, not from the people: The people paid their taxes to their Princes, and the Princes their tribute to the *Roman* Emperors. Of the book which *Augustus* made out of the surveys and descriptions which were at this time returned to him out of every province and depending kingdom of the *Roman* empire, " *Tacitus*, " *Suetonius*, and * *Dion Cassius* make mention, and represent it to be very near of the same nature with our dome's-day book above mentioned. Putting all this together, the sum and series of this matter appears to be as followeth. *Augustus* three years before the birth of *Christ* issued out a decree for the making of a general survey or description of the whole *Roman* empire, and of every province and depending state and kingdom in it, and committed it to the care of the governor of each province to have it executed; and *Sentius Saturninus* being

^r For *Levi* and *Benjamin* were not number'd, 1 Chron. xxi. 6. ^s 2 Sam. xxiv. 9. 1 Chron. xxi. 5. ^c It was begun in the 14th year of King *William* the Conqueror, and not finished till the 20th. See *Spelman's Glossary* under the word *Domesdei*. " Hist. lib. i. cap. 11. ibi dicit in hoc libello. Opes publicæ continebantur, quantum civium sociorumque in armis, quot classes, regna, provinciæ, tributa aut vectigalia & necessitates & largitiones.

^w In *Octavio* cap. 101. ubi hæc habet. *Augustus* de tribus voluminibus post se relictis tertio complexus est brevium totius Imperii, quantum militum sub signis ubique esset, quantum pecuniæ in ærario, & fisci, & vectigalium residuis. * lib. 56. p. 591. ubi dicit. Tertius liber summam militum, reddituum, impendiorum, publicorum pecuniæ in thesauris, aliaque id genus ad principatum pertinentia indicabat.

then president of *Syria*, was charged with it for that province, and the depending kingdoms, states and tetrarchies that were within it; who having carried it on through all other parts of his province, three years after the date of the said decree, executed it at *Bethlehem*, at the time when *Christ* was there born. But then though the survey and description was made for *Judea*, as well for all other parts of that province, and every man's possessions there were estimated and valued, yet no tax was there laid or levied according to the valuation till the deposing of *Archelaus*, and the reducing of *Judea* under the *Roman* government in the twelfth year after, when *Cyrenius* was governor of *Syria*; so that there were two distinct particular actions in this matter, done at two distinct and different times, the first the making the description or survey, and the second the laying and levying the tax thereupon. And what is in the first verse of the second chapter of *St. Luke* is to be understood of the former of these, and what is in the second verse only of the latter. And this reconciles that Evangelist with *Josephus*: For it is manifest from that author, that ^y *Cyrenius* was not governor of *Syria*, or any tax levied upon *Judea*, till *Archelaus* was deposed, and that country brought under a *Roman* procurator, which was above eleven years after *Augustus's* decree for making of the description above mentioned was executed at *Bethlehem*. And therefore the making of this description cannot be that which was done while *Cyrenius* was governor of *Syria*; but the other particular, that is, the laying and levying the tax thereupon certainly was: For then first was a *Roman* governor under the name and style of procurator of *Judea* put over that nation, and then first were they forced to pay taxes to the *Roman* Emperor, of which a full account is given in ^y *Josephus*. And therefore if the second verse of the second chapter of *St. Luke* be so render'd as to imply, that the levying of the tax according to the description mentioned in the former verse was first executed, while *Cyrenius* was governor of *Syria*, this will remove all difficulties, and the text can well bear this interpretation.

^z WISE men from the east, of the sect of the Magians, following the guidance of a star, came and worshipped *Christ* at *Bethlehem*; and thereon followed *Herod's* design to destroy him, the flight of *Joseph* and *Mary* into *Egypt* with him to prevent it, and the murder of the innocents at *Bethlehem*, in the manner as related by *St. Matthew* in his Gospel. *Macrobius*, a writer of the fifth century ^a tells us, that among those innocents *Herod* slew a young son of his own, and that thereon *Augustus* made this reflection, that it was better to be *Herod's* hog than his son. But it is not likely that *Herod* should have a child so young as those innocents at the age he was then of; the death of *Antipater*, which happen'd about that time, considered with that of *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, formerly put to death by him, may rather be thought to have given the occasion for that sarcasm.

FOR ^b *Antipater* being returned from *Rome* into *Judea* without knowing what had been discovered against him, was on his arrival arrested and taken into custody, and being before *Quintilius Varus*, then newly ar-

^y *Josephus* antiq. lib. 18. cap. 1. ^z *Matth.* ii. 1, 2. *The country of the Magians being Persia, it's most likely they came from thence, and from those parts of it which lye about Balfora, that place lying directly east from Jerusalem.* ^a *Saturnal.* lib. 2. cap. 4. ^b *Josephus* antiq. lib. 17. cap. 7, 9. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 20, 21.

rival in those parts to succeed *Sentius Saturninus* in the presidency of *Syria*, convicted of his treasonable designs for the poisoning his father, had sentence of condemnation passed upon him, which being confirmed by *Augustus*, he was accordingly put to death upon it; and five days after that execution died *Herod* himself, in the seventieth year of his age, after he had reigned from the time of his being declared King at *Rome* thirty seven years, and from the death of *Antigonus* thirty four. His death happen'd towards the end of this year, or else in the beginning of the next; for it appears from ^c *Josephus*, that the paschal feast, which was always celebrated in the beginning of the spring, followed soon after.

KNOWING the hatred the *Jews* had for him, he concluded aright, that there would be no lamentation at his death, but rather gladness and rejoicing for it all the countrey over. To prevent this ^d he framed a project and resolution in his mind, which was one of the horridest and most wicked, perchance, that ever entered into the heart of man. For having issued out a summons to all the principal and eminentest *Jews* of his kingdom, commanding their appearance at *Jericho* (where he then lay) on pain of death at a day appointed, on their arrival thither he shut them all up in the *Circus*, and then sending for *Salome* his sister, and *Alexas* her husband, commanded them, that as soon as he should be dead, they should send in the soldiers upon them, and put them all to the sword. For this, said he, will provide mourners for my funeral all over the land, and make the *Jews* in every family thereof lament at my death whether they will or no; and when he had adjured them hereto, some hours after he gave up the ghost and died. But *Salome* and *Alexas* not being wicked enough to do what they had been made solemnly to promise, rather chose to break their obligation than make themselves the executioners of so bloody and horrid a design. And therefore as soon as *Herod* was dead, they opened the *Circus*, and permitted all that were shut up in it to return again every man to his own home, without any wrong done to any of them. The history of this his most wicked design takes of all objection against the truth of his murdering the innocents, which may be made from the incredibility of so barbarous and horrid an act. For this thoroughly shews, that there can nothing be imagined so cruel, barbarous, and horrid, which this man was not capable of doing. In most of his actions, as above described in this history, may be read the character of a most bloody, cruel, and wicked tyrant; but in none more than in these two: And the disease of which he died, and the misery which he suffered under it, plainly shew that the hand of God was then in a very signal manner upon him, for the punishment of them. The account which ^e *Josephus*, and from him *Eusebius*, give us of it, is as followeth.

“ *HEROD*'s disease grew yet more and more bitterly violent, God
 “ exacting this vengeance upon him, for the punishment of the many great
 “ enormities he had been guilty of. He had a slow fever, not shewing it
 “ self so much to the outward touch and feeling, as more grievously burn-
 “ ing him within. Moreover he had a strong canine appetite for meat,
 “ which nothing could satisfy. His bowels were ulcerated, especially the

^c Antiq. lib. 17. cap. 11. ^d Josephus antiq. lib. 17. cap. 8. & de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 21.

^e Josephus antiq. lib. 17. cap. 8. Euseb. hist. ecclesiast. lib. 1. cap. 8. See also a like description of *Herod's* disease in Josephus de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 21.

“ colon gut, from whence he suffered grievous pains. His feet being swoln,
 “ from thence issued forth a phlegmatick and shining humour. Moreover
 “ the disease had seized the lower part of his belly, and an ulcer broke
 “ out in his genitals breeding worms and lice ; besides he had a shortness
 “ of breath, and that very stinking and unfavoury. And he had also
 “ a troublesome flux of rheum, and with it an asthmatic difficulty of
 “ breathing. And the patient not having strength to bear all this, there
 “ followed a convulsion of all the parts of his body” ; and thus he died in
 horrible pain and torment, smitten of God in this signal and grievous
 manner for his many enormous iniquities : And that most others of the
 great persecutors of God’s people have died the like manner of death ‘ hath
 been already observed.

HEROD had nine ^swives, and by them many children ; three of his
 sons he put to death ; of the rest of his posterity I shall mention only such
 as are named in the scriptures, and they are these following. Of *Malthace*
 one of his wives he had ^h*Archelaus*, and ⁱ*Herod Antipas* ; by *Cleopatra*,
 another of his wives, he ^khad *Philip* ; and by *Mariamne* the daughter of
Simon the High-priest ^l*Herod Philip*. *Aristobulus*, whom *Herod* put to
 death, had by *Berenice* his wife King *Agrippa* (who ^mflew *James* the bro-
 ther of *John*, and ⁿafterwards was smitten of God at *Cæsarea*) and ^o*He-
 rodias* his sister ; she first ^pmarried *Herod Philip* her uncle, and afterwards
 eloped from him to marry *Herod Antipas* his brother. By her first husband
 she had *Salome*, ^qwho danced off *John Baptist*’s head for reproving *Herod
 Antipas* for his incestuous adultery with her mother. Of this King *Agrippa*
 the first, was born King *Agrippa* the second, ^r(before whom *Paul* pleaded
 his cause) and his two sisters *Drusilla* and *Berenice*, the first of which ^swas
 wife to *Felix* the procurator or governor of *Judæa*, and ^tthe other was
 present with her brother at *Cæsarea*, when *Paul*’s cause was there heard
 before him. *Herod*’s kingdom after his death, was divided between *Ar-
 chelaus*, *Herod Antipas*, and *Philip*, his above mention’d sons. ^u*Arche-
 laus* had *Judæa*, *Idumæa*, and *Samaria* ; *Philip Aulonitis*, *Trachonitis*,
Paneas, and *Batanæa* ; and *Herod Antipas*, *Galilee* and *Peræa*.

AFTER *Herod*’s death ^v*Joseph* being warned by an angel in a dream An. 3.
Arche-
laus 1.
 arose, and took the young child and his mother, and returned out of *Egypt*
 into the land of *Israel*, and there he and *Mary* his wife settled again at
Nazareth in *Galilee*, the place of their former habitation, and there *Jesus*
 grew up and dwelt with them till the time that he entered on his publick
 ministration.

AND having thus brought down this work to the birth of our Saviour,
 and here given a full account of it, I should leave what henceforth ensues
 to the christian ecclesiastical historian, to whom it properly belongs ; but
 that the connection of the Old Testament with the New not seeming fully
 to be made, but where the grand prophecies concerning the *Messiah*,
 which we have in the Old Testament, are compleated in the New, I am
 necessitated so far as this requires to go into the times of the gospel, but

^fPart II. Book III. ^gJosephus de bello Judaico lib. 1. cap. 18. & antiq. lib. 18. cap. 7.
^hMatth. ii. 22. ⁱMatth. xiv. 1, 3, 6. Mark vi. Luke iii. viii. ix. xiii. xxiii. Acts iv. 27.
^kLuke iii. 1. ^lMatth. xiv. 3. Mark vi. 17. ^mActs xii. 1, 2.
ⁿActs xii. 20—23. ^oMatth. xiv. 3. Mark vi. 17. ^pJosephus antiq. lib. 18. cap. 7.
^qMatth. xiv. 6—11. Mark vi. 21—28. ^rActs xxv. xxvi. ^sActs xxiv. 24.
^tActs xxv. 23. ^uJosephus antiq. lib. 17. cap. 13. See also Matth. ii. 22. Luke iii. 1.
^vMatth. ii. 19—23.

shall treat of them only in respect to the events in which these prophecies are fulfill'd, and such particulars as lead to the explication of them, and that in so short a manner as I can. For a fuller history of those times I refer the learned reader to the centuriators of *Magdeburgh* and *Baronius's* annals, and the *English* reader to the ecclesiastical history of Mr. *Laurence Eachard*, which is the best of its kind in the *English* tongue.

An. 2. Arche-
laus 2. THE *Armenians* rebelling, and the *Parthians* confederating with them for their support, *Augustus* sent *Caius Caesar* his grandson, a youth only of nineteen years old, into the east against them,

An. 1. Arche-
laus 3. WHO from *Egypt* (where he first went) passing through *Judæa* in his way towards *Armenia*, would not offer any sacrifice at *Jerusalem*, expressing by this refusal the contempt which he had for the *Jewish* religion, which *Augustus* approving of commended him for it.

Anno post
Christum
Diony-
siano 1.
Arche-
laus 4. THE christian æra begun four years after the birth of *Christ*. How this æra was first brought into use by *Dionysius Exiguus* in the sixth century, and how he mistook in the wrong placing the beginning of it, hath been already shewn in the preface to the first part of this history. As I have hitherto reckoned by the years before the beginning of this æra, so henceforth I shall reckon by the years after it.

An. 2. Arche-
laus 5. TIBERIUS was recalled from *Rhodes* in the eighth year of his retreat thither, and returned again to *Rome*.

An. 3. Arche-
laus 6. CAIUS *Caesar* having received a wound in *Armenia*, on his return from thence, died of it at *Limyra*, a city of *Lycia*. *Lucius* his brother having been sent into *Spain*, died at *Marseils* in his way thither the year before. They were the sons of *M. Agrippa* by *Julia Augustus's* daughter, and therefore being his grandsons were adopted by him, and intended for his successors in the empire. For which reason it is supposed their death was procured by the fraud of *Livia* the wife of *Augustus*, to make way for *Tiberius* her son by her former husband to be his successor in their stead.

An. 4. Arche-
laus 7. THE *Julian* kalendar on the leaving out of the third superfluous year, in manner as hath been above related, was again brought into due order, and hath so continued ever since in the countries where it is observed.

AUGUSTUS on the death of *Caius* and *Lucius* his grandsons adopted *Tiberius*, and thereby pointed him out for his successor in the empire. *Livia* had another son by her former husband called *Drusus*, who died ten years before, while in the time of his second consulship he was following the *German* wars. He having left behind him a son of great worth named *Germanicus*, *Augustus*, when he adopted *Tiberius*, at the same time forced him to adopt this *Germanicus*.

An. 7. Arche-
laus 10. ARCHELAUS having committed many great and tyrannical misadministrations in his government, ambassadors came to *Rome* both from the *Jews* and the *Samaritans* to accuse him hereof before *Augustus*, whereon he was called to *Rome* to answer for them.

^u Zonaras ex Dion e. ^w Suetonius in Octavio cap. 93. Orosius lib. 7. cap. 3.

^x Suetonius in Tiberio cap. 13. ^y Velleius Patereulus lib. 2. cap. 102. Tacitus ann. lib. 1. cap. 3. ^z Velleius ibid. Tacitus annal. lib. 1. cap. 3. Suetonius in Octavio cap. 65.

^a Tacitus ibid. ^b Macrobius Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 14. Solinus cap. 3.

^c Velleius Patereulus lib. 2. cap. 103. Suetonius in Tiberio cap. 21. ^d Suetonius in Tiberio cap. 15. Tacitus annal. lib. 1. cap. 3. Dion Cassius lib. 55. ^e Josephus antiq. lib. 17. cap. 15. & de bello Judaico lib. 2.

ON his appearing there, not being able to justify himself before the Emperor, but being found guilty of all that was charged upon him, ^{An. 8. Augustus 35.} he was deposed from his principality, had all his goods condemned to be confiscated, and he himself was banished to *Vienna* in *Gallia*, after he had reigned in *Judæa* ten years.

HEREON *Augustus* ^s having appointed *Publius Sulpitius Quirinus* (who according to ^h the *Greek* way of writing that name is by *St. Luke* called *Cyrenius*) to be president of *Syria*, ^s sent him into the east to seize the countrey which *Archelaus* had hitherto reigned over, and reduce it to the form of a *Roman* province; and *Coponius* a *Roman* of the equestrian order was sent with him to take on him the government of it under the title of procurator of *Judæa*. On their arrival at *Jerusalem*, they seized all *Archelaus*'s goods, according to the sentence of confiscation passed against him by *Augustus*, and having in a great part abolished the *Jewish* policy established the *Roman* in its stead, and *Coponius* took on him in the name of *Augustus* the administration of it, but still in subordination to the president of *Syria*, *Judæa* being made a part of that province. After this ⁱ the power of life and death was taken out of the hands of the *Jews*, and placed wholly in the *Roman* procurator, and his subordinate officers: And taxes were thenceforth paid immediately to the *Roman* Emperor. The description and registration of every man's possession was made eleven years before by *Sentius Saturninus*; but the laying and levying of the taxes according thereto was not put in execution till that countrey was reduced into the form of a *Roman* province by *Cyrenius* then governor of *Syria*, in the manner I have mentioned. The raising of these taxes ^k caused great disturbances among the *Jews*, many opposing it, some under the notion of an universal liberty, that they were to have no King but God; and others, that they were not to own a King, by paying taxes to him, that was of a foreign nation, because the law commanded ^l *not to set a stranger, which is not of their brethren, to be King over them*. The first was headed by one ^m *Judas* of *Galilee*, a turbulent and seditious man, of whom mention is made in the *Acts* of the Apostles (chap. v. *v.* 37;) but he was soon cut off, and all his followers suppressed. But the other notion of not owning a foreigner to be their King still remained; for it was a doctrine held and taught by the *Pharisees*, the predominant sect of the *Jews*, and from them imbibed by the generality of that people. And hence it was, that in the time of our Saviour's ministration they had made it a question, whether they were to pay tribute to *Cæsar* or no; for though they were forced to submit hereto, yet as to the legality of the thing they generally held it in the negative. And this was the reason that the Publicans, that is those of that nation who were employed under the *Romans* for the gathering of those taxes, were in so great odium and detestation among them; for they looked on their employment as a constant breach of their law, and them for their acting therein as apostates from it, and the worst of men, such as were not to be drunk or eaten with, or admitted to common conversation. And hence it is that in the gospels we find publicans and sinners

^f Josephus *ibid.*

^g Josephus *antiq. lib. 18. cap. 1.*

^h Strabo *writes it* *Kυρηνος*, *lib. 12.*

p. 569.

ⁱ John xviii. 31. See Lightfoot on this place.

^k Josephus *antiq. lib. 18. cap. 1,*

& 2. & de bello Judaico lib. 2. cap. 12.

^l Deuteron. xvii. 15.

^m Josephus *ibid.*

so often joined together, and our Saviour so often reproached for conversing with them.

AT the same time that *Cyrenius* was in *Judæa*, on the settling this matter of the tax, ^a he deposed *Joazar* the son of *Boëthus* from being High-priest, and appointed *Annas* the son of *Seth* to succeed him in that office, in which he continued several years.

IN the same year while this was a doing, ^o our Saviour being then in the twelfth year of his age, went up to *Jerusalem* with *Joseph* and *Mary* to the Passover, and there first appeared in his prophetic office, and the business of his father on which he was sent, in sitting among the doctors in the temple, and there declaring the truth of God unto them. This was his first signal coming to his temple ^p foretold by the prophet *Malachi*, whereby according to the prophet *Haggai* ^q the glory of this latter house was made to be much greater than that of the former. He had been personally there before, but now first ministerially, as the messenger of the covenant whereby the messages of life and salvation were revealed unto men. And on this his coming began to be fulfilled that signal prophecy of *Jacob*, ^r *The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come.* That by *Shiloh* is here meant the *Messiah* is on all hands agreed. And at the time of this his coming *Cyrenius* having reduced *Judæa* into the form of a *Roman* province, and instead of their former governors of their own nation, placed a *Roman* procurator over them; then began the fulfilling of this prophecy, which sixty two years after was fully compleated in the destruction of *Jerusalem*. For then, that is at the time of this reduction of *Judæa* to a *Roman* province, the scepter and the lawgiver from between their feet began to be taken from them, of which in the destruction of the temple and city of *Jerusalem* by *Titus* they were wholly deprived, and have never since had them again restored.

FOR the fuller explication of this prophecy, and of the manner of its completion, these following particulars are to be observed. First, by the scepter in *Judah* is meant the sovereignty in it, and by a lawgiver from between his feet the administration of justice by those of that same nation, and according to their own laws; and both put together imply such a political constitution of government, as that whereby a nation is governed by its own princes, and by its own laws, and this was that which was not to depart from *Judah* till *Shiloh* should come. Secondly, this constitution of government all *Israel* was possessed of from their coming out of *Egypt* to the time of the prevailing of the *Assyrian* empire, they being till then under their own princes, (that is first Judges, and afterwards Kings) and governed by their own laws. But thirdly, when the Kings of *Assyria* had extended their empire on this side the *Euphrates* as far as *Palestine*, ten of the tribes of *Israel* being carried into captivity, the scepter then departed from those tribes, and the lawgiver from between their feet. For their princes and their laws being then taken away from them, they were never after that any more a people, but being scattered among the heathen nations of the east, their name and their nation were absorbed and lost in them, and they have never since been any more heard of. But

^a Josephus antiq. lib. 18. cap. 3.

^o Luke ii. 41—49.

^p Malachi iii. 1.

^q Haggai ii. 9.

^r Gen. xlix. 10.

fourthly,

fourthly, the tribe of *Judah*, though they fell under the like captivity, yet afterwards returned from it into their own land; and had there their scepter and lawgiver again restored to them. For being there imbodyed again under the same constitution of government, they had again princes of their own to be rulers over them, and the administration of justice under them by their own laws in the same manner as before; and so they continued to have without interruption (excepting only the three years and an half of *Antiochus's* persecution) till the time that *Coponius* was made procurator of *Judæa*. But then the power of life and death being taken from them, and placed in a foreign governor, and justice being thenceforth administered by the laws of *Rome*, instead of those of their own nation, then truly began the scepter to depart from *Judah*, and the lawgiver from between his feet; and this departure was fully compleated in the destruction of *Jerusalem* sixty two years after, and therein this prophecy had its intire accomplishment. Till then some few remains of power were still left among them: For they had still their Sanhedrim or national council, and they had still their High-priest, with some shadow of authority still lodged in both, and in the administration of justice some regard was still had by the *Roman* governors to their old national law. But after the temple and city of *Jerusalem* were destroyed by *Titus*, all this was absolutely and wholly abolished, and from that time neither the scepter nor the lawgiver hath been any more found among them: For although near 1650 years are now past since that destruction, and great numbers of this people swarm all over the world, yet they have never been able to imbody again into a nation either in their own, or any other land; or have they to this day ever found a place where they could re-establish their old constitution of the law, or have a prince of their own to govern them by it. As to their *Æchmalotarcha* at *Babylon*, if that officer be still there in being, he is no more than what their *Alabarcha* was at *Alexandria*, their *Ethnarcha* at *Antioch*, or their *Episcopus Judæorum* in *England*; that is, the head of that sect in that place, without sword or scepter, or any power of coercion, or authority of jurisdiction, but what he hath by the voluntary submission of the *Jews* of that countrey, which was the old *Babylonian* province. And therefore nothing can be more vain than what the *Jews* urge as to this matter, that is, that in this *Æchmalotarcha* is still preserved both the scepter and the lawgiver in the tribe of *Judah*, and that therefore the prophecy of *Jacob* above mentioned is not yet fulfilled, nor the *Messiah* as yet come.

BUT against what I have here said of the explication and fulfilling of this prophecy, it may be objected, that after the *Babylonish* captivity we find none, excepting *Zerubbabel*, to have had the government of the *Jewish* nation that were of the tribe of *Judah*; that the High-priests had mostly the regency of the land who were of the tribe of *Levi*; and that after the *Asmonæan* Princes *Herod* and *Archelaus* his son reigned in *Judæa*, who were descendants of the *Idumæans*, and not of any of the tribes of *Israel*. To this I answer, that after the captivity the tribe of *Judah* swallowed all

^f See the charter they had for this from Artaxerxes Longimanus King of Persia, Ezra vii.

^g John xviii. 31. ^{v i. e.} The head of the captivity. Such an officer the *Babylonish* *Jews* had, to whom they paid a voluntary submission. He was always chosen by them out of the house of David: But this office hath been long since antiquated, though some of the *Jews* pretend that it is there still in being even to this day.

else that were left of the other tribes of *Israel*, and all from that time were called *Jews*, and reckoned as of the sons of *Judah*: And as to *Herod*, ^v *Nicolas* of *Damascus*, who lived in his court; attests him to have been descended from one of those *Jewish* families which returned from the *Babylonish* captivity. But whether this were so or not, it is no where denied but that he was descended from ancestors, who had by proselytism been long ingrafted into the name and nation of the *Jews*, and thereby been made at least the adopted sons of the tribe of *Judah*, and therefore he cannot be reckoned as a stranger to it.

THE sum therefore is, the scepter and the lawgiver remained among the *Jews* till both began to be taken from them by the *Romans* on their reducing *Judæa* into the form of a *Roman* province, and then *Christ* the *Shiloh* promised began his coming as the *Messiah*, by then first entering on his father's business, for which he was sent. And that this exactly fell in with the time of this change plainly appears; for *Christ* was then in the "twelfth year of his age, and the twelfth year from *Christ*'s birth was that whereon *Coponius* enter'd on his government: For *Herod* lived one year after the birth of *Christ*, and after the death of *Herod* ^w *Archelaus* reigned ten years, and the next year after the *Romans* seized *Judæa*, and made it a province of their empire. *Christ* therefore first appeared in the temple as the *Messiah* at that very time when the scepter and the lawgiver first began to depart from *Judah*; and sixty two years after that, this departure was fully compleated in the destruction of the temple and city of *Jerusalem*, and the utter abolishing of the whole *Jewish* policy and constitution of government in that land, which hath never since either there or any where else been again revived.

An. 10. *MARCUS Ambivivus* ^x was sent by *Augustus* to be procurator of *Ju-*
Augu-*dæa* in the place of *Coponius*: And this same year died *Salome* the sister of
stus 40. *Herod*, a woman who by her crafty and malicious intrigues had caused great mischief in her brother's family.

An. 12. *TIBERIUS* ^y was admitted into co-partnership of command and so-
Augu-*vereignty* with *Augustus* in all the provinces and armies of the *Roman* em-
stus 42. pire, and a decree passed both the senate and people of *Rome* to confirm
Tiberius him in it. And from hence the fifteenth year of *Tiberius* mentioned in the
1. Gospel of *St. Luke* is to be reckoned.

An. 13. *AUGUSTUS* having recalled *Ambivivus* from *Judæa*, sent thither *An-*
Augu-*nus Rufus* to be procurator of that province in his stead.
stus 43.

Tiber. 2. *AUGUSTUS* *Cæsar* ^z died at *Nola* in *Campania* on the nineteenth
An. 14. of *August*, after he had lived seventy six years wanting thirty five days; for
Augu- he was born on the 23^d of *September* in the 63^d year before the christian
stus 44. æra, and died on the 19th of *August* in the 14th year of that æra. The time
Tiber. 3. of his reign was just fifty six years, reckoning it from the time of his en-
tering on his first consulship, which was on the same day in the year in
which he died; but if we reckon it from the *Actiac* victory, his reign will
then be forty four years wanting fourteen days for that victory was gained
on the second of *September*, and the day of his death was the nineteenth

^v Josephus antiq. lib. 14. cap. 2.

^u Luke ii. 42.

^w Josephus antiq. lib. 17. cap. 15.

^x Josephus antiq. lib. 18. cap. 3.

^y Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 121. Suetonius in

Tiberio cap. 21.

^z Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 123. Suetonius in Octavio cap. 100.

Tacitus lib. 1. cap. 5, & 7. Dion Cassius lib. 56. p. 589, 590.

of *August*, as hath been already here mentioned. And the *Actiac* victory being that which gave him the whole *Roman* empire, and absolute sovereignty over it, by that we here reckon the years of his reign after the deposition of *Archelaus*, and the making *Judæa* a province of the *Roman* empire. On his death ^ahe was succeeded by *Tiberius* the son of *Livia* his wife by her former husband. He had been made his partner before in the supreme command of the provinces and armies, but now the whole empire devolved to him, and that not only in the provinces and armies, but also in the sovereign city of *Rome* it self, and thereby he became in the same manner, as *Augustus* had been before, lord of all. He was fifty five years old when he first entered on this succession, and reigned from this time over the whole *Roman* empire ^btwenty two years, seven months and seven days.

TIBERIUS ^csent *Valerius Gratus* into *Judæa*, to be procurator of that province in the place of *Annius Rufus*, in which government he continued eleven years. Anno 15.
Tib- { 4.
rius { 1.

THE death of *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, and of *Antiochus* King of *Commagena*, and *Philopater* King of *Cilicia*, which all happen'd the same year, causing some disturbances in those countries, ^d*Tiberius* laid hold on this occasion to recal *Germanicus* from his *Germanic* legions, (where he feared his power and interest with the soldiery) to send him into the east, pretending that those disturbances could no otherwise be removed than by the wisdom of *Germanicus*, and therefore caused a decree to pass the senate, whereby was committed to his charge the government of all the provinces of the east beyond the *Ægean* sea. Anno 17.
Tib- { 6.
rius { 3.

GERMANICUS ^epassing into the east, reduced *Cappadocia* and *Commagena* into the form of *Roman* provinces, and having quieted the disturbances that were in *Armenia*, made *Zeno*, the son of *Polemon* King of *Pontus*, King of that countrey, to the great satisfaction both of the nobility and populacy of it, he having been bred among them, and made himself always acceptable to them. After this he marched into *Syria*, and there took up his winter quarters. *Cn. Piso* was then president of that province; ^fhe was sent thither at the same time that *Germanicus* went into the east, and his private commission from *Tiberius* was to be a curb and a check upon *Germanicus*, and to create him all the trouble and vexation he was able; and he failed not executing to the utmost all that was given him in charge as to this matter. Anno 18.
Tib- { 7.
rius { 4.

GERMANICUS in the ^gspring passed from *Syria* into *Egypt*, and there took a view of all the curiosities of that countrey, sailing up the *Nile* from *Canopus*, as far as the borders of *Æthiopia*. On his return into *Syria*, ^hhe fell sick, and died at *Antioch* of poison administer'd to him by the fraud of *Piso* and *Plancina* his wife; so *Germanicus* complained in his sickness, and so it was generally thought; and it was not doubted, but that it was ⁱby secret instruction from *Tiberius* himself, that this villanous act was done. *Germanicus* had by many eminent qualifications gained the Anno 19.
Tib- { 8.
rius { 5.

^a Josephus antiq. lib. 18. cap. 3. Velleius Paterculus lib. 2. cap. 124. Tacitus annal. lib. 1. cap. 7. Suetonius in Tiberio cap. 24. Dion Cassius lib. 57. ^b Dion Cassius lib. 58. p. 639.
^c Josephus antiq. lib. 18. cap. 3. ^d Tacitus annal. lib. 2. cap. 5. 42, 43. Josephus ibid.
^e Tacitus annal. lib. 2. cap. 54. 56. Suetonius in Caligula cap. 1. ^f Tacitus annal. lib. 2. cap. 55.
^g Tacitus annal. lib. 2. cap. 59—61. ^h Tacitus annal. lib. 2. cap. 69—72. Suetonius in Caligula cap. 1. ⁱ Suetonius in Caligula cap. 2.

esteem and affection of all men to an high degree; this produced such an envy and jealousy in *Tiberius* that he could not rest, till by these treacherous means he had procured his death. This ^k caused a general grief and mourning all over the empire, especially at *Rome*, and also a rage and wrath equal thereto against *Piso* and his wife, the supposed authors of his death.

Anno 20. AND therefore as soon as they returned to *Rome*, ^l they were both
Tibe- rius { ^{9.} arraigned for it before the senate. But *Piso* there finding his condemna-
^{6.} tion unavoidable fell on his own sword to prevent the sentence, and so
died by his own hands.

Anno 23. *VALERIUS Gratus* ^m having removed *Annas* from being High-
Tibe- rius { ^{12.} priest, after he had been fifteen years in the office, substituted *Ismael*, the
^{9.} son of *Fabus* in his place.

Anno 24. BUT the next year after being displeased with this choice ⁿ he again re-
Tibe- rius { ^{13.} moved *Ismael*, and promoted to this office *Eleazar* the son of that *Annas*,
^{10.} whom he had lately deposed from it.

Anno 25. BUT after a year's time ^o he removed him also, and made *Simon* the son
Tibe- rius { ^{14.} of *Camith* High-priest in his stead, who continued in this office no longer
^{11.} than his predecessor.

Anno 26. FOR the next year after ^p was appointed to succeed him by the same
Tibe- rius { ^{15.} *Gratus Joseph* surnamed *Caiphas*, ^q the son-in-law of *Annas* above menti-
^{12.} oned; which two ^r were the High-priests that are spoken of in the gos-
pels to have had the chief hand in the prosecuting of our Saviour to his
crucifixion. And this same year *Valerius Gratus* being recalled, ^s *Pontius*
Pilate was sent by *Tiberius* to be procurator of *Judæa* in his stead, a man
thoroughly prepared for all manner of iniquity, which he accordingly
executed through his whole government. *Philo Judæus* ^t charging him
to have been guilty therein of felling justice, and giving any sentence for
money, of rapins, of injuries, of murders, of unjust tormentings, of putting
men arbitrarily to death without process or sentence of law, and of excessive
cruelty through his whole administration; and by such an hardened tem-
per of iniquity he was thoroughly fitted for the giving of that unjust sen-
tence whereby he condemned to death him that is the Lord of life.

THIS year was the fifteenth year of *Tiberius* from the time that he was
admitted to reign in co-partnership with *Augustus*. And this was that
fifteenth year of the reign of *Tiberius* mentioned ^u by *St. Luke*, in which
St. John the Baptist ^v first preached the baptism of repentance for the re-
mission of sins, and therein the gospel of *Jesus Christ* ^x had its beginning:
For *Christ* appeared for the revealing of this gospel first by this his messenger
sent before his face to prepare the way for his personal appearance, which
was accordingly made by him three years and an half after. First there-
fore *John the Baptist* begun the ministry of the gospel in this fifteenth year
of *Tiberius*, and continued in it for three years and an half, that is, he be-
gun it about the time of the paschal feast, and continued it till the feast of
tabernacles in the fourth year after: And then *John* being cast into prison

^k Tacitus annal. lib. 2. cap. 71, 72. Suetonius in Caligula cap. 5, & 6.

^l Tacitus annal. lib. 3. cap. 10—15. Dion Cassius lib. 57. p. 615. ^m Josephus antiq.
lib. 18. cap. 3. ⁿ Josephus ibid. ^o Josephus ibid. ^p Josephus ibid.
^q John xviii. 13. ^r Luke iii. 2. Acts iv. 6. John xviii. 13, 24. ^s Josephus antiq.
lib. 18. cap. 3. ^t In libro de legatione ad Caium. ^u Luke iii. 1. ^v Luke iii. 3.
Mark i. 4. ^x Mark i. 1.

^y *Christ* appeared to take it on him in person, and personally carried it on three years and an half more. So that the whole term of *Christ's* ministry while he was here on earth, as executed first vicariously by *John* his fore-runner, and afterwards personally by himself, was exactly seven years; and these seven years constituted the last of the seventy weeks in *Daniel's* ^z prophecy. How at the beginning of this week ended the sixty two weeks of this prophecy, which pointed out the time of the coming of *Christ* in the ministry of his gospel; and how this last week then begun; and how in that week the covenant was confirmed with many; and how in the last half of it the *Levitical* sacrifices and oblations were made to cease, and in the conclusion of the said weeks the *Messiah* was cut off, hath been already shewn in the first part of this history, and therefore I need not here again repeat it.

At the time appointed by this prophecy *Christ* became a sacrifice for us to make reconciliation for our iniquities, and died upon the cross for the expiation of them; and thereby having purchased his spiritual kingdom over us, he took possession of it on his resurrection from the dead. For then his church, which is his kingdom, had its beginning, and therein were fulfilled two other of *Daniel's* prophecies relating to this his kingdom; the first contained in the second chapter of that prophet, and the other in the seventh; both which foretold, that the Kingdom of the *Messiah* should come on and grow upon the decay of that of the *Romans*. For the four kingdoms set forth by the four metals of *Nebuchadnezzar's* image in the first of those prophecies, and by the four beasts in the other, are meant the four monarchies of the *Babylonians*, the *Persians*, and *Macedonians*, and the *Romans*; and that after the decay of the kingdom of the *Romans*, the kingdom of the *Messiah* should commence is plainly expressed in both these prophecies. For what is said of the King of the next succeeding kingdom in the first of these prophecies, that ^a *his kingdom should never be destroyed, but should stand for ever*, and in the second of them, that ^b *there was given to him dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him, and that his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that, which shall not be destroyed*, can be understood of none other than of *Christ* and his kingdom. And therefore the strength of the *Roman* empire beginning to decay in the reign of *Tiberius*, then accordingly commenced the beginning of the kingdom of the *Messiah* in the erection of his Church here on earth. In ^c the first of these prophecies the *Roman* empire is set forth by legs of iron, and feet of iron and clay mingled together; this implies the two sorts of governments which the *Romans* were under; first the legal government under their old constitution, and the other the arbitrary and tyrannical government under their Emperors. As long as the first remained, the empire of *Rome* stood firm and strong upon it, as upon legs of iron. But when the second commenced, and in the place of legal government succeeded arbitrary will and pleasure; then clay was mingled with iron in the feet; and thereby the basis was made weak, on which the whole structure was founded. As long as *Augustus* lived, who was a Prince wise, just, and clement, the clay in the foundation of his government, was as strong and

An. 33.
Tiberius
19.

^y Matth. iv. 12, & 17.

^z Daniel ix.

^a Daniel ii. 44.

^b Daniel vii. 14.

^c Daniel ii. 33, 40.

firm as the iron. But when *Tiberius* succeeded, ^d who had more of the beast in him than of the man, and governed for the most part without reason or justice by a most barbarous and cruel will and pleasure, the clay began to moulder, and the foundations of this kingdom to grow weak and decay. And at this very time, when it began so to do, *Christ's* kingdom commenced in the erection of his Church, and where that begun there the *Jewish* Church with the whole *Mosaic* oeconomy ended. And this being the utmost term to which I proposed to bring down this work, I shall here put a conclusion to it with my most humble and hearty thanksgiving and praise to Almighty God, that he hath of his great mercy and goodness given me life and strength to enable me thus to complete it.

^d See his life in Suetonius.





A

Chronological Table

To the Foregoing

HISTORY.

| Julian pe- riod. | Years before <i>Christ.</i> | High-priests of the Jews. <i>Eleazar.</i> | Kings of <i>Egypt.</i> | The era of <i>Seleucus.</i> | Kings of <i>Syria.</i> | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|---|---------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|---|
| 4423 | 291 | 1 | 14 | 22 | 22 | <i>Eleazar</i> the brother of <i>Simon the Just</i> succeeds him in the high-priesthood at <i>Jerusalem</i> . |
| 4 | 290 | 2 | 15 | 23 | 23 | |
| 5 | 289 | 3 | 16 | 24 | 24 | |
| 6 | 288 | 4 | 17 | 25 | 25 | <i>Demetrius</i> makes great preparations to recover his father's dominions in <i>Asia</i> and the east. |
| 7 | 287 | 5 | 18 | 26 | 26 | His army revolting from him, he is driven out of <i>Macedon</i> , and makes a desperate attempt upon <i>Asia</i> , wherein failing of success he is brought into great distress. |
| 8 | 286 | 6 | 19 | 27 | 27 | <i>Demetrius</i> is forced to yield himself prisoner to <i>Seleucus</i> . |
| 9 | 285 | 7 | 20 | 28 | 28 | <i>Ptolemy Soter</i> resigns his kingdom to <i>Philadelphus</i> his younger son; whereon <i>Ceraunus</i> the elder flies out of <i>Egypt</i> , first to <i>Lyfimachus</i> , and afterwards to <i>Seleucus</i> . |
| 4430 | 284 | 8 | 1 | 29 | 29 | The watch tower of <i>Pharus</i> finished, and the worship of <i>Serapis</i> first brought into <i>Egypt</i> . <i>Ptolemy Soter</i> dies. |
| 1 | 283 | 9 | 2 | 30 | 30 | <i>Seleucus</i> and <i>Lyfimachus</i> prepare for war against each other. |
| 2 | 282 | 10 | 3 | 31 | 31 | <i>Seleucus</i> takes <i>Sardis</i> , and makes himself master of <i>Lesser Asia</i> . |
| 3 | 281 | 11 | 4 | 32 | 32 | <i>Lyfimachus</i> is slain in battel by <i>Seleucus</i> . |

| Julian period. | Years before Christ. | High-priests of the Jews. | Kings of Egypt. | The era of Seleucus. | Kings of Syria. | |
|----------------|----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------|---|
| 4434 | 280 | 12 | 5 | 33 | 33 | <i>Seleucus</i> is slain treacherously by <i>Ptolemy Ceraunus</i> , who thereon becomes King of <i>Macedon</i> . |
| 5 | 279 | 13 | 6 | 34 | 1 | <i>Antiochus Soter</i> succeeds <i>Seleucus</i> . The <i>Gauls</i> make an irruption into <i>Greece</i> , vanquish and slay <i>Ptolemy Ceraunus</i> ; are vanquish'd and expell'd by <i>Softhenes</i> . |
| 6 | 278 | 14 | 7 | 35 | 2 | The <i>Gauls</i> make a second irruption into <i>Greece</i> under the command of <i>Brennus</i> . They are vanquish'd and ruin'd. |
| 7 | 277 | 15 | 8 | 36 | 3 | The remains of the <i>Gauls</i> pass into <i>Lesser Asia</i> , and there settle in <i>Galatia</i> . The <i>Hebrew</i> scriptures first translated into <i>Greek</i> . |
| 8 | 276 | 1 | 9 | 37 | 4 | <i>Antigonus Gonatas</i> the son of <i>Demetrius</i> succeeds <i>Softhenes</i> in the kingdom of <i>Macedon</i> . |
| 9 | 275 | 2 | 10 | 38 | 5 | <i>Antiochus</i> vanquisheth the <i>Gauls</i> , and thereby frees <i>Lesser Asia</i> from their ravages; hence he is called <i>Soter</i> , i. e. the Saviour. |
| 4440 | 274 | 3 | 11 | 39 | 6 | The <i>Romans</i> having after a six years war driven <i>Pyrrhus</i> out of <i>Italy</i> , began to be of great renown in the east, whereon <i>Ptolemy</i> sent an embassy to them to pray their alliance. |
| 1 | 273 | 4 | 12 | 40 | 7 | The <i>Romans</i> send an embassy to <i>Ptolemy</i> , and make an alliance with him. |
| 2 | 272 | 5 | 13 | 41 | 8 | <i>Pyrrhus</i> slain at <i>Argos</i> . |
| 3 | 271 | 6 | 14 | 42 | 9 | |
| 4 | 270 | 7 | 15 | 43 | 10 | |
| 5 | 269 | 8 | 16 | 44 | 11 | |
| 6 | 268 | 9 | 17 | 45 | 12 | <i>Philadelphus</i> , and the <i>Athenians</i> and <i>Lacedæmonians</i> make war upon <i>Antigonus Gonatas</i> King of <i>Macedon</i> , now grown powerful since the death of <i>Pyrrhus</i> , but without success. |
| 7 | 267 | 10 | 18 | 46 | 13 | <i>Sotades</i> the lewd poet put to death. |
| 8 | 266 | 11 | 19 | 47 | 14 | |
| 9 | 265 | 12 | 20 | 48 | 15 | <i>Magas</i> governor of <i>Libya</i> , and <i>Cyrene</i> for <i>Ptolemy Philadelphus</i> his brother, rebels, and makes himself King of those countries. |
| 4450 | 264 | 13 | 21 | 49 | 16 | <i>Antiochus</i> King of <i>Syria</i> , and <i>Ptolemy</i> King of <i>Egypt</i> make war upon each other. |
| 1 | 263 | 14 | 22 | 50 | 17 | <i>Philetærus</i> the first founder of the <i>Pergamenian</i> kingdom dies, and is succeeded by <i>Eumenes</i> his brother's son. <i>Antigonus</i> of <i>Socho</i> president of the <i>Sanhedrim</i> at <i>Jerusalem</i> dies. |
| 2 | 262 | 15 | 23 | 51 | 18 | <i>Nicomedia</i> in <i>Bithynia</i> built by <i>Nicomedes</i> the King of that countrey. <i>Eumenes</i> overthrows <i>Antiochus</i> , and thereby establisheth himself at <i>Pergamus</i> . |
| 3 | 261 | 16 | 24 | 52 | 19 | <i>Antiochus Soter</i> dies at <i>Antioch</i> , and is succeeded by <i>Antiochus Theus</i> his son. |
| 4 | 260 | 17 | 25 | 53 | 1 | <i>Antiochus</i> vanquish'd and slew <i>Timarchus</i> tyrant of <i>Ephesus</i> . <i>Berosus</i> the famous <i>Babylonian</i> historian flourish'd. |
| 5 | 259 | 18 | 26 | 54 | 2 | <i>Ptolemy Philadelphus</i> built <i>Berenice</i> , a port on the western shoar of the <i>Red Sea</i> , and thereby drew all the trade of the east into <i>Egypt</i> , and <i>Alexandria</i> thenceforth became its principal mart. |
| 6 | 258 | 19 | 27 | 55 | 3 | <i>Magas</i> King of <i>Libya</i> and <i>Cyrene</i> made peace with <i>Ptolemy</i> on terms of marrying his daughter, |

| Julian pe- riod. | Years before Christ. | High-priests of the Jews. | Kings of Egypt. | The era of Seleucus. | Kings of Syria. | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--|
| 4457 | 257 | 20 | 28 | 56 | 4 | who was his only child, to <i>Ptolemy's</i> eldest son, and thereby uniting <i>Libya</i> and <i>Cyrene</i> again to <i>Egypt</i> . |
| 8 | 256 | 21 | 29 | 57 | 5 | <i>Magas</i> died, whereon <i>Apame</i> his widow would, contrary to the late contract, have married her daughter to <i>Demetrius</i> the son of <i>Demetrius</i> late King of <i>Macedon</i> , but <i>Demetrius</i> being slain the lady was sent into <i>Egypt</i> , |
| 9 | 255 | 22 | 30 | 58 | 6 | And <i>Apame</i> retiring into <i>Syria</i> to <i>Antiochus</i> her brother, there excited him to a war against <i>Ptolemy</i> , which lasted several years to his very great damage. |
| 4460 | 254 | 23 | 31 | 59 | 7 | <i>Ptolemy</i> carries on his war against <i>Antiochus</i> by his lieutenants. |
| | | | | | | <i>Philadelphus</i> is very diligent in gathering together books, pictures, and statues for the adorning and replenishing of his <i>Museum</i> and library, for which <i>Aratus</i> the <i>Sicyonian</i> was one of his agents in <i>Greece</i> . |
| 1 | 253 | 24 | 32 | 60 | 8 | |
| 2 | 252 | 25 | 33 | 61 | 9 | |
| 3 | 251 | 26 | 34 | 62 | 10 | <i>Manasseh</i> the High-priest of the Jews dying towards the end of this year, was succeeded by <i>Onias</i> the second of that name, the son of <i>Simon the Just</i> . |
| 4 | 250 | Onias the Second. | 35 | 63 | 11 | While <i>Antiochus</i> was pursuing his war against <i>Ptolemy</i> , the <i>Parthians</i> rebelled in the East under the leading of <i>Arfaces</i> , who on this occasion first founded the <i>Parthian</i> empire. The <i>Bactrians</i> revolted at the same time. |
| 5 | 249 | 2 | 36 | 64 | 12 | Peace was made between <i>Ptolemy</i> and <i>Antiochus</i> on the terms that <i>Antiochus</i> divorced <i>Laodice</i> his former wife, and married <i>Berenice</i> the daughter of <i>Ptolemy</i> . |
| 6 | 248 | 3 | 37 | 65 | 13 | <i>Arfinoe</i> the sister and beloved wife of <i>Ptolemy Philadelphus</i> dies. |
| 7 | 247 | 4 | 38 | 66 | 14 | <i>Ptolemy Philadelphus</i> dies in the end of the year, and is succeeded by <i>Ptolemy Euergetes</i> his son. |
| 8 | 246 | 5 | Ptolemy Euergetes. | 67 | 15 | <i>Antiochus</i> puts away <i>Berenice</i> , and recalls <i>Laodice</i> , who poisons him, cuts off <i>Berenice</i> and her son, and makes <i>Seleucus Callinicus</i> her son King. <i>Euergetes</i> for revenge hereof marcheth into <i>Syria</i> , slays <i>Laodice</i> , and reduceth under him a great part of the <i>Syrian</i> empire. |
| 9 | 245 | 6 | | 68 | 1 | <i>Callinicus</i> having provided a great fleet for the reducing of the revolted cities of <i>Asia</i> , loseth it all in a storm; whereon those cities out of compassion to his case returned again to him. |
| 4470 | 244 | 7 | 3 | 69 | 2 | <i>Callinicus</i> being overthrown in a great battel by <i>Ptolemy</i> , calls in <i>Antiochus Hierax</i> his brother to his assistance. |
| 1 | 243 | 8 | 4 | 70 | 3 | <i>Ptolemy</i> maketh peace with <i>Seleucus Callinicus</i> . |
| 2 | 242 | 9 | 5 | 71 | 4 | <i>Hierax</i> maketh war upon <i>Callinicus</i> his brother, and overthrows him in a battel near <i>Ancyra</i> ; and is immediately after, while sore of that battel, fall'n upon and overthrown by <i>Eumenes</i> of <i>Pergamus</i> . |

| Julian period. | Years before Christ. | High-priests of the Jews. | Kings of Egypt. | The era of Seleucus. | Kings of Syria. | |
|----------------|----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------|---|
| 4473 | 241 | 10 | 6 | 72 | 5 | <i>Eumenes</i> of <i>Pergamus</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Attalus</i> his uncle's son, who first took the style of King. While the two brothers in <i>Syria</i> war against each other, <i>Arsaces</i> seizeth <i>Hyrkania</i> , and adds it to <i>Parthia</i> . |
| 4 | 240 | 11 | 7 | 73 | 6 | <i>Hierax</i> being overcome by <i>Callinicus</i> , flees first into <i>Cappadocia</i> , and from thence into <i>Egypt</i> , where he is made a prisoner by <i>Ptolemy</i> . |
| 5 | 239 | 12 | 8 | 74 | 7 | <i>Ptolemy</i> applies himself to augment his library at <i>Alexandria</i> , and makes <i>Eratosthenes</i> his library-keeper. |
| 6 | 238 | 13 | 9 | 75 | 8 | |
| 7 | 237 | 14 | 10 | 76 | 9 | |
| 8 | 236 | 15 | 11 | 77 | 10 | <i>Seleucus Callinicus</i> marcheth into the <i>East</i> to reduce the <i>Parthians</i> , but returns without success, being recalled by some commotions in <i>Syria</i> . |
| 9 | 235 | 16 | 12 | 78 | 11 | |
| 4480 | 234 | 17 | 13 | 79 | 12 | |
| 1 | 233 | 18 | 14 | 80 | 13 | |
| 2 | 232 | 19 | 15 | 81 | 14 | |
| 3 | 231 | 20 | 16 | 82 | 15 | |
| 4 | 230 | 21 | 17 | 83 | 16 | <i>Seleucus</i> makes a second expedition against <i>Arsaces</i> , and is vanquished and taken prisoner. |
| 5 | 229 | 22 | 18 | 84 | 17 | |
| 6 | 228 | 23 | 19 | 85 | 18 | |
| 7 | 227 | 24 | 20 | 86 | 19 | |
| 8 | 226 | 25 | 21 | 87 | 20 | <i>Onias</i> sends <i>Joseph</i> his nephew on an embassy to King <i>Ptolemy</i> . <i>Joseph</i> farms of that King all his revenues of <i>Cæle-Syria</i> , <i>Phœnicia</i> , and <i>Judæa</i> . |
| 9 | 225 | 26 | 22 | 88 | 1 | <i>Seleucus Callinicus</i> being dead in <i>Parthia</i> of a fall from his horse, is succeeded in <i>Syria</i> by <i>Seleucus Ceraunus</i> his eldest son. |
| 4490 | 224 | 27 | 23 | 89 | 2 | <i>Seleucus</i> marcheth into <i>Lesser Asia</i> to make war upon <i>Attalus</i> King of <i>Pergamus</i> . |
| 1 | 223 | 28 | 24 | 90 | 3 | He is there poisoned by those about him. <i>Achæus</i> revengeth his death upon the authors of it. |
| 2 | 222 | 29 | 25 | 91 | 1 | <i>Antiochus</i> brother of <i>Seleucus</i> succeeds him; makes <i>Hermias</i> his chief minister, <i>Achæus</i> governor of <i>Lesser Asia</i> , and <i>Alexander</i> and <i>Molon</i> two brothers governors of <i>Persia</i> and <i>Media</i> . The <i>Colossus</i> at <i>Rhodes</i> overthrown. |
| 3 | 221 | 30 | 1 | 92 | 2 | <i>Euergetes</i> being dead is succeeded by <i>Philopator</i> his son. <i>Alexander</i> and <i>Molon</i> rebel. <i>Antiochus</i> sends an army against them, and marcheth with another into <i>Cæle-Syria</i> . His former army is beaten, and the other returns without success. |
| 4 | 220 | 31 | 2 | 93 | 3 | <i>Antiochus</i> goes in person against <i>Alexander</i> and <i>Molon</i> , vanquisheth and destroys them both. <i>Achæus</i> rebels and usurps <i>Lesser Asia</i> . <i>Hermias</i> put to death. |
| 5 | 219 | 32 | 3 | 94 | 4 | <i>Antiochus</i> takes <i>Seleucia</i> , <i>Tyre</i> , <i>Ptolemais</i> , and <i>Damascus</i> , and thereby makes himself master of almost all <i>Cæle-Syria</i> and <i>Phœnicia</i> . |
| 6 | 218 | 33 | 4 | 95 | 5 | <i>Antiochus</i> vanquisheth <i>Nicolas</i> <i>Ptolemy's</i> lieutenant in <i>Cæle-Syria</i> and <i>Phœnicia</i> , and makes |

| Julian period. | Years before Christ. | High-priests of the Jews. | Kings of Egypt. | The era of Seleucus. | Kings of Syria. | |
|----------------|----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------|--|
| 4497 | 217 | 1 Simon the Second. | 5 | 96 | 6 | himself master of all <i>Galilee</i> , <i>Samaria</i> , and the land beyond <i>Jordan</i> as far as <i>Rabbah</i> of the children of <i>Ammon</i> . |
| 8 | 216 | 2 | 6 | 97 | 7 | <i>Ptolemy</i> overth.ows <i>Antiochus</i> in a great battel at <i>Raphia</i> , and recovers again all <i>Cæle-Syria</i> and <i>Phœnicia</i> . <i>Ptolemy</i> comes to <i>Jerusalem</i> and would have enter'd into the inner-temple, is forbid by <i>Simon</i> the High-priest. |
| 9 | 215 | 3 | 7 | 98 | 8 | Peace being made with <i>Antiochus</i> , and <i>Ptolemy</i> again returned again to <i>Alexandria</i> , he would have destroyed all the Jews of <i>Egypt</i> . He is providentially hinder'd. <i>Antiochus</i> vanquisheth <i>Achæus</i> , and shuts him up in <i>Sardis</i> . |
| 4500 | 214 | 4 | 8 | 99 | 9 | <i>Antiochus</i> takes <i>Sardis</i> , puts <i>Achæus</i> to death, and recovers all <i>Lesser Asia</i> . |
| 1 | 213 | 5 | 9 | 100 | 10 | A rebellion in <i>Egypt</i> . It was master'd by <i>Ptolemy</i> . |
| 2 | 212 | 6 | 10 | 101 | 11 | <i>Antiochus</i> marcheth into the <i>East</i> to reduce the <i>Parthians</i> , and other revolted provinces. He recovers <i>Media</i> , and drives <i>Arfaces</i> thence, who had lately seized that province. |
| 3 | 211 | 7 | 11 | 102 | 12 | <i>Antiochus</i> pursues <i>Arfaces</i> into <i>Parthia</i> , and drives him thence into <i>Hyrkania</i> , |
| 4 | 210 | 8 | 12 | 103 | 13 | Pursues him into <i>Hyrkania</i> , and there besiegeth and takes <i>Syringis</i> . |
| 5 | 209 | 9 | 13 | 104 | 14 | <i>Antiochus</i> and <i>Arfaces</i> waste each other in divers conflicts, neither gaining any considerable advantage over the other. |
| 6 | 208 | 10 | 14 | 105 | 15 | <i>Antiochus</i> growing weary of the war with <i>Arfaces</i> makes peace with him, and yields to him <i>Parthia</i> and <i>Hyrkania</i> . |
| 7 | 207 | 11 | 15 | 106 | 16 | <i>Antiochus</i> wakes war with <i>Euthydemus</i> King of <i>Bactria</i> . <i>Ptolemy Philopator</i> gives himself wholly up to a most profligate course of life at <i>Alexandria</i> . |
| 8 | 206 | 12 | 16 | 107 | 17 | <i>Antiochus</i> makes peace with <i>Euthydemus</i> , marcheth into <i>India</i> , reneweth there his league with <i>Sophagasenus</i> the King of that countrey, and winters in <i>Carmania</i> . |
| 9 | 205 | 13 | 17 | 108 | 18 | He returns through <i>Persia</i> , <i>Babylonia</i> , and <i>Mesopotamia</i> unto <i>Antioch</i> , and there takes the name of the Great for his success in this expedition. |
| 4510 | 204 | 14 Ptolemy Epiphanes. | 1 | 109 | 19 | <i>Ptolemy Philopator</i> being dead is succeeded by <i>Ptolemy Epiphanes</i> , an infant of five years old. <i>Agathoclea</i> the concubine, and <i>Agathocles</i> the favourite of the late King, are slain in a tumult. |
| 1 | 203 | 15 | 2 | 110 | 20 | <i>Antiochus</i> and <i>Philip</i> King of <i>Macedon</i> make a league to seize all <i>Ptolemy's</i> dominions, and divide them between them, and <i>Antiochus</i> accordingly seized <i>Palestine</i> and <i>Cæle-Syria</i> . |
| 2 | 202 | 16 | 3 | 111 | 21 | <i>Scipio</i> vanquish'd <i>Hannibal</i> in <i>Africa</i> : Hereon the <i>Alexandrians</i> finding the power of the <i>Romans</i> to be great, implore their protection for their infant King, and offer them the tuition of him, which the <i>Romans</i> accept of. |

| Julian period. | Years before Christ. | High-priests of the Jews. | Kings of Egypt. | The era of Seleucus. | Kings of Syria. | |
|----------------|----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------|---|
| 4513 | 201 | 17 | 4 | 112 | 22 | The Romans send <i>M. Æmylius Lepidus</i> into <i>Egypt</i> to take care of the affairs of the infant King, who having settled them under the ministry of <i>Aristomenes</i> an <i>Acaranian</i> , returns to <i>Rome</i> . |
| 4 | 200 | 18 | 5 | 113 | 23 | <i>Aristomenes</i> sent <i>Scopas</i> into <i>Greece</i> to hire mercenaries, who brought thence 6000 stout <i>Ætolians</i> into <i>Ptolemy's</i> service. |
| 5 | 199 | 19 | 6 | 114 | 24 | <i>Antiochus</i> waging war with <i>Attalus</i> King of <i>Pergamus</i> , <i>Aristomenes</i> took the advantage of it to send <i>Scopas</i> into <i>Palestine</i> and <i>Cœle-Syria</i> , who recovers <i>Jerusalem</i> , <i>Judea</i> , and many other places to King <i>Ptolemy</i> . |
| 6 | 198 | 20 | 7 | 115 | 25 | <i>Antiochus</i> having made peace with <i>Attalus</i> returns into <i>Cœle-Syria</i> ; vanquisheth <i>Scopas</i> in a great battel at <i>Paneas</i> near the fountains of <i>Jordan</i> , and recovers all that was lost the former year. |
| 7 | 197 | 21 | 8 | 116 | 26 | <i>Antiochus</i> goes with a great fleet and army into <i>Lesser Asia</i> , in order to make war upon the Romans. <i>Attalus</i> King of <i>Pergamus</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Eumenes</i> the eldest of his four sons. |
| 8 | 196 | 22 | 9 | 117 | 27 | <i>Antiochus</i> passeth the <i>Hellepont</i> , seizeth the <i>Thracian Chersonesus</i> , and rebuilds <i>Lysimachia</i> . <i>Scopas</i> lays a dangerous plot against King <i>Ptolemy</i> ; he is discovered, and put to death. |
| 9 | 195 | Onias the Third. | 10 | 118 | 28 | <i>Hannibal</i> comes to <i>Antiochus</i> , and confirms him in his resolution of making war upon the Romans. <i>Simon</i> the High-priest of the Jews being dead, is succeeded by <i>Onias</i> the Third, his son. |
| 4520 | 194 | | 11 | 119 | 29 | <i>Eratosthenes</i> the library-keeper at <i>Alexandria</i> being dead, is succeeded in that office by <i>Apollonius Rhodius</i> . |
| 1 | 193 | | 12 | 120 | 30 | <i>Antiochus</i> marries his daughter <i>Cleopatra</i> to <i>Ptolemy Epiphanes</i> King of <i>Egypt</i> . |
| 2 | 192 | | 13 | 121 | 31 | <i>Antiochus</i> , King <i>Antiochus's</i> eldest son, dieth at <i>Antioch</i> . <i>Antiochus</i> passeth into <i>Greece</i> to make war upon the Romans. |
| 3 | 191 | | 14 | 122 | 32 | <i>Antiochus</i> marries his host's daughter at <i>Chalcis</i> , is beaten by <i>Acilius</i> the Roman consul at <i>Thermopylæ</i> , and forced to a precipitate flight by sea into <i>Asia</i> . His fleet beaten near mount <i>Corycus</i> . |
| 4 | 190 | 6 | 15 | 123 | 33 | <i>Antiochus's</i> fleet beaten near <i>Myonnesus</i> . <i>Lucius Scipio</i> passeth the <i>Hellepont</i> , vanquisheth <i>Antiochus</i> near mount <i>Sipylos</i> , and forceth him to an ignominious peace. |
| 5 | 189 | 7 | 16 | 124 | 34 | The Romans give the provinces of <i>Caria</i> and <i>Lycia</i> to the <i>Rhodians</i> , and all the rest of <i>Lesser Asia</i> to <i>Eumenes</i> King of <i>Pergamus</i> . <i>Manlius</i> succeeds <i>L. Scipio</i> in <i>Lesser Asia</i> . |
| 6 | 188 | 8 | 17 | 125 | 35 | <i>Manlius</i> vanquisheth the Gauls of <i>Lesser Asia</i> , and reduceth them into order. |
| 7 | 187 | 9 | 18 | 126 | 36 | <i>Hyrcanus</i> is sent by <i>Joseph</i> his father on an embassy to King <i>Ptolemy</i> on the birth of his eldest son. <i>Antiochus</i> is slain while he at- |

| Julian pe- riod. | Years before Christ. | High-priests of the Jews. | Kings of Egypt. | The era of Seleucus. | Kings of Syria. | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| | | | | | | tempted to rob the temple of <i>Jupiter</i> in <i>Elymais</i> . |
| 4528 | 186 | 10 | 19 | 127 | 1 <i>Seleucus Philopator.</i> | <i>Seleucus Philopator</i> succeeds him in <i>Syria</i> . <i>Ptolemy</i> poisons <i>Aristomenes</i> , and makes <i>Polycrates</i> his chief minister in his stead, and gives himself up to all manner of looseness. |
| 9 | 185 | 11 | 20 | 128 | 2 | <i>Ptolemy</i> by his male-administration drives the <i>Egyptians</i> into a rebellion. |
| 4530 | 184 | 12 | 21 | 129 | 3 | Masters it by the wisdom and valour of <i>Polycrates</i> . |
| 1 | 183 | 13 | 22 | 130 | 4 | <i>Ptolemy</i> after having granted the revolted nobility terms of peace, and thereby gotten them within his power, perfidiously puts them all to death. |
| 2 | 182 | 14 | 23 | 131 | 5 | |
| 3 | 181 | 15 | 24 | 132 | 6 | <i>Ptolemy</i> as he was preparing for war against <i>Seleucus</i> King of <i>Syria</i> , is poison'd by those about him and dies. |
| 4 | 180 | 16 | 1 | 133 | 7 | <i>Ptolemy Philometor</i> his eldest son, an infant of six years old, succeeds him under the tuition of <i>Cleopatra</i> his mother. |
| 5 | 179 | 17 | 2 | 134 | 8 | <i>Philip</i> King of <i>Macedon</i> dying is succeeded by <i>Perseus</i> his son. |
| 6 | 178 | 18 | 3 | 135 | 9 | |
| 7 | 177 | 19 | 4 | 136 | 10 | <i>Perseus</i> King of <i>Macedon</i> marries <i>Laodice</i> , the daughter of <i>Seleucus</i> King of <i>Syria</i> . |
| 8 | 176 | 20 | 5 | 137 | 11 | <i>Simon</i> the protector of the temple quarrels with <i>Onias</i> the High-priest, is driven out of <i>Judea</i> , flies into <i>Syria</i> , and brings <i>Heliodorus</i> to rob the temple. <i>Antiochus</i> the brother of <i>Seleucus</i> an hostage at <i>Rome</i> exchanged for <i>Demetrius</i> the son of <i>Seleucus</i> . |
| 9 | 175 | 1. 21 | 6 | 138 | 1 <i>Antiochus Epiphanes.</i> | <i>Seleucus</i> King of <i>Syria</i> being dead, is succeeded by <i>Antiochus Epiphanes</i> his brother newly returned from <i>Rome</i> . <i>Jason</i> buys the high-priesthood of him, and supplants <i>Onias</i> his brother. |
| 4540 | 174 | 2. 22 | 7 | 139 | 2 | <i>Jason</i> introduceth heathen rites into <i>Jerusalem</i> , and sends offerings to <i>Hercules</i> of <i>Tyre</i> . |
| 1 | 173 | 3. 23 | 8 | 140 | 3 | <i>Cleopatra</i> Queen of <i>Egypt</i> dies. The tuition of the young King falls into the hands of <i>Lenæus</i> and <i>Eulæus</i> ; they demand of <i>Antiochus</i> the restitution of <i>Cœle-Syria</i> and <i>Palestine</i> , and thereby cause a long war between the two Kings. |
| 2 | 172 | 1. 24 | 9 | 141 | 4 | <i>Menelaus</i> another brother of <i>Onias</i> 's supplants <i>Jason</i> , and buys of <i>Antiochus</i> the high-priesthood: Whereon <i>Jason</i> flies to the <i>Ammonites</i> . |
| 3 | 171 | 2 | 10 | 142 | 5 | <i>Onias</i> is put to death at <i>Antioch</i> . <i>Lysimachus</i> , <i>Menelaus</i> 's deputy at <i>Jerusalem</i> , slain in a tumult. <i>Antiochus</i> makes his first expedition into <i>Egypt</i> , and gains a great victory near <i>Pelusium</i> . |
| 4 | 170 | 3 | 11 | 143 | 6 | <i>Antiochus</i> makes his second expedition into <i>Egypt</i> , gains another victory, and makes himself master of all <i>Egypt</i> except <i>Alexandria</i> . <i>Philometor</i> being fallen into the hands of <i>Antiochus</i> , the <i>Alexandrians</i> make <i>Phyfeon</i> King. |

| Julian pe- riod. | Years before Christ. | Princes of Judea. | Kings of Egypt. | The era of Seleucus. | Kings of Syria. | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|---|
| 4545 | 169 | 4 | 12 | 144 | 7 | <i>Antiochus</i> in his return takes and miserably de- stroys <i>Jerusalem</i> . |
| 6 | 168 | 5 | 13 | 145 | 8 | <i>Antiochus</i> makes his third expedition into <i>Egypt</i> . Attempts the siege of <i>Alexandria</i> without suc- cess. <i>Philometor</i> being left in <i>Egypt</i> to make war with <i>Physcon</i> , comes to an agreement with him upon terms that they should jointly reign together. |
| 7 | 167 | 6 | 14 | 146 | 9 | <i>Antiochus</i> makes his fourth and last expedition into <i>Egypt</i> ; is forced by the <i>Romans</i> to return. <i>Apollonius</i> sent by him to compleat the ruin of <i>Jerusalem</i> , built the fortrels on mount <i>Akra</i> . <i>Antiochus</i> begins his persecution of the <i>Jewish</i> religion. <i>Mattathias</i> and his sons take arms against him. |
| 8 | 166 | 1 | 15 | 147 | 10 | The seven <i>Maccabean</i> brothers and their mother martyr'd, and the persecution against the <i>Jews</i> is violently carried on. |
| 9 | 165 | 2 | 16 | 148 | 11 | <i>Mattathias</i> being dead <i>Judas</i> is made captain of the <i>Jews</i> in his stead. He vanquisheth <i>Apol- lonius</i> and <i>Seron</i> . <i>Antiochus</i> went into the <i>East</i> . <i>Nicanor</i> and <i>Timotheus</i> two of his cap- tains vanquished by <i>Judas</i> . |
| 4550 | 164 | 3 | 17 | 149 | 1 | <i>Judas</i> vanquisheth <i>Lysias</i> , recovers <i>Jerusalem</i> and the sanctuary; restores the daily worship; in- stitutes the feast of the dedication, and forti- fied <i>Bethsura</i> against the <i>Edomites</i> . |
| 1 | 163 | 4 | 18 | 150 | 2 | <i>Antiochus Epiphanes</i> being dead in the <i>East</i> , is succeeded by <i>Antiochus Eupator</i> his son, un- der the tuition of <i>Lysias</i> . <i>Judas</i> vanquisheth the <i>Edomites</i> and <i>Ammonites</i> , overthrows and slays <i>Timotheus</i> , and relieves the <i>Jews</i> in <i>Gi- lead</i> . |
| 2 | 162 | 5 | 19 | 151 | 1 | <i>Judas</i> vanquisheth <i>Lysias</i> the second time; over- throws another <i>Timotheus</i> in <i>Gilead</i> , and forc- eth <i>Lysias</i> in his third expedition against him to terms of peace. <i>Menelaus</i> is slain, and <i>Al- cimus</i> made High-priest in his stead. |
| 3 | 161 | 6 | 20 | 152 | 2 | <i>Demetrius</i> returns from <i>Rome</i> ; seizeth the king- dom of <i>Syria</i> , slays <i>Eupator</i> and <i>Lysias</i> ; sends first <i>Bacchides</i> , and after that <i>Nicanor</i> , against the <i>Jews</i> . |
| 4 | 160 | 1 | 21 | 153 | 3 | <i>Nicanor</i> vanquished and slain by <i>Judas</i> , and all his army cut off to a man. <i>Bacchides</i> being sent to revenge this blow, slays <i>Judas</i> in bat- tel, and miserably oppresseth the <i>Jews</i> . <i>Jo- nathan</i> made their captain instead of <i>Judas</i> . |
| 5 | 159 | 2 | 22 | 154 | 4 | <i>Alcimus</i> dying <i>Bacchides</i> returns, and the <i>Jews</i> thereon enjoy peace for two years. |
| 6 | 158 | 3 | 23 | 155 | 5 | <i>Demetrius</i> drives <i>Ariarathes</i> King of <i>Cappadocia</i> out of his kingdom, and makes <i>Holophernes</i> King in his stead. <i>Eumenes</i> King of <i>Perga- mus</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Attalus</i> his bro- ther. |
| | | | | | | <i>Bacchides</i> came again into <i>Judea</i> ; being worsted by <i>Jonathan</i> and <i>Simon</i> at the siege of <i>Bethbasi</i> , makes peace with the <i>Jews</i> and returns. |

| Julian period. | Years before Christ. | Princes of Judea. | Kings of Egypt. | The era of Seleucus. | Kings of Syria. | |
|----------------|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|--|
| 4557 | 157 | 4 | 24 | 156 | 6 | <i>Ariarathes</i> is restored by <i>Attalus</i> , and <i>Holopernes</i> flees to <i>Antioch</i> . |
| 8 | 156 | 5 | 25 | 157 | 7 | <i>Phyſcon</i> obtains a decree from the ſenate of <i>Rome</i> againſt his brother; |
| 9 | 155 | 6 | 26 | 158 | 8 | By virtue whereof he lands with an army in <i>Cyprus</i> , is there vanquiſhed and taken priſoner; but is reſtored to <i>Libya</i> and <i>Cyrene</i> by the kindneſs of his brother. |
| 4560 | 154 | 7 | 27 | 159 | 9 | <i>Demetrius</i> giving himſelf wholly up to ſloth and luxury, and neglecting the government, loſeth the affection of his people, whereon <i>Alexander Balas</i> an impoſtor ſets up againſt him. |
| 1 | 153 | 8 | 28 | 160 | 10 | He being own'd by the <i>Romans</i> lands at <i>Ptolemais</i> , and great numbers revolt to him. <i>Jonathan</i> declares for him, and is made High-prieſt. |
| 2 | 152 | 9 | 29 | 161 | 11 | <i>Demetrius</i> in the firſt conflict gets the better of <i>Alexander</i> , but <i>Alexander</i> having the Kings of <i>Pergamus</i> , <i>Cappadocia</i> , and <i>Egypt</i> on his ſide, is ſoon again recruited by them. |
| 3 | 151 | 10 | 30 | 162 | 12 | <i>Andriſcus</i> another impoſtor ſets up in <i>Macedon</i> , pretending to be the ſon of <i>Perſeus</i> . The war is carried on in <i>Syria</i> between <i>Demetrius</i> and <i>Alexander</i> . |
| 4 | 150 | 11 | 31 | 163 | 1 | <i>Alexander Balas.</i> <i>Demetrius</i> vanquiſh'd and ſlain in battel, whereon <i>Alexander</i> being ſettled in the kingdom of <i>Syria</i> , marries <i>Gleopatra</i> the daughter of King <i>Ptolemy</i> . |
| 5 | 149 | 12 | 32 | 164 | 2 | |
| 6 | 148 | 13 | 33 | 165 | 3 | |
| 7 | 147 | 14 | 34 | 166 | 4 | |
| 8 | 146 | 15 | 35 | 167 | 5 | |
| 9 | 145 | 16 | <i>Ptolemy Phyſcon.</i> | 168 | 1 | <i>Demetrius Nicator.</i> <i>Phyſcon</i> ſucceeds in <i>Egypt</i> , and reigns cruelly. <i>Demetrius</i> doth the ſame in <i>Syria</i> , the <i>Antiochians</i> mutiny againſt him, are quell'd by 3000 <i>Jews</i> ſent to <i>Demetrius's</i> aſſiſtance. <i>Jonathan</i> beſiegeth the fortrefs at <i>Jeruſalem</i> , but cannot take it. |
| 4570 | 144 | 17 | | 169 | 2 | |
| | | | | | | <i>Tryphon</i> brings <i>Antiochus</i> , the infant ſon of <i>Alexander</i> , into <i>Syria</i> , and claims for him his father's crown. Multitudes revolt to him. <i>Jonathan</i> declares againſt <i>Demetrius</i> , and twice defeats his generals, is treacherouſly murder'd by <i>Tryphon</i> . |

| Julian period. | Years before Christ. | Princes of Judaea. | Kings of Egypt. | The era of Seleucus. | Kings of Syria. | |
|----------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------|--|
| 4571 | 143 | Simon. | 3 | 170 | 3 | Simon succeeds Jonathan. Tryphon having made away Antiochus declares himself King. Simon defeats his designs upon Judaea, and declaring for Demetrius, hath a grant from him of the sovereignty of Judaea. |
| 2 | 142 | 2 | 4 | 171 | 4 | Simon takes the fortress of Jerusalem, utterly demolisheth it, and digs down the hill on which it stood. |
| 3 | 141 | 3 | 5 | 172 | 5 | Demetrius goes into the East, and is there taken prisoner by the Parthians. The sovereignty of Judaea confirmed to Simon and his posterity by the unanimous consent of all the people of the Jews in a general congregation met at Jerusalem. |
| 4 | 140 | 4 | 6 | 173 | 1 | Queen Cleopatra on Demetrius's being taken prisoner sent to Antiochus Sidetes the brother of the captive King, and offers to him her self in marriage, and the crown of Syria with her. |
| 5 | 139 | 5 | 7 | 174 | 2 | Antiochus accepting of the offer lands in Syria, marries Cleopatra, and having vanquish'd Tryphon takes him and puts him to death. Cendebeus is sent by him against Simon, and is vanquish'd by Judas and John, Simon's sons. |
| 6 | 138 | 6 | 8 | 175 | 3 | Attalus King of Pergamus being dead, is succeeded by Attalus the son of his brother Eumenes. He was a monster of cruelty, and Phylcon continued to be the like monster in Egypt. |
| 7 | 137 | 7 | 9 | 176 | 4 | Antiochus Sidetes with great wisdom and temper restores the affairs of Syria, and makes that kingdom again to flourish. |
| 8 | 136 | 8 | 10 | 177 | 5 | The Alexandrians, to avoid the cruelty of Phylcon, most of them desert the place: Whereon other inhabitants are invited to repopulate it. An embassy from Rome came thither to him at the same time. |
| 9 | 135 | John Hyrcanus. | 11 | 178 | 6 | Simon is basely murdered with two of his sons by Ptolemy his own son-in-law. John succeeds his father, and defeats the murderer of his design of usurping the government. Antiochus Sidetes besiegeth Jerusalem, and maketh peace with John. This John is called Hyrcanus. |
| 4580 | 134 | 2 | 12 | 179 | 7 | Ambassadors from Antiochus Sidetes address themselves with presents to Scipio Africanus jun. being then at the siege of Numantium, which he puts into the publick treasury. |
| 1 | 133 | 3 | 13 | 180 | 8 | Attalus King of Pergamus dies, and makes the people of Rome his heirs. |
| 2 | 132 | 4 | 14 | 181 | 9 | Jesus the son of Sirach translates out of Hebrew into Greek the book called Ecclesiasticus, written by Jesus his grandfather. |
| 3 | 131 | 5 | 15 | 182 | 10 | Antiochus Sidetes marcheth into the East against the Parthians, and at first gets several victories over them. |

| Julian period. | Years before Christ. | Princes of Judaea. | Kings of Egypt. | The era of Seleucus. | Kings of Syria. | |
|----------------|----------------------|------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|---|--|
| 4584 | 130 | 6 | 16 | 183 | Demetrius Nicator iterum. | 1 <i>Antiochus Sidetes</i> is vanquished and slain in the East. <i>Demetrius Nicator</i> returns and recovers his kingdom. <i>John Hyrcanus</i> shakes off the Syrian yoke, and makes himself independent. Takes <i>Sechem</i> and destroys the temple on mount <i>Gerizim</i> . <i>Physcon</i> expelled out of Egypt for his cruelty. |
| 5 | 129 | 7 | 17 | 184 | | 2 <i>Hyrcanus</i> conquers the <i>Edomites</i> , and makes them all embrace the Jewish religion. <i>Tibates</i> King of <i>Parthia</i> slain by the <i>Scythians</i> . |
| 6 | 128 | 8 | 18 | 185 | | 3 <i>Ptolemy Physcon</i> vanquisheth the <i>Egyptians</i> and recovers his kingdom. <i>Demetrius</i> marcheth into Egypt and besiegeth <i>Pelusium</i> . <i>Hyrcanus</i> renews his league with the <i>Romans</i> . |
| 7 | 127 | 9 | 19 | 186 | | 4 <i>Physcon</i> sets up <i>Alexander Zebina</i> an impostor against <i>Demetrius</i> to claim the crown of Syria: Whereby <i>Demetrius</i> is recalled from the siege of <i>Pelusium</i> to defend his own kingdom. |
| 8 | 126 | 10 | 20 | 187 | | 5 <i>Demetrius</i> vanquished by <i>Zebina</i> in battel flees to Tyre, and is there slain. <i>Zebina</i> hereon becomes King of Syria. |
| 9 | 125 | 11 | 21 | 188 | Zebina. | 1 A great plague in <i>Libya</i> , <i>Cyrene</i> , and adjacent countries, caused by a multitude of locusts. |
| 4590 | 124 | 12 | 22 | 189 | | 2 <i>Seleucus</i> the eldest son of <i>Demetrius</i> succeeding his father is slain by <i>Cleopatra</i> his own mother. <i>Mithridates Eupator</i> succeeds <i>Mithridates Euergetes</i> in the kingdom of <i>Pontus</i> . |
| 1 | 123 | 13 | 23 | 190 | Antiochus Grypus. | 1 <i>Antiochus Grypus</i> second son of <i>Demetrius</i> is set up to be King of Syria against <i>Zebina</i> . |
| 2 | 122 | 14 | 24 | 191 | | 2 <i>Antiochus Grypus</i> vanquisheth <i>Zebina</i> , and recovers all Syria <i>Zebina</i> taken in his flight and slain. |
| 3 | 121 | 15 | 25 | 192 | | 3 In this year was made the famous <i>Opimian</i> wine. |
| 4 | 120 | 16 | 26 | 193 | | 4 <i>Cleopatra</i> preparing poison for her son <i>Grypus</i> was forced to drink it her self, and so died. |
| 5 | 119 | 17 | 27 | 194 | | 5 |
| 6 | 118 | 18 | 28 | 195 | | 6 |
| 7 | 117 | 19 | 29 | 196 | | 7 <i>Ptolemy Physcon</i> King of Egypt dies. <i>Ptolemy Lathyrus</i> succeeds in conjunction with <i>Cleopatra</i> his mother in Egypt and Cyprus; and <i>Apion</i> a bastard son in <i>Libya</i> and <i>Cyrene</i> . |
| 8 | 116 | 20 | 1 | 197 | | 8 |
| 9 | 115 | 21 | 2 | 198 | | 9 |
| | | Ptolemy Lathyrus sive Soter. | | | | |
| 4600 | 114 | 22 | 3 | 199 | | 10 |
| | | | | | Kings of Damascus. Antiochus Cyzicenus. | 1 <i>Antiochus Cyzicenus</i> son of <i>Antiochus Sidetes</i> by <i>Cleopatra</i> , and half brother of <i>Grypus</i> , seizeth part of the Syrian kingdom. |
| 1 | 113 | 23 | 4 | 200 | | 2 <i>Grypus</i> gets a victory against <i>Cyzicenus</i> . <i>Alexander</i> the second son of <i>Physcon</i> made King of Cyprus by <i>Cleopatra</i> his mother. |

| Julian pe- riod. | Years before Christ. | Princes of Judea. | Kings of Egypt. | The era of Seleucus. | Kings of Syria. | Kings of Damascus. | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|---|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|--|
| 4602 | 112 | 24 | 5 | 201 | 12 | 3 | <i>Cyzicenus</i> having recruited his army fights another battel with <i>Grypus</i> and gains the victory. <i>Grypus</i> flees out of the kingdom to <i>Aspendus</i> . |
| 3 | 111 | 25 | 6 | 202 | 13 | 4 | <i>Grypus</i> returned from <i>Aspendus</i> , and recovered part of his former dominions; henceforth <i>Grypus</i> reigned at <i>Antioch</i> , and <i>Cyzicenus</i> at <i>Damascus</i> . |
| 4 | 110 | 26 | 7 | 203 | 14 | 5 | <i>Aristobulus</i> and <i>Antigonus</i> , sons of <i>Hyrcanus</i> , besiege <i>Samaria</i> . <i>Cyzicenus</i> coming to its relief, is vanquish'd by the two brothers. |
| 5 | 109 | 27 | 8 | 204 | 15 | 6 | <i>Cyzicenus</i> having received 6000 auxiliaries from <i>Egypt</i> , again attempts the relief of <i>Samaria</i> , but without success. <i>Samaria</i> is taken and demolish'd: Hereon <i>Hyrcanus</i> makes himself master of all <i>Judea</i> , <i>Samaria</i> and <i>Galilee</i> . |
| 6 | 108 | 28 | 9 | 205 | 16 | 7 | <i>Hyrcanus</i> breaks with the <i>Pharisees</i> , and goes over to the sect of the <i>Sadducees</i> . |
| 7 | 107 | 29 | 10 | 206 | 17 | 8 | <i>Hyrcanus</i> dies, and is succeeded by <i>Aristobulus</i> his eldest son, who first of his family wore the diadem, and took the name of King. <i>Lathyrus</i> expelled <i>Egypt</i> reigns in <i>Cyprus</i> , and <i>Alexander</i> in <i>Egypt</i> . |
| 8 | 106 | <i>Aristobulus</i> . <i>Alexander Jannæus</i> . | 11 | 207 | 18 | 9 | <i>Aristobulus</i> conquers <i>Ituræa</i> , slays his brother <i>Antigonus</i> , dies, and is succeeded by <i>Alexander Jannæus</i> his brother. <i>Pompey</i> and <i>Cicero</i> born at <i>Rome</i> . |
| 9 | 105 | | 12 | 208 | 19 | 10 | <i>Alexander Jannæus</i> besiegeth <i>Ptolemais</i> . <i>Lathyrus</i> passing from <i>Cyprus</i> into <i>Palestine</i> with an army, forceth him to raise the siege. |
| 4610 | 104 | | 13 | 209 | 20 | 11 | <i>Alexander Jannæus</i> vanquished by <i>Lathyrus</i> , lost most of his army in the defeat, and is brought to great distress; calls in <i>Cleopatra</i> Queen of <i>Egypt</i> to his assistance. |
| 1 | 103 | | 14 | 210 | 21 | 12 | <i>Cleopatra</i> comes with a fleet and army into <i>Palestine</i> against <i>Lathyrus</i> her son, besiegeth <i>Ptolemais</i> . <i>Lathyrus</i> invades <i>Egypt</i> , expecting to make himself master of it in his mother's absence in <i>Palestine</i> . |
| 2 | 102 | | 15 | 211 | 22 | 13 | <i>Lathyrus</i> is beaten out of <i>Egypt</i> . <i>Cleopatra</i> takes <i>Ptolemais</i> . <i>Jannæus</i> there waits on her. After this passing over to <i>Jordan</i> , he lays siege to <i>Gadara</i> . |
| 3 | 101 | 5 | 16 | 212 | 23 | 14 | <i>Ptolemy Lathyrus</i> returns into <i>Cyprus</i> , and <i>Cleopatra</i> into <i>Egypt</i> . <i>Grypus</i> marrying <i>Selene</i> the daughter of <i>Cleopatra</i> , and receiving great sums of money with her, renews his war with <i>Cyzicenus</i> . <i>Jannæus</i> takes <i>Gadara</i> and <i>Amathus</i> , but is defeated by <i>Theodorus</i> . |

| Julian pe- riod. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Judea. | Kings of Egypt. | The era of Seleucus. | Kings of Syria. | Kings of Damascus. | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|---|
| 4614 | 100 | 6 | 17 | 213 | 24 | 15 | <i>Janneus</i> takes <i>Raphia</i> and <i>Anthedon</i> , and blocks up <i>Gaza</i> . |
| 5 | 99 | 7 | 18 | 214 | 25 | 16 | |
| 6 | 98 | 8 | 19 | 215 | 26 | 17 | <i>Janneus</i> besiegeth <i>Gaza</i> , which is vigorously defended. |
| 7 | 97 | 9 | 20 | 216 | 27 | 18 | <i>Janneus</i> takes <i>Gaza</i> , puts the inhabitants to the sword, and razeth the place to the ground. <i>Grypus</i> treacherously murdered by one of his own domesticks, is succeeded by <i>Seleucus</i> his eldest son. |
| 8 | 96 | 10 | 21 | 217 | 1 | 19 | <i>Ptolemy Apion</i> King of <i>Libya</i> and <i>Cyrene</i> dies, and leaves the <i>Roman</i> people his heirs. <i>Cyzicenus</i> on the death of <i>Grypus</i> seizeth <i>Antioch</i> . <i>Seleucus</i> makes head against him. |
| 9 | 95 | 11 | 22 | 218 | 2 | 20 | <i>Tigranes</i> begins to reign in <i>Armenia</i> . The <i>Jews</i> mutiny against <i>Alexander Janneus</i> in the temple at the feast of tabernacles, whereon he slew of them 6000 persons. |
| 4620 | 94 | 12 | 23 | 219 | 3 | 21 | <i>Janneus</i> made the inhabitants of <i>Gilead</i> and the land of <i>Moab</i> to become subject to him. <i>Seleucus</i> having vanquished <i>Cyzicenus</i> , took him prisoner and put him to death. |
| 1 | 93 | 13 | 24 | 220 | 4 | 1 | <i>Antiochus Eusebes</i> the son of <i>Cyzicenus</i> vanquisheth <i>Seleucus</i> , and forceth him to flee to <i>Mopsuestia</i> , where he is slain. <i>Philip</i> his brother succeeds him, is vanquish'd by <i>Eusebes</i> at the river <i>Orontes</i> , but again recruits. |
| 2 | 92 | 14 | 25 | 221 | 1 | 2 | <i>Eusebes</i> marries <i>Selene</i> the widow of <i>Grypus</i> , is vanquish'd by <i>Philip</i> and flees into <i>Parthia</i> . <i>Demetrius</i> a fourth son of <i>Grypus</i> seizeth <i>Damascus</i> . <i>Janneus</i> vanquished by <i>Obodas</i> an <i>Arabian</i> King with the loss of almost all his army. |
| 3 | 91 | 15 | 26 | 222 | 2 | 1 | Hereby the <i>Jews</i> being encouraged to rebel begun a war against him, which lasted six years. <i>Mithridates</i> begun those hostilities upon the allies of the <i>Romans</i> , which produced the <i>Mithridatic</i> war. |
| 4 | 90 | 16 | 27 | 223 | 3 | 2 | <i>Mithridates</i> marries his daughter <i>Cleopatra</i> to <i>Tigranes</i> King of <i>Armenia</i> , whereon <i>Mithridates</i> draws him into confederacy against the <i>Romans</i> , and seizeth <i>Cappadocia</i> and <i>Bithynia</i> . |
| 5 | 89 | 17 | 28 | 224 | 4 | 3 | <i>Mithridates</i> vanquisheth three <i>Roman</i> armies, and seizeth all <i>Lesser Asia</i> . <i>Cleopatra</i> Queen of <i>Egypt</i> murdered by <i>Alexander</i> her son, whereon <i>Lathyrus</i> is recalled. The <i>Jews</i> by the help of <i>Demetrius Eucharus</i> vanquish <i>Alexander</i> . |
| 6 | 88 | 18 | 29 | 225 | 5 | 4 | <i>Demetrius</i> being vanquished by his brother <i>Philip</i> , and sent captive into <i>Parthia</i> , <i>Alexander</i> recovers strength against the <i>Jews</i> . <i>Mithridates</i> passeth his ar- |

| Julian period. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Judea. | Kings of Egypt. | The era of Seleucus. | Kings of Syria. | Kings of Damascus. | |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| 4627 | 87 | 19 | 30 | 226 | 6 | 1 <i>Antiochus Dionysius.</i> | my into Greece, there to make war against the Romans. |
| 8 | 86 | 20 | 31 | 227 | 7 | 2 | <i>Demetrius Eucærus</i> dies in Parthia. <i>Eusebes</i> returns into Syria, and again recovers some part of that countrey. <i>Antiochus Dionysius</i> the youngest son of <i>Grypus</i> seizeth <i>Damascus</i> . <i>Alexander Jannæus</i> gains a decisive victory over his rebel subjects. |
| 9 | 85 | 21 | 32 | 228 | 8 | 3 | <i>Alexander Jannæus</i> having taken <i>Bethome</i> , in which the remains of the rebel party were shut up, crucifies 800 of them, and thereby puts an end to that war. <i>Sylla</i> the Roman general gets three victories over the forces of <i>Mithridates</i> , and drives them out of Greece. |
| 4630 | 84 | 22 | 33 | 229 | 9 | | <i>Mithridates</i> forced to make peace with the Romans on their own terms, and <i>Sylla</i> thereon returns into Italy. <i>Philip</i> takes <i>Damascus</i> . <i>Dionysius</i> again recovers it, but is afterward slain in Arabia, and <i>Aretas</i> King of Arabia Petraea is made King of <i>Damascus</i> . He vanquisheth <i>Jannæus</i> in battel, but afterwards gives him peace. |
| 1 | 83 | 23 | 34 | 230 | <i>Tigranes.</i> 1 | | <i>Alexander Jannæus</i> recovers many places that had revolted from him during his war with the rebels, and much enlargeth the borders of his kingdom. After <i>Sylla's</i> departure, <i>Muræna</i> , whom he left in the government of the Proper Asia, begins war again with <i>Mithridates</i> . |
| 2 | 82 | 24 | 35 | 231 | 2 | | The Syrians weary of the wars caused among them by the <i>Seleucidae</i> , expelled them all, and chose <i>Tigranes</i> King of Armenia to be their King. <i>Eusebes</i> fleeth into Cilicia: But <i>Selene</i> his wife still holds <i>Ptolemais</i> and some other parts thereabout. <i>Alexander Jannæus</i> takes <i>Gaulana</i> , and other places beyond Jordan. |
| 3 | 81 | 25 | 36 | 232 | 3 | | <i>Alexander Jannæus</i> still carries on his conquests beyond Jordan, and after having been absent three years from Jerusalem on these wars, returns thither with triumph. After this giving himself up to luxury and drunkenness, he contracts a quartan ague, which he could never get rid of. |
| | | | | | | | <i>Ptolemy Lathyrus</i> having reduced <i>Thebes</i> in the upper Egypt, which had rebelled against him, dies, after having reigned thirty six years. <i>Ptolemy</i> a bastard son succeeds him in Cyprus, and <i>Berenice</i> his only legitimate child in Egypt. |

| Julian pe- riod. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Judea. | Kings of Egypt. | The era of Seleucus. | Kings of Syria. | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|---|
| 4634 | 80 | 26 | Alexander 1 | 233 | 4 | <i>Alexander</i> , the son of that <i>Alexander</i> who slew his mother, marries <i>Berenice</i> , and in her right becomes King of <i>Egypt</i> ; but a few days after slew her, and reigned as in his own right 15 years. |
| 5 | 79 | 27 | 2 | 234 | 5 | <i>Alexander Jannæus</i> after having been afflicted with a quartan ague three years dies of it, and is succeeded by <i>Alexandra</i> his wife; who reconciles the <i>Pharisees</i> to her, and by that means reigns peaceably to the end of her life. |
| 6 | 78 | Alexandra 1 | 3 | 235 | 6 | <i>Alexandra</i> being settled in the throne makes <i>Hyrchanus</i> her eldest son High-priest, and puts the ministration of the government in the hands of the <i>Pharisees</i> . <i>Tigranes</i> having built <i>Tigranocerta</i> depopulates many cities in <i>Lesser Asia</i> , <i>Assyria</i> , and other circumjacent countreys, by carrying the inhabitants thence to people it. |
| 7 | 77 | 2 | 4 | 236 | 7 | The <i>Pharisees</i> having gotten the management of all affairs under <i>Queen Alexandra</i> , grievously oppressed all that were of the party opposite to them. |
| 8 | 76 | 3 | 5 | 237 | 8 | <i>Nicomedes</i> King of <i>Bithynia</i> dying leaves the <i>Romans</i> his heirs, who thereon reduce that kingdom into the form of a province under them; and at this time do the same with <i>Libya</i> and <i>Cyrene</i> , formerly left them in the same manner by <i>Ptolemy Apion</i> the last King of those countreys. |
| 9 | 75 | 4 | 6 | 238 | 9 | <i>Mithridates</i> seizeth <i>Paphlagonia</i> , and draws the other provinces of <i>Lesser Asia</i> into revolt from the <i>Romans</i> , whereon began the third <i>Mithridatic</i> war. |
| 4640 | 74 | 5 | 7 | 239 | 10 | <i>M. Cotta</i> and <i>L. Lucullus</i> are sent against <i>Mithridates</i> . <i>Cotta</i> had <i>Bithynia</i> , and <i>Lucullus</i> proper <i>Asia</i> , <i>Cilicia</i> , and <i>Cappadocia</i> assigned them for their provinces. <i>Cotta</i> begins the war unfortunately, being beaten with great loss both at sea and land. |
| 1 | 73 | 6 | 8 | 240 | 11 | Whereon <i>Mithridates</i> besiegeth <i>Cyzicus</i> . <i>Lucullus</i> forceth him to raise the siege with the loss of the greatest part of his army. <i>Selene</i> sent her two sons, which she had by <i>Antiochus Eusebes</i> , to <i>Rome</i> to claim the kingdom of <i>Egypt</i> in her right. |
| 2 | 72 | 7 | 9 | 241 | 12 | The <i>Jews</i> , which were of the party of <i>Alexander</i> , are plac'd in the forts and garrisons there to be secured from the oppressions and cruelty of the <i>Pharisees</i> . <i>Herod</i> the Great is born. <i>Mithridates</i> after the raising of the siege of <i>Cyzicus</i> flees into <i>Pontus</i> , and his forces which he left behind on the <i>Asian</i> coast are vanquish'd by <i>Lucullus</i> both by sea and land. <i>Lucullus</i> pursues <i>Mithridates</i> into <i>Pontus</i> , and besiegeth <i>Amisus</i> . |
| 3 | 71 | 8 | 10 | 242 | 13 | <i>Lucullus</i> vanquisheth <i>Mithridates</i> , and forceth him to flee out of <i>Pontus</i> into <i>Armenia</i> . <i>Aristobulus</i> being sent by his mother against <i>Ptolemy</i> Prince of <i>Chalcis</i> seizeth <i>Damascus</i> . |

| Julian period. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Judæa. | Kings of Egypt. | The æra of Seleucus. | Kings of Syria. | |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------------|---|
| 4644 | 70 | 9 | 11 | 243 | 14 | <i>Selene</i> enlarging her self in <i>Syria</i> , <i>Tigranes</i> comes with an army against her, shuts her up in <i>Ptolemais</i> , and having there taken her prisoner puts her to death. <i>Lucullus</i> declares war against <i>Tigranes</i> , takes <i>Synope</i> and <i>Amisus</i> , and marcheth into <i>Armenia</i> . <i>Alexandra</i> Queen of <i>Judæa</i> dies. <i>Hyrchanus</i> her eldest son seizing the crown is forced to quit it after 3 months to <i>Aristobulus</i> his younger brother. |
| 5 | 69 | 1 | 12 | 244 | 15 | <i>Lucullus</i> vanquisheth <i>Tigranes</i> in <i>Armenia</i> , and takes <i>Tigranocerta</i> , but neglecting to pursue the advantage of it lost the opportunity of ending the war; which displeas'd the <i>Romans</i> , and lost his interest with them both in the camp and city. |
| 6 | 68 | 2 | 13 | 245 | 16 | <i>Tigranes</i> with the assistance of <i>Mithridates</i> gets another army into the field, and is again beaten by <i>Lucullus</i> , whereon <i>Lucullus</i> would have marched to <i>Artaxata</i> the metropolis of <i>Armenia</i> , but being hinder'd by his soldiers refusing to follow him so far north he marcheth back, and passing mount <i>Taurus</i> winters at <i>Nisibis</i> in <i>Mesopotamia</i> , where his army mutiny against him. |
| 7 | 67 | 3 | 14 | 246 | 17 | Of which <i>Mithridates</i> taking the advantage recovers several places in <i>Pontus</i> , and distresseth the <i>Romans</i> left there to keep the countrey, whereon <i>Lucullus</i> with difficulty prevails with his mutinous army to march to their relief, but before their arrival <i>Triarius</i> was beaten with the loss of 7000 men. After this <i>Lucullus's</i> army would no more obey him. |
| 8 | 66 | 4 | 15 | 247 | 18 | <i>Pompey</i> sent from <i>Rome</i> to succeed <i>Lucullus</i> receiveth from him the army, and <i>Lucullus</i> returns home enriched with great spoils. <i>Pompey</i> makes alliances with <i>Phraates</i> King of <i>Parthia</i> . Vanquisheth <i>Mithridates</i> , and forceth him to flee into <i>Scythia</i> . Whereon marching into <i>Armenia</i> , he forceth <i>Tigranes</i> to submit to him, and thereon gives him peace. |
| 9 | 65 | 5 | 1 | | | <i>Pompey</i> conquers the <i>Iberians</i> , the <i>Albanians</i> and the <i>Colchians</i> : In the interim <i>Mithridates</i> flees into his kingdom of the <i>Cimmerian Bosphorus</i> , where <i>Pompey</i> not being able to follow him, marcheth into <i>Syria</i> and reduceth it to the form of a <i>Roman</i> province. The <i>Egyptians</i> having expell'd <i>Alexander</i> make <i>Auletes</i> their King. <i>Hyrchanus</i> renews the war upon <i>Aristobulus</i> for the crown of <i>Judæa</i> . <i>Pompey</i> winters in <i>Pontus</i> , and there sets out a fleet against <i>Mithridates</i> . |
| 4650 | 64 | 6 | 2 | | | On his return into <i>Syria</i> in the ensuing spring <i>Hyrchanus</i> and <i>Aristobulus</i> each by their agents apply to him for his assistance. He orders them to appear personally before him for his taking cognizance of their cause; and returns again into <i>Pontus</i> to provide against the designs of <i>Mithridates</i> , who was making great |

| Julian period. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Judaea. | Kings of Egypt. | |
|----------------|----------------------|------------------|-----------------|--|
| 4651 | 63 | Hyrcanus. | 3 | <p>preparations in <i>Bosphorus</i> for a new war. But while he was eagerly labouring herein, his army revolt, make <i>Pharnaces</i> his son King, and the old King is forced to kill himself to make room for him to ascend his throne.</p> <p>On <i>Pompey's</i> coming to <i>Damascus</i>, <i>Hyrcanus</i> and <i>Aristobulus</i> appear before him each to make good their pretensions. <i>Pompey</i> promiseth to come to <i>Jerusalem</i> there to decide the matter. <i>Aristobulus</i> suspecting sentence would go against him provides for war; whereon <i>Pompey</i> enters <i>Judaea</i>, makes <i>Aristobulus</i> his prisoner, takes <i>Jerusalem</i>, and restores <i>Hyrcanus</i>. Returns into <i>Pontus</i>, and makes peace with <i>Pharnaces</i>. <i>Augustus Cæsar</i> is born.</p> |
| 2 | 62 | 2 | 4 | <p><i>Scaurus</i> being made the first president of <i>Syria</i> invades <i>Arabia Petraea</i>. By the means of <i>Antipater</i> peace is made between him and <i>Aretas</i> the King of that countrey. <i>Pompey</i> having winter'd at <i>Ephesus</i> returns to <i>Rome</i> in the spring. <i>Marcus Philippus</i> is made president of <i>Syria</i>.</p> |
| 3 | 61 | 3 | 5 | <p><i>Pompey</i> celebrates a very splendid and glorious triumph at <i>Rome</i> for his victorious finishing the <i>Mithridatic</i> war. He chose for it his birth-day, being then forty five years old.</p> |
| 4 | 60 | 4 | 6 | <p><i>Pompey</i>, <i>Crassus</i>, and <i>Julius Cæsar</i> confederate together for the supporting of each other, and the dividing of the <i>Roman</i> empire between them. <i>Diodorus Siculus</i> the famous Greek historian flourisheth. <i>Lentulus Marcellinus</i> succeeds <i>Marcus Philippus</i> in the presidency of <i>Syria</i>.</p> |
| 5 | 59 | 5 | 7 | <p><i>Julius Cæsar</i> being consul procures a decree of the people for his having <i>Illyrium</i> and both the <i>Gauls</i> for his province, to govern it as proconsul for five years; which was the foundation whereon he built all his future power and grandeur.</p> |
| 6 | 58 | 6 | 8 | <p><i>Gabinus</i> being consul this year obtains <i>Syria</i> for his province. <i>Cato</i> is sent to drive <i>Ptolemy</i> out of <i>Cyprus</i>, and to take the confiscation of all his goods. The <i>Egyptians</i> expel <i>Auletes</i> their King; and make <i>Berenice</i> his daughter Queen. <i>Cicero</i> is banish'd <i>Rome</i> and <i>Italy</i>.</p> |
| 7 | 57 | 7 | 9 | <p><i>Berenice</i> Queen of <i>Egypt</i> marries <i>Seleucus Cybiosactes</i> the last of the <i>Seleucian</i> family, but disliking him for his ill behaviour puts him to death, and marries <i>Archelaus</i> High-priest of <i>Comana</i> in <i>Pontus</i>. <i>Alexander</i> the son of <i>Aristobulus</i>, and after him <i>Aristobulus</i> himself having made their escape from the <i>Roman</i> fetters, each in their turn raise new troubles in <i>Judaea</i>. <i>Gabinus</i> vanquisheth them both, and sets up a new form of government in the land.</p> |
| 8 | 56 | 8 | 10 | <p><i>Orodes</i> having murdered <i>Phraates</i> his father succeeds him in the kingdom of <i>Parthia</i>. <i>Gabinus</i> having undertaken to restore <i>Auletes</i> to his kingdom of <i>Egypt</i>, marcheth his army that way. <i>Antony</i> one of his lieutenants being sent before him takes <i>Pelusium</i>. <i>Cicero</i> is recalled from his banishment.</p> |
| 9 | 55 | 9 | 11 | <p><i>Gabinus</i> on having notice hereof enters <i>Egypt</i> with all his forces, vanquisheth and slays <i>Archelaus</i> in battel, and restores <i>Auletes</i>. On his return he suppresseth <i>Alexander</i>, who had raised new troubles in <i>Judaea</i> during his absence in <i>Egypt</i>. <i>Crassus</i> being consul obtains the province of <i>Syria</i> for five years, and resolves on a war with the <i>Parthians</i>.</p> |

| Julian period. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Judea. | Kings of Egypt. | |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---|
| 4660 | 54 | 10 | 12 | <i>Gabinus</i> on his return to <i>Rome</i> is there for his male-administrations in his province condemn'd and banish'd. <i>Crassus</i> on his coming into <i>Syria</i> plunders the temple of <i>Jerusalem</i> , passeth the <i>Euphrates</i> to make war upon the <i>Parthians</i> , and gains several advantages over them, placeth garrisons in several places in <i>Mesopotamia</i> , and then brings back the rest of his army into <i>Syria</i> , and there puts them into winter quarters. |
| 1 | 53 | 11 | 13 | <i>Crassus</i> again passeth the <i>Euphrates</i> to carry on his war against the <i>Parthians</i> ; is vanquished and slain by them in a great battel with the loss of 20000 men slain and 10000 taken prisoners. <i>Cassius</i> his questor escapes, gathers together the remains of his broken army, and with them defends the province. |
| 2 | 52 | 12 | 14 | <i>Cassius</i> defeats an army of the <i>Parthians</i> , that invaded <i>Syria</i> , marcheth into <i>Judea</i> ; takes <i>Terachæa</i> , forceth <i>Alexander</i> to terms of peace, and suppresseth the faction of <i>Aristobulus</i> in that countrey. |
| 3 | 51 | 13 | 1 | <i>Cicero</i> made governor of <i>Cilicia</i> , and <i>Bibulus</i> of <i>Syria</i> . <i>Bibulus</i> delaying his coming into his province <i>Cassius</i> governs it. The <i>Parthians</i> besiege <i>Antioch</i> , <i>Cassius</i> defends it; forceth the enemy to raise the siege, and falling on them in their retreat gives them a great defeat, and slays therein <i>Osaces</i> their general, and then returns to <i>Rome</i> on the arrival of <i>Bibulus</i> . <i>Cicero</i> vanquisheth the <i>Cilicians</i> of the mountains and makes them submit. <i>Ptolemy Auletes</i> dies in <i>Egypt</i> , and is succeeded by <i>Ptolemy</i> his eldest son and <i>Cleopatra</i> his eldest daughter jointly together. |
| 4 | 50 | 14 | | 2 The <i>Parthians</i> again besiege <i>Antioch</i> , and <i>Bibulus</i> in it. Are called back to suppress an insurrection at home. Whereon <i>Bibulus</i> returns to <i>Rome</i> . <i>Cæsar</i> passeth the <i>Rubicon</i> , and the war broke out between him and <i>Pompey</i> ; the latter retreats to <i>Brundisium</i> , and <i>Cæsar</i> there follows him. <i>Q. Metellus Scipio</i> succeeds <i>Bibulus</i> in the presidency of <i>Syria</i> . |
| 5 | 49 | 15 | 3 | <i>Pompey</i> gets out of <i>Brundisium</i> and passeth the <i>Adriatic</i> . <i>Cæsar</i> hereon returns to <i>Rome</i> , releaseth <i>Aristobulus</i> , and sendeth him into <i>Judea</i> . <i>Pompey's</i> party poison him, and <i>Scipio</i> puts <i>Alexander</i> to death at <i>Antioch</i> . <i>Cæsar</i> from <i>Rome</i> passeth into <i>Spain</i> , reduceth that countrey, and returns again to <i>Rome</i> about the time of autumnal equinox, hasteneth from thence to <i>Brundisium</i> , and there passeth the <i>Adriatic</i> with seven legions against <i>Pompey</i> , leaves the rest at <i>Brundisium</i> with <i>Antony</i> to be brought after him. |
| 6 | 48 | 16 | 4 | <i>Cæsar</i> having gotten over all the rest of his army in the first beginning of the spring, he and <i>Pompey</i> encamped against each other at <i>Dyrrachium</i> . <i>Cæsar</i> receives a defeat, whereon he marcheth into <i>Theffaly</i> : <i>Pompey</i> follows him, and in the plains of <i>Pharsalia</i> it came to a decisive battel between them; in which <i>Pompey</i> receiving a total defeat flees to <i>Lesbos</i> and from thence to <i>Egypt</i> , where he is slain. <i>Cæsar</i> following him comes to <i>Alexandria</i> , hath <i>Pompey's</i> head there presented to him. He there engageth in a dangerous war to support the cause of <i>Cleopatra</i> against her brother. |

| Julian period. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Judæa. | Kings of Egypt. | |
|----------------|----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|---|
| 4667 | 47 | 17 | 5 | In this war, by the help of <i>Antipater</i> and forces brought him out of <i>Judæa</i> , he vanquisheth <i>Ptolemy</i> , and he being drowned in his flight; <i>Cæsar</i> makes <i>Cleopatra</i> Queen of <i>Egypt</i> , and then passing into <i>Syria</i> makes <i>Sextus Cæsar</i> president of it; vanquisheth <i>Pharnaces</i> in <i>Pontus</i> . Returns to <i>Rome</i> ; is there made dictator. <i>Antipater</i> being appointed procurator of <i>Judæa</i> makes <i>Herod</i> one of his sons governor of <i>Galilee</i> , and <i>Phasaël</i> another of them governor of <i>Jerusalem</i> . <i>Herod</i> having put to death an eminent thief in <i>Galilee</i> is put upon a tryal for his life for it. |
| 8 | 46 | 18 | 6 | <i>Cæsar</i> passeth into <i>Africa</i> , and there subdues the remainder of <i>Pompey's</i> party, who had there retreated; gives order for the rebuilding of <i>Carthage</i> and <i>Corinth</i> , and then returns to <i>Rome</i> , and there reforms the <i>Roman</i> kalendar. <i>Cæcilius Bassus</i> raiseth troubles in <i>Syria</i> , procures <i>Sextus Cæsar</i> to be slain by his own soldiers, and then sets up to be president of <i>Syria</i> . |
| 9 | 45 | 19 | 7 | The first <i>Julian</i> year. <i>Cæsar</i> vanquisheth the sons of <i>Pompey</i> at <i>Munda</i> in <i>Spain</i> ; and on his return is made perpetual dictator. <i>Statius Murcus</i> sent by <i>Cæsar</i> to be president of <i>Syria</i> , carries on the war against <i>Cæcilius Bassus</i> , and besiegeth him in <i>Apamea</i> . |
| 4670 | 44 | 20 | 8 | The walls of <i>Jerusalem</i> rebuilt. <i>Cæsar</i> slain in the senate house at <i>Rome</i> . <i>Octavianus</i> , after called <i>Augustus</i> , heads his party at <i>Rome</i> , and drives <i>Antony</i> thence. <i>Brutus</i> and <i>Cassius</i> the murderers of <i>Cæsar</i> leaving <i>Italy</i> the former seizeth <i>Greece</i> and <i>Macedon</i> , and the other <i>Syria</i> , where he puts an end to the war of <i>Cæcilius Bassus</i> . |
| 1 | 43 | 21 | 9 | <i>Octavianus</i> vanquisheth <i>Antony</i> at the battel of <i>Mutina</i> ; after that, he, <i>Antony</i> and <i>Lepidus</i> constitute a triumvirat. <i>Brutus</i> and <i>Cassius</i> prepare for war against them. <i>Antipater</i> poisoned by the fraud of <i>Malichus</i> . <i>Phasaël</i> and <i>Herod</i> revenge his death by cutting off the murderer. |
| 2 | 42 | 22 | 10 | <i>Brutus</i> and <i>Cassius</i> having made themselves masters of all beyond the <i>Adriatic</i> as far as <i>Euphrates</i> , <i>Octavianus</i> and <i>Antony</i> pass into <i>Macedon</i> against them, and having vanquished them at <i>Philippi</i> force them both to slay themselves. Hereon <i>Octavianus</i> returns to <i>Rome</i> and <i>Antony</i> passeth into <i>Asia</i> . <i>Antigonus</i> the son of <i>Aristobulus</i> raiseth new troubles in <i>Judæa</i> . He is vanquished by <i>Herod</i> . |
| 3 | 41 | 23 | 11 | The vanquished party apply to <i>Antony</i> against the sons of <i>Antipater</i> without success. <i>Cleopatra</i> comes to <i>Antony</i> at <i>Tarsus</i> , and there first bewitcheth him with her charms. His forces sent to plunder <i>Palmyra</i> meet with a baffle. <i>Cleopatra</i> returning to <i>Alexandria</i> he follows after her, and there spends the ensuing winter. In the interim <i>Pacorus</i> with a <i>Parthian</i> army masters all <i>Syria</i> and <i>Phœnicia</i> . |
| 4 | 40 | 24 <i>Antigonus.</i> | 12 | <i>Antony's</i> friends having made war against <i>Octavianus</i> in <i>Italy</i> , and been vanquished by him, <i>Antony</i> passeth thither with a great fleet. On his marrying <i>Octavia</i> the sister of <i>Octavianus</i> peace is made between them. In the interim the <i>Parthians</i> having made themselves masters of all <i>Lesser Asia</i> , and <i>Syria</i> , take <i>Jerusalem</i> , slay <i>Phasaël</i> , make <i>Hyrchanus</i> prisoner, and settle <i>Antigonus</i> on the throne of <i>Judæa</i> . <i>Herod</i> hereon fleeing to <i>Rome</i> is there made King of <i>Judæa</i> . <i>Ventidius</i> gaineth two victories over the <i>Parthians</i> . |

| Julian pe- riod. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Judea. | Kings of Egypt. | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---|
| 4675 | 39 | 2 | 13 | Herod besiegeth Jerusalem, and there hardly presseth Antigonus. Ventidius gains a third victory over the Parthians slaying about 30000 of them, and among them Pacorus their general the Kings son. Whereon he again recovers from them all Syria and Phœnicia. Antony returns into Syria, besiegeth Samosata; Herod goes thither to him; Joseph his brother, whom he left to command in Judea during his absence, fights the enemy against order and is slain. Herod on his return revengeth his death in a great victory over Pappus, Antigonus's general, slaying him in the battel with the most of his army. |
| 6 | 38 | 3 | 14 | Antony having spent the winter with Cleopatra at Alexandria saileth from thence in the spring for Italy, and from thence back again into Syria to make preparations for the Parthian war. Herod married Mariamne, and in conjunction with Sosus president of Syria besiegeth Jerusalem with a close siege, and presseth it hard on every side. |
| 7 | 37 | Herod. 1 | 15 | After an half year's siege Jerusalem is taken. Antigonus is sent prisoner to Antony at Antioch, and there beheaded, and Herod is settled in the full possession of the kingdom of Judea. Orodes King of Parthia is murdered by Phraates his son, who thereon succeeds him in the kingdom. He releaseth Hyrcanus out of prison, and permits him to live in full freedom among the Jews of Babylonia. |
| 8 | 36 | 2 | 16 | P. Canidius one of Antony's lieutenants vanquisheth the Armenians, the Albanians, and Iberians, and carries his victorious arms as far as mount Caucasus. Antony makes an unfortunate expedition against the Parthians, and returns with the loss of the major part of his army. Sextus Pompeius is vanquished and driven out of Sicily, and Lepidus deposed from his triumvirat. |
| 9 | 35 | 3 | 17 | Antony after his miscarriage in his Parthian expedition spent most of the ensuing year at Alexandria in dalliances with Cleopatra. Herod makes Aristobulus the brother of Mariamne High-priest, and afterwards murders him. Sextus Pompeius taken, and put to death in Asia by the order of Antony. |
| 4680 | 34 | 4 | 18 | Herod in danger of being put to death by Antony for the murder of Aristobulus, escapes by the means of large sums of money presented to Antony. Antony marcheth into Armenia, and having there treacherously drawn Artabazes King of that countrey into his power carries him in chains to Alexandria, and enters that place in triumph, and then distributes the eastern provinces of the Roman empire among the children of Cleopatra. |
| 1 | 33 | 5 | 19 | Disgusts happen between Antony and Octavianus, which broke out into a war, that ended in the ruin of Antony. Hereon Antony draws all his forces into Greece, and spends a great part of this year at Athens in making warlike preparations both by sea and land. |
| 2 | 32 | 6 | 20 | Octavianus drives all the friends of Antony from Rome. Hereon Antony sends a bill of divorce to Octavia, and other provocations are given on both sides to inflame matters, for the ensuing war. All the East engageth on one side, and all the West on the other. Herod by the order of Antony makes war with Malchus King of Arabia Petraea in the behalf of Cleopatra, and is worsted by him. |

| Julian period. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Judea. | Roman Emperors. | Kings of Egypt. | |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|-----------------|--|
| 4583 | 31 | 7 | | 21 | But the next year after having gain'd a compleat victory over him, he brought him to his terms. <i>Octavianus</i> vanquisheth <i>Antony</i> and <i>Cleopatra</i> at <i>Actium</i> , whereon <i>Cleopatra</i> flees to <i>Alexandria</i> , and <i>Antony</i> repairs thither to her. <i>Octavianus</i> having settled the affairs of <i>Italy</i> , <i>Greece</i> and <i>Lesser Asia</i> winters at <i>Samos</i> . |
| 4 | 30 | 8 | 1 <i>Augustus Caesar.</i> | 22 | <i>Herod</i> addresseth himself to <i>Octavianus</i> , and makes his peace with him. <i>Octavianus</i> passeth through <i>Lesser Asia</i> and <i>Syria</i> to <i>Pelusium</i> , and having taken that place forceth <i>Antony</i> and <i>Cleopatra</i> to kill themselves: Hereon he reduceth <i>Egypt</i> into the form of a <i>Roman</i> province, and marching from thence through <i>Syria</i> takes up his winter quarters in proper <i>Asia</i> . |
| 5 | 29 | 9 | 2 | | <i>Octavianus</i> returns to <i>Rome</i> , and enters it in 3 triumphs, <i>Herod</i> in a fit of rage and jealousy puts <i>Mariamne</i> his beloved wife to death, and afterwards bitterly repenteth of it. |
| 6 | 28 | 10 | 3 | | <i>Herod</i> puts <i>Alexandra</i> the mother of <i>Mariamne</i> to death. |
| 7 | 27 | 11 | 4 | | The monarchy of the whole <i>Roman</i> empire is by the unanimous consent of the senate and people of <i>Rome</i> conferred on <i>Octavianus</i> with the name of <i>Augustus</i> , which he and his successors ever after bore. |
| 8 | 26 | 12 | 5 | | <i>Salome</i> the sister of <i>Herod</i> informing him against <i>Costobarus</i> her own husband causeth him with several others to be put to death. <i>Petronius</i> is made prefect of <i>Egypt</i> in the place of <i>Cornelius Gallus</i> . <i>Herod</i> becomes an occasional conformist to the heathen rites, whereby he gives great offence to the <i>Jews</i> . |
| 9 | 25 | 13 | 6 | | <i>Herod</i> rebuilds <i>Samaria</i> and calls it <i>Sebaste</i> . <i>Augustus's</i> name growing great, many foreign nations send ambassadors to him to desire his friendship. A grievous famine happens in <i>Judea</i> , against which <i>Herod</i> takes great care to relieve his people, and thereby much ingratiate himself with them. |
| 4690 | 24 | 14 | 7 | | Absolute and arbitrary power is given <i>Augustus</i> by decree of the senate. <i>Herod</i> builds him a stately palace on mount <i>Sion</i> . <i>Aelius Gallus</i> begins his expedition into the southern <i>Arabia</i> , for which <i>Herod</i> furnished him with 500 men out of his guards. |
| 1 | 23 | 15 | 8 | | <i>Aelius Gallus</i> having lost more than half his men in his march into the southern <i>Arabia</i> returns without success. <i>Candace</i> Queen of <i>Aethiopia</i> invaded <i>Egypt</i> , is repulsed by <i>Petronius</i> and pursued into her own countrey. <i>Phraates</i> King of <i>Parthia</i> being expelled <i>Parthia</i> by his own people is restored by the <i>Scythians</i> , and sends ambassadors to <i>Augustus</i> to pray his friendship. <i>Herod</i> builds <i>Herodium</i> . |
| 2 | 22 | 16 | 9 | | <i>Herod</i> begins to build <i>Cæsarea</i> , which he finished in 12 years time. Sends the sons of <i>Mariamne</i> to <i>Rome</i> for their education, and receives from <i>Augustus</i> , <i>Trachonitis</i> , <i>Auranitis</i> , and <i>Batanea</i> in addition to his former dominions. <i>Agrippa</i> hath the government of the east committed to him. <i>Herod</i> |

| <i>Julian period.</i> | <i>Years before Christ.</i> | <i>Kings of Judaea.</i> | <i>Roman Emperors.</i> | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|--|
| 4693 | 21 | 17 | 10 | waits on him at <i>Mitylene</i> . <i>Herod</i> having suppressed the thieves of <i>Trachonitis</i> is accused about it before <i>Agrippa</i> , which turns to the confusion of the accusers. |
| 4 | 20 | 18 | 11 | <i>Augustus</i> recalls <i>Agrippa</i> , marries his daughter <i>Julia</i> to him, and leaves him to govern the west, while he goes into the east. He winters at <i>Samos</i> , and there grants peace to <i>Candace</i> Queen of <i>Æthiopia</i> , whom <i>Petronius</i> had reduced to a necessity of there suing to him for it, by reason of the several victories he had gained over her. |
| 5 | 19 | 19 | 12 | <i>Augustus</i> passeth through <i>Lesser Asia</i> into <i>Syria</i> . <i>Herod</i> is there accus'd before him on the account of the <i>Trachonites</i> . <i>Zenodorus</i> tetrarch of <i>Paneas</i> and the <i>Gadarens</i> who promoted the cause failing in it slay themselves, and <i>Paneas</i> is given to <i>Herod</i> . <i>Phraates</i> King of <i>Parthia</i> for the obtaining of the friendship of <i>Augustus</i> restores all the prisoners and ensigns taken in the wars of <i>Crassus</i> and <i>Antony</i> . After this <i>Augustus</i> having settled all the affairs he returns and winters again at <i>Samos</i> . |
| 6 | 18 | 20 | 13 | While <i>Augustus</i> lay there, an embassy came to him from <i>Porus</i> King of <i>India</i> to pray his friendship. <i>Augustus</i> returned to <i>Rome</i> , and is there received with great honour on the account of the restored ensigns and prisoners brought back with him. <i>Herod</i> proposed the new building of the temple at <i>Jerusalem</i> , and accordingly sets about the making ready materials for it. |
| 7 | 17 | 21 | 14 | <i>Ælius Gallus</i> succeeding <i>Petronius</i> in the prefecture of <i>Egypt</i> visits the upper parts of that countrey as far as <i>Æthiopia</i> , having with him <i>Strabo</i> the geographer through all this progress. |
| 8 | 16 | 22 | 15 | <i>Herod</i> having after two years preparation made ready all materials for the building of a new temple at <i>Jerusalem</i> pulled down the old one. <i>Augustus</i> adopted <i>Caius</i> and <i>Lucius</i> the sons of <i>Agrippa</i> by his daughter <i>Julia</i> . |
| 9 | 15 | 23 | 16 | <i>Herod</i> fetched home from <i>Rome</i> <i>Alexander</i> and <i>Aristobulus</i> his sons by <i>Mariamne</i> , and married the eldest of them to <i>Glaphyra</i> the daughter of <i>Archelaus</i> King of <i>Cappadocia</i> , and the other to <i>Berenice</i> the daughter of <i>Salome</i> his sister. |
| 4700 | 14 | 24 | 17 | <i>Agrippa</i> being sent again into the east <i>Herod</i> invites him into <i>Judaea</i> , and there treats him with great splendor and magnificence. |
| 1 | 13 | 25 | 18 | <i>Agrippa</i> wagemeth war with the <i>Bosphorans</i> , and having by the assistance of <i>Herod</i> (who went thither in person to him with his forces) subdued them, giveth that countrey to <i>Polemon</i> King of <i>Pontus</i> . In reward for this service, <i>Herod</i> procures from <i>Agrippa</i> to the <i>Asiatic Jews</i> a confirmation of all their privileges formerly granted to them. |
| 2 | 12 | 26 | 19 | <i>Augustus</i> on the death of <i>Lepidus</i> takes the office of High-priest of <i>Rome</i> , and by virtue thereof examines the <i>Sibylline</i> books, and burns such as he judged spurious, and deposits the rest in the temple of <i>Apollo</i> , which he had built within the palace. <i>Herod</i> breaking with the sons of <i>Mariamne</i> sets up <i>Antipater</i> against them. <i>Agrippa</i> returns to <i>Rome</i> , and <i>Sentius Saturninus</i> and <i>Titus Volumnius</i> have the presidency of <i>Syria</i> after his departure. |
| | | | | <i>Agrippa</i> is sent against the <i>Pannonians</i> , and having reduced them to terms of submission returns and dies in <i>Campania</i> . |

| Julian period. | Years before Christ. | Kings of Judaea. | Roman Emperors. | |
|----------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------|---|
| | | | | Herod <i>Augustus</i> marries his daughter <i>Julia</i> to <i>Tiberius</i> , and makes him his assistant in the empire, in the same manner as <i>Agrippa</i> was before. |
| 4703 | 11 | 27 | 20 | The breach between <i>Herod</i> and his sons by <i>Mariamne</i> growing to a great height, <i>Herod</i> accuseth them before <i>Augustus</i> , who makes reconciliation between them. <i>Herod</i> returns to <i>Jerusalem</i> , gives an account hereof to the people, and names to them <i>Antipater</i> for his heir. |
| 4 | 10 | 28 | 21 | <i>Herod</i> having finished his works at <i>Cæsarea</i> gives it that name in the dedication of it in honour of <i>Augustus Cæsar</i> . He builds also <i>Cypron</i> , <i>Antipatris</i> , <i>Phasaelis</i> , and the tower of <i>Phasael</i> at <i>Jerusalem</i> . |
| 5 | 9 | 29 | 22 | The <i>Jews</i> of <i>Asia</i> and <i>Cyrene</i> being oppressed by their heathen neighbours, obtain relief of their grievances, and a farther confirmation of their privileges. The breach between <i>Herod</i> and his sons by <i>Mariamne</i> is again revived, and carried by <i>Herod</i> to a great height. |
| 6 | 8 | 30 | 23 | <i>Archelaus</i> King of <i>Cappadocia</i> comes to <i>Jerusalem</i> and makes another reconciliation between <i>Herod</i> and his sons. <i>Herod</i> goes to <i>Rome</i> to acquaint <i>Augustus</i> of it. In the interim the <i>Trachonite</i> thieves make great ravages in his territories, but being repulsed by <i>Herod's</i> lieutenants flee into <i>Arabia</i> , and are there protected by <i>Syllæus</i> . <i>Augustus</i> , corrects an error in the <i>Julian</i> year, and gives his name to the month of <i>August</i> . <i>Herod</i> finisheth the temple at <i>Jerusalem</i> and dedicates it. |
| | 7 | 31 | 24 | <i>Herod</i> pursues the <i>Trachonite</i> thieves into <i>Arabia</i> , and there destroys their fortrefs, which <i>Syllæus</i> had given them, and cuts off all of them that fell into his hands: For which being accused by <i>Syllæus</i> to <i>Augustus</i> , for some time is out of his favour on this account. <i>Obodas</i> King of the <i>Nabathæans</i> dies, and <i>Aretas</i> succeeds him. |
| 8 | 6 | 32 | 25 | <i>Tiberius</i> retires to <i>Rhodes</i> . The third breach happen'd between <i>Herod</i> and his sons by <i>Mariamne</i> . <i>Herod</i> having recovered the favour of <i>Augustus</i> writes to him of it, and obtains his permission to proceed against them; whereon having procured them to be condemned in a council at <i>Berytus</i> , he caused them both to be strangled. <i>Zacharias</i> saw the vision, whereby was foreshewn to him the birth of <i>John the Baptist</i> . |
| 9 | 5 | 33 | 26 | A plot of <i>Antipater's</i> against his father's life detected. The angel <i>Gabriel</i> foreshews to the <i>Virgin Mary</i> , that Christ should be born of her, which was accordingly accomplish'd at the end of the year at <i>Bethlehem</i> , she being then delivered of him at that place, and the young child was called <i>Jesus</i> . |
| 4710 | 4 | 34 | 27 | <i>Joseph</i> and <i>Mary</i> flee with the young child <i>Jesus</i> into <i>Egypt</i> to avoid the cruelty of <i>Herod</i> . <i>Antipater</i> on his return from <i>Rome</i> is convicted before <i>Quintilius Varus</i> president of <i>Syria</i> of his intended parricide, and is condemned and put to death for it, and five days after died <i>Herod</i> himself. |
| 1 | 3 | <i>Archelaus</i> . | 28 | <i>Archelaus</i> succeeded <i>Herod</i> in <i>Judæa</i> , <i>Idumæa</i> , and <i>Samaria</i> ; <i>Herod Antipas</i> in <i>Galilee</i> and <i>Peræa</i> ; and <i>Philip</i> in <i>Aulonitis</i> , <i>Trachonitis</i> , <i>Panæas</i> and <i>Batanea</i> . <i>Joseph</i> and <i>Mary</i> with the child <i>Jesus</i> return out of <i>Egypt</i> , and settle at <i>Nazareth</i> in <i>Galilee</i> . |

| Julian period. | Years of Christ. | Kings of Judæa. | Roman Emperors. | |
|----------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---|
| 4712 | 2 | 2 | 29 | The <i>Armenians</i> rebelling and the <i>Parthians</i> confederating with them, <i>Caius Cæsar</i> , <i>Augustus</i> 's grandson, is sent into the east, and lands in <i>Egypt</i> . |
| 3 | 1 | 3 | 30 | Passing from thence into <i>Syria</i> through <i>Judæa</i> refuseth to sacrifice at <i>Jerusalem</i> . |
| 4 | 1 | 4 | 31 | The christian æra according to <i>Dionysius Exiguus</i> , begins four years after the true time of Christ's birth. |
| 5 | 2 | 5 | 32 | <i>Tiberius</i> being recalled from <i>Rhodes</i> returns to <i>Rome</i> . <i>Lucius Cæsar</i> the younger grandson of <i>Augustus</i> dies at <i>Marfiels</i> . |
| 6 | 3 | 6 | 33 | <i>Caius Cæsar</i> the elder grandson of <i>Augustus</i> having received a wound in <i>Armenia</i> dies of it in his return. |
| 7 | 4 | 7 | 34 | The <i>Julian</i> kalendar is set right. <i>Augustus</i> on the death of his two grandsons <i>Caius</i> and <i>Lucius</i> adopts <i>Tiberius</i> , and forceth him at the same time to adopt <i>Germanicus</i> . |
| 8 | 5 | 8 | 35 | |
| 9 | 6 | 9 | 39 | |
| 4720 | 7 | 10 | 37 | <i>Archelaus</i> being accused before <i>Augustus</i> for many mal-administrations in his government is cited to <i>Rome</i> , there to answer for the same. |
| 1 | 8 | | 38 | Where being convicted of them he is deposed and banished to <i>Vienna</i> in <i>Gallia</i> , all his goods decreed to be confiscated, and his principality to be made a <i>Roman</i> province; which decree <i>P. Sulpitius Quirinius</i> , then sent to be president of <i>Syria</i> , executed, and <i>Coponius</i> is made procurator of <i>Judæa</i> . Great troubles ensued among the <i>Jews</i> on this change, especially on the account of the tax then laid upon them. Christ in the twelfth year of his age came into the temple, and there sat among the doctors. |
| 2 | 9 | | 39 | |
| 3 | 10 | | 40 | <i>Marcus Ambivius</i> is sent by <i>Augustus</i> to be procurator of <i>Judæa</i> in the place of <i>Coponius</i> . <i>Salome</i> the sister of <i>Herod</i> dies. |
| 4 | 11 | | 41 | |
| 5 | 12 | 1 | 42 | <i>Tiberius</i> was admitted into copartnership of power with <i>Augustus</i> in the provinces of the empire. |
| 6 | 13 | 2 | 43 | <i>Annius Rufus</i> is made procurator of <i>Judæa</i> in the place of <i>Ambivius</i> . |
| 7 | 14 | 3 | 44 | <i>Augustus Cæsar</i> died at <i>Nola</i> in <i>Campania</i> on the 19 th of <i>August</i> . <i>Tiberius</i> succeeds him in the whole empire. |
| 8 | 15 | 4 | 1 | <i>Tiberius</i> sends <i>Valerius Gratus</i> to be procurator of <i>Judæa</i> . |
| 9 | 16 | 5 | 2 | |
| 4730 | 17 | 6 | 3 | Some disturbances happening in the east, <i>Germanicus</i> is sent thither under pretence to quell them. |
| 1 | 18 | 7 | 4 | <i>Germanicus</i> reduceth <i>Cappadocia</i> and <i>Commagena</i> into the form of <i>Roman</i> provinces, and settles the affairs of <i>Armenia</i> . |
| 2 | 19 | 8 | 5 | <i>Germanicus</i> visiteth <i>Egypt</i> , and on his return in <i>Syria</i> dieth at <i>Antioch</i> of poison given him by <i>Piso</i> president of <i>Syria</i> . |
| 3 | 20 | 9 | 6 | <i>Piso</i> on his return to <i>Rome</i> being accused of poisoning <i>Germanicus</i> slew himself to avoid being condemned for it. |
| 4 | 21 | 10 | 7 | |
| 5 | 22 | 11 | 8 | |
| 6 | 23 | 12 | 9 | <i>Valerius Gratus</i> removes <i>Annas</i> from being High-priest after he had been 15 years in that office, and substitutes in his place <i>Ismael the son of Fabus</i> . |
| 7 | 24 | 13 | 10 | <i>Eleazar the son of Annas</i> is made High-priest in the place of <i>Ismael</i> . |

| <i>Julian pe- riod.</i> | <i>Years after Christ.</i> | <i>Roman Emperors.</i> | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| 4738 | 25 | 14 11 | <i>Simon the son of Camith</i> is made High-priest in the place of <i>Eleazar</i> . |
| 9 | 26 | 15 12 | <i>Joseph</i> surnamed <i>Caiphas</i> , son-in-law of <i>Annas</i> is made High-priest in the place of <i>Simon</i> . <i>Pontius Pilate</i> is sent by <i>Tiberius</i> to be procurator of <i>Judæa</i> in the place of <i>Valerius Gratus</i> . The ministry of the gospel is first begun by <i>John the Baptist</i> the fore-runner of <i>Jesus Christ</i> , which he carries on three years and a half. |
| 4740 | 27 | 13 | |
| 1 | 28 | 14 | |
| 2 | 29 | 15 | <i>John</i> being put in prison by <i>Herod Antipas</i> about the time of the autumnal equinox. <i>Christ</i> appeared personally in the ministry of his gospel, and carried it on three years and an half more to the time of his crucifixion. |
| 3 | 30 | 16 | |
| 4 | 31 | 17 | |
| 5 | 32 | 18 | |
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